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M,DCCC,XVI.

With an APPENDIX.

"Cujusvis hominis est errare: nullius, nisi insipientis, in errore perseverare."

VOLUME LXXXI.



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T A B L E

OF THE

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N. B. For REMARKABLE PASSAGES in the *Criticisms* and *Extracts*, see the INDEX, at the End of the Volume.

✪ For the Names, also, of the Authors of new Dissertations, or other curious Papers, published in the MEMOIRS and TRANSACTIONS of the Scientific ACADEMIES at Home or on the Continent, and also for the Titles of those Dissertations, &c., of which Accounts are given in the Review,—see the *Index*, printed at the End of each Volume.

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ERRATA in Vol. LXXXI.

Page 151. l. 6. insert *them* after 'simplify.'

179. l. 38. for 'epidemiai,' r. *epidemical*.

260. l. 26. for 'gone nine miles from Hellah,' r. *advanced within nine miles of Hellah.*

384. the page is erroneously numbered.

385. l. 28. for 'Herodotus,' r. *Herodorus*

THE MONTHLY REVIEW.

For SEPTEMBER, 1816.

ART. I. *Remains of the late John Tweddell, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, being a Selection of his Letters written from various Parts of the Continent, together with a Re-publication of his Prolusiones Juveniles. To which is adjoined an Appendix containing some Account of the Author's Journals, MSS. Collections, Drawings, &c. and of their extraordinary Disappearance. Prefixed is a brief Biographical Memoir by the Editor, the Rev. Robert Tweddell, A. M. Illustrated with Portraits, Picturesque Views, and Maps. 4to. pp. 652. 3l. 3s. Boards. Mawman. 1815.*

OUR readers may possibly have felt some surprise that we have hitherto omitted to take notice of this publication, about which so much has been said and so much written, and some portions of which are likely to afford more food to the curious before they are ultimately developed: but many reasons have conspired to render such a delay accordant to our views on the present occasion. We have a decided aversion to become arbitrators in literary disputes; and this aversion is greatly increased when moral as well as literary worth is deeply implicated in the question. It was also our anxious hope that, long before this time, the discussions between Mr. Robert Tweddell, the Editor of this book, and the Earl of Elgin, as well as those of their respective partizans, (we do not use the word disrespectfully,) would have been compromised by the additional light which the very publicity of these disputes was likely to cast on the subject. It was moreover possible that the agitation of the question in so very open a manner might have roused the recollections of others besides those immediately concerned in these transactions; by which supplemental means the fate of those papers, of the loss of which the Editor of the volume now before us complains, might have been finally ascertained. Such, however, has not been the case; and the batteries of accusation and defence have become less active rather from the want of some succedaneum, now that the regular supplies have been exhausted, than from satisfactory explanation or amicable adjustment.

VOL. LXXXI.

B

It

It will not, consequently, be possible for us, with our view of our public duty, wholly to omit all mention of the discussions to which we have alluded: but we propose to notice them as briefly as the nature of the circumstances will permit; and to postpone that notice, as the most irksome part of our task, until we have taken a view of the more important, and certainly the far more gratifying, contents of the volume.

The work may be divided under four heads: 1. A short biographical memoir of the late Mr. John Tweddell, by his brother the Editor. 2. The correspondence of Mr. John Tweddell while abroad, containing remarks, &c. which occurred to him in his travels, and an occasional view of his own occupations. 3. A long appendix of nearly one hundred and fifty pages, mostly consisting of correspondence, inquiries, and discussions relative to the greater portion of the late Mr. J. Tweddell's literary property, which has been missing since his death; and, lastly, a republication of his "*Profusiones Juveniles*," compositions already known to the learned world, from which the classical fame of the writer and the interest of the public respecting him took their rise. We propose to follow the order which the Editor has prescribed to himself; and, for the information of the few who may not hitherto have interested themselves concerning his brother, we will commence with a brief outline of his short but distinguished career.

John Tweddell was born June 1. 1769, at Threepwood, near Hexham in Northumberland, being the eldest son of Francis Tweddell, Esq. a magistrate in that county. He was educated at a school in Yorkshire under the Reverend Matthew Raine, father of the late learned master of the Charter-house; and, on leaving this school, he had the good fortune to be placed under the celebrated Dr. Parr, during an intermediate period before he resided at the University. That the labours of the instructor were rewarded by the extraordinary acquisitions of the pupil, and that Mr. Tweddell's academical career was unusually brilliant, his "*Profusiones Juveniles*," published in 1793, one year subsequent to his election as Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, amply testify; and on this occasion he received the compliments of some of the greatest scholars of the age, with several very elegant and classical poetical tributes from his own contemporaries, especially from Mr. Abraham Moore, at that time of King's College in the same University. Shortly after his election at Trinity College, he entered as a student of the Middle Temple, London: but to the science of the law he was by no means naturally inclined; though his brother states

that, from respect to his father's wishes, he paid, notwithstanding this distaste, considerable attention to his professional studies. His private plans, which seem shortly afterward to have been sanctioned by the assent of his family, and the melancholy catastrophe which deprived the world of a young scholar of whom extraordinary expectations were justly entertained, will be found briefly detailed in the annexed quotation :

‘ It appears, both from the records of his private sentiments, as well as from his large and constant intercourse with the best sources of English history, and his predilection for political economy, that he would have wished to employ his talents and cultivated address in diplomacy at the courts of foreign powers.

‘ It was not without a view to this object that Mr. Tweddell determined to travel, and employ a few years in acquiring a knowledge of the manners, policy, and characters of the principal courts and most interesting countries of Europe, which were not yet become inaccessible to an Englishman, through the overwhelming dominion of republican France. He, accordingly, embarked on the 24th of September, 1795, for Hamburg; where that correspondence commences which is presented in part by the following pages; and which may serve to illustrate, though very imperfectly, the progress, pursuits, and indefatigable researches of this traveller in Switzerland, the North of Europe, and various parts of the East, until the period of his arrival in the provinces of Greece: here after visiting several of the islands in the Archipelago, he fixed his residence for four months in Athens; exploring with restless ardor and faithfully delineating the remains of art and science discoverable amidst her sacred ruins. The hand of a wise but mysterious Providence suddenly arrested his career on the twenty-fifth of July 1799.’

The body of Mr. Tweddell was deposited in the centre of the temple of Theseus at Athens; the most perfect remnant of antiquity, as we learn from Dr. Clarke and other travellers, that is now to be found in Greece, and which is at present used as a place of Christian worship. The original interment was conducted with great simplicity; and a mere mound of earth distinguished for a few years the spot which contained the remains of this accomplished scholar. The Earl of Elgin furnished a Latin inscription, and committed it to the care of Mr. Lusieri an Italian artist then residing at Athens, and otherwise a well-known person to all the British visitants of that place, for the purpose of having it engraved: but Lusieri was anticipated in his design by some countrymen of the deceased; and by the activity of Lord Byron, Mr. Fiott, and others, a slab was placed over the grave in 1811, bearing the following elegant inscription from the pen of the Rev. R. Walpole, A. M. We reduce it from the capitals in which

it is printed, and of course engraved also, to a more convenient form for the eye of the reader:

*Εὐδεις ἐν φθίμενοισι; μάτην Σοφίας ποτ' ἔδρεψας
 'Ανδρα, καὶ σε νεον Μοῦσ' ἐφιλησε μάτην.
 *Ἄλλα μόνον τοι σωμα τὸ γήινον ἀμφικαλύπτει
 Τύμβος, τὴν ψυχὴν οὐρανὸς αἴπυς ἔχει.
 *Ἡμιν δ', οἱ σε φίλοι, φίλον ὥς, καλὰ δάκρυ χεονίης,
 Μνήμα φιλοφροσύνης χλωρον, ὀδυρομεθα,
 *Ἦδὺ γ' ὅμως καὶ τερπνον ἔχειν τοῦτ' ἐστίν, Ἀθηναίς
 *Ὡς συ, βρεῖλαντος ἱων, κείσαι ἐνι σποδίῃ.

Without entering, at present, into other questions between the Editor of this volume and Lord Elgin, we have no hesitation in saying that we do not think that his Lordship has been by any means handsomely treated on the score of the epitaph which he prepared. We do not mean by the preference given to Mr. Walpole's inscription, because this latter deserved that preference, and Mr. R. Tweddell could have had no influence on that occasion, but by the manner in which he now speaks of Lord Elgin's attempt to do honour to the memory of his brother. He introduces an anonymous letter from a gentleman at Athens (a gentleman of some eminence as a scholar, we believe,) to Mr. Walpole, relative to the completion of the inscription above quoted, which contains the following sentence: "It appears that when Lord Elgin was at Athens he manufactured a long Latin inscription in honour of himself and of Tweddell, which was left with Lusieri," &c. This inscription has been handed about, has appeared in print, and we have seen it; and we are wholly at a loss to discover what it contains which can justify the criticism inflicted on it. That Lord Elgin's name is inserted in it is true: but who can be ignorant that, in Latin inscriptions, the mention of the person who places the marble is according to the strictest and most approved precedent? It does indeed appear that Lord Elgin's original epitaph was more diffuse, and was abridged by some friend of Lusieri: but this does not in any way alter the case, because the gentleman who criticises it distinctly states that he had seen it only after these curtailments. — It may not be amiss to quote the translation of Mr. Walpole's inscription.

* Sleep'st thou among the dead? then hast thou cull'd
 In vain fair learning's flowers, the muse in vain
 Smil'd on thy youth — Yet but thy mortal mould
 Hides this dark tomb; thy soul the heav'ns contain.
 To us who now our friendship to record
 O'er thee, pale friend! the tears of mem'ry shed,
 Sweet solace 'tis, that here thy bones are stored,
 That dust Athenian strews a Briton's head.

Mr. Tweddell

Mr. Tweddell had just completed his thirtieth year when he was thus arrested by an untimely death. — We cannot better conclude this brief notice of his life than by referring the reader to the beautiful lines of Mr. Haygarth, in his poem intitled “Greece.”

“Pause on the tomb of him who sleeps within :
 Fancy's fond hope, and learning's fav'rite child,
 Accomplish'd TWEDDELL — but weep not, his death
 Was kind although untimely, for he rests
 Upon the shores to Taste and Genius dear.
 To him in youthful dreams the Greeian Muse
 Deign'd nightly visitation, breathing soft
 Her heav'nly melodies upon his ear ;
 He own'd her power, and when his slumbers view'd
 Her beauteous form bending with loosen'd vest
 And tresses compos'd upon her lyre,
 And heard the well-known accents of her voice
 Falt'ring despair, he left his native isle,
 Join'd in her first embrace his tears with her's
 And died. — She guards his sacred dust, and mourns
 His early doom, and leads with tender care,
 On each returning year, the solemn choir
 Of youths and virgins to his silent grave.”

Our own regrets on this melancholy catastrophe quickly succeeded our knowledge of the event * ; and neither then nor now is our tribute that of vain compliment, but of real and unadorned sorrow, for disappointment greatly magnified by the loss of almost all the literary relics of this departed scholar.

‘*Enfin nous voici à Hambourg,*’ says Mr. Tweddell in his first letter †, and thither we will now follow him. On his arrival, he found the society so much superior to his anticipation of it, that he resolved to extend the time which he had originally devoted to a residence in that city. His circle comprized the Comtesse de Flahaut, known as the author of

* See our Review of Stephanopoli's Travels in Greece, Appendix to Vol. xxxiii. N. S.

† Addressed to James Losh, Esq., barrister, of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, apparently one of the most intimate friends that the writer ever had. The other persons to whom these letters are addressed, independently of Mr. T.'s own family, are the Hon. Stephen Digby, Thomas Bigge, Esq., J. Spencer Smythe, Esq., the predecessor of Lord Elgin at the Porte, Mrs. Ward, &c. The members of his own family whom he addresses are his father, mother, sister, and his brother the Editor of these ‘Remains.’

Adèle de Senange, Madame de la Rochefoucault, the Princesse de Vaudemont, M. de Souza the Portuguese envoy; and other diplomatic characters. To the company of elegant and sensible females, the writer had throughout the portion of his life, into which his correspondence gives us an insight, a very warm attachment: it was the object of constant research with him; and we need scarcely add that he was always acceptable, and soon became one of the most brilliant members of every society, male or female, to which he was introduced. At Hamburgh he apportioned his time with great regularity between the study of the French and that of the German language, (in the former of which he was previously a tolerable proficient,) drawing, exercise, and society; which, the disturbed state of France at this period (1795), and a consequently remarkable influx of strangers into places situated like Hamburgh, contributed greatly to augment. The names of Klopstock and Madame de Genlis were shortly added to those of Mr. Tweddell's other acquaintance; Dumouriez was also in the neighbourhood; and, though not without some difficulty, Mr. T. procured access to him, circumstances at that time rendering it necessary for the General to live in a retirement approaching to concealment. Some anecdotes of other persons, whom political events had driven to Hamburgh for refuge, will be found in the annexed passage; which will also enable our readers to judge of the writer's mode of expressing himself in the French language, (certainly not very correct,) in which some few of his letters are written.—Speaking of Dumouriez, he adds:

‘ Tout le monde le cherche, connoissant bien qu'il est dans le voisinage ; mais personne, à ce que je sache, n'a encore decouvert le lieu de sa retraite, à ceux la près qui y ont été menés par un de ses amis. Il faut bien qu'il demeure caché, car ce gouvernement voudroit le chasser ; les aristocrates voudroient le punir de ses victoires, les démocrates de sa desertion. Mais il est bien gai, et ne craint rien. Je viens de diner chez lui. Il m'a raconté de drôles d'aventures qui lui arrivèrent pendant ses différentes fuites. On dit que Barrere est à Hamburg. Si cela est vrai, assurément il se cache avec beaucoup de soin, car personne ne l'a encore vu. Pour moi, je n'en crois rien. On a écrit d'Espagne à un de mes amis, qu'on l'attend dans ce pays là à tout moment. Il y arrivera sain & sauf malgré les vents et les tempêtes. Il n'est pas né pour se noyer. Le Comte De Rivarol et l'Abbé De Montesquiou, deux des plus beaux esprits de Paris, sont ici. Le Duc D'Aiguillon l'est aussi, et beaucoup d'autres constitutionels. Avez vous lu encore le dernier roman de Mad. De Genlis ? Il s'appelle Les Chevaliers du Cygne—En vérité je trouve que ses cygnes sont des oies. Elle demeure tout près de Hamburg. Depuis quelques jours j'ai fait connoissance avec Klopstock.

Klopstock. Il est un tres bon vieillard, mais un peu trop vieillard pour qu'on puisse deviner en lui l'auteur de La Messiede.

Berlin was the next station from which the correspondence was renewed; and at this place Mr. Tweddell commenced acquaintance with the Earl of Elgin, whom he had previously seen only in his passage through Hamburgh, but of whose attentions to him he now speaks in the very highest terms. It was the period of the carnival when he arrived at the Prussian capital, and all was bustle, noise, and court-galas. With the King *, to whom Mr. T. was introduced by Lord E., the ambassador, he held a short conversation on the subject of travelling, and especially on the character of Abyssinian Bruce, whose work was much canvassed in all societies; for some time after its appearance. With the Princesses, Mr. T. was much delighted; the season of the year being fortunately that in which the court mixes much in society, which doubtless rendered the affability of the royal family to strangers more easy of remark. Of the Germans, Mr. T. was not inclined to think favourably; the rude and uncouth manners of the men disgusted him; and, although he allowed that the women were not altogether without *agréments*, he found but few who had any attraction. To his former occupations he now added those of fencing and riding in the military *manège*; a proof that he aimed at the acquisition of all that is elegant in the education of a gentleman, not confining himself to the attainments of literary excellence. A description of Berlin in times so fertile of tourists will add little to the information of our readers; and, as to its inhabitants, Mr. T. appears to have mixed more with French and English than native families. He particularly notices his reception by the (late) Duchess of Cumberland, Lord Elgin, and Dr. Browne, the King's physician †, whose family he characterizes as remarkably agreeable, containing three daughters, more highly accomplished and instructed than any other females whom he had seen at Berlin: — but the *handsomest* woman in Berlin, he says, was the Princess Royal, with whom he had the honour to dance.

At Dresden, Mr. Tweddell's stay was short; and much did he regret the society of Madame de Nadaillac, whom he left at Berlin: a woman whom he describes as full of *esprit*, and *esprit* of a much higher cast than what is usually called

* The late Frederick-William the Second.

† This gentleman, who is an Englishman, retained the same situation under the present King of Prussia for many years.

by that name. Scandal, it appears, had been busy with his intimacy with this lady: but he here declares the total want of foundation for any such reports, and attributes their origin to the system of manners at Berlin, which did not allow the people to comprehend a bond of union between the sexes founded simply on friendship.

From Dresden, the traveller proceeded through Prague to Vienna. Of his occupations at this place, he has given but jejune accounts to his correspondents; which is the more remarkable, because this was a station from which he seems to have anticipated greater pleasure than from almost any other, as far at least as society was concerned. The family which principally contributed to his entertainment was that of the Duke de Polignac, and the Duchess de Guiche * his daughter, to whom he had been recommended by the Marquise de Nadaillac; and he designates this family as literally the most pleasant that he had ever known. The Duchess of Polignac, whose influence with the unfortunate Marie Antoinette was an object of so much notoriety throughout Europe, did not long survive the tragical end of her royal patroness, but died at Vienna shortly after she had received the fatal news.

In attending Mr. T. into Switzerland, it is necessary to observe that he appears to have made a minute journal of every thing which occurred to him worthy of notice in that highly interesting part of Europe; and that he lost no opportunity of perfecting his knowledge of that country, whether by communications with the best informed inhabitants or by personal observation of all that was remarkable in nature.

* The air of these high mountains has very bracing qualities, and after mounting almost perpendicularly for several hours, if for twenty minutes I rest myself upon the ground, I feel perfectly refreshed and as able to continue my route as when I first commenced. I am convinced that I have benefited materially by this excursion. But exclusively of an accession of health, I have by this means seen the country in a very superior manner. In each of the cantons through which I have passed, I left nothing unseen behind me. I have travelled where neither carriage nor horse could have followed my route — and General Pfyffer of Lucerne, who is better acquainted with his own country than any other man in it, told me that my course was one of the completest

* Since become Duchess of Grammont, wife of the nobleman whose defence of Versailles in October 1792 rendered him justly famous. She died in Scotland a few years since. Her son, who was a captain in the English army, has returned to France with the restored royal family.

that

that he had ever known to be pursued. My single journey will have embraced more than Mr. Coxe's tour. — By the way, have you read Coxe's Travels? If not, buy the French translation by Ramond — there are two translations — but Ramond has added many important observations to his, which are worth all the original together. You will be highly gratified with his observations upon the Glaciers, in Vol. ii. They are very finely written. Wherever I go, I always wait upon the men of information most celebrated in the place. I brought no letters with me (except for Lausanne), but the Swiss are so very obliging in communicating with strangers, and so pleased to find any stranger who interests himself about their country, that I never had the least difficulty in introducing myself wherever I wished. I always carry pens and paper in my pocket, write my observations on the spot, and transcribe them in a book before I go to bed. I have filled *four small quarto books with such remarks*, and one day or other I hope that you will have pleasure in travelling over again with me this country upon paper. Your affection will create the interest which exists but feebly in the remarks themselves. At present I am going to Basle, where I hope to find letters from Threepwood. You do not know what repast it is to hear from so great a distance — especially while the posts are so uncertain, on account of the progress of the French. I have found here a letter from Lord Elgin, our envoy at Berlin, inclosing another from Mr. Wickham, our minister at Berne, with whom I dined yesterday.'

The books of remarks mentioned in this extract, and which the indefatigable exertions of the traveller and his powers of observing and digesting warrant us in presuming to have been of no ordinary value, form a portion of those relics, the loss of which, in common with others, we have so much to deplore. The most celebrated individuals, with whom Mr. Tweddell became acquainted while in Switzerland and the adjoining countries, were Necker, and his daughter, Madame de Staël, whom he considered as one of the most extraordinary women that he had ever met in society; Professor Wytttenbach, the well-known annotator on Plutarch; Lavater, with whom during his stay at Zurich he had much intercourse, and who is here depicted as 'a most interesting and amiable character;' and several other learned and remarkable persons: — independently of epistolary communications, through these and similar introductions, from many of the most eminent scholars of the Continent.

From Lausanne, the last place in Switzerland from which any of these letters are dated, the writer went back to Vienna; in his way visiting Munich, where he was received with much attention by the ingenious Count Rumford, and was highly delighted with the arrangement of the institutions for ameliorating the condition of the poorer orders. On his return to Vienna, he found that changes had taken place in the society

in which he previously moved, that rendered a residence there far less eligible; and that the Polignac family had retired to an estate in Lithuania, which Paul, newly installed in his imperial dignities, had conferred on them with much generosity. Warm in his attachment to this exiled family, Mr. T. determined to seek them out in the country of their adoption; and he arrived at the chateau of the Countess Potogka, of which Marshal Suvarrow was at this period an inmate, in time to witness the interesting scene of the final grant to the Duke de Polignac of his new estates. The letter announcing this grateful intelligence, and written by the Emperor Paul himself, was a good specimen of Spartan brevity:

"I have this day made a grant to the Duke de Polignac of an estate in Lithuania, containing a thousand peasants; and I have the pleasure of signifying it to him with my own hand.

"PAUL."

The value of this estate is estimated at about 2000l. a-year, and in a country in which provisions, and numerous other accommodations, are furnished to the landlord by the peasants, exclusively of the rent. The Duke de Polignac lived at this time in the immediate neighbourhood of the Countess Potogka; and, while residing in their society, Mr. T. became acquainted with the Comte de Choiseul: to whom he pays as warm compliments as to his favourite Marquise de Nadaillac, by describing him as the man who, of all the *beaux esprits* of France, pleased him the most. His account of Suvarrow may not prove unentertaining to our readers:

'At present we are reduced to about 16 persons, and our society is somewhat select and pleasant. Among these is the Marshal Suvarrow, the hero of Ismaël. He is a most extraordinary character. He dines every morning about nine o'clock. He sleeps almost naked. He affects a perfect indifference to heat and cold — and quits his chamber, which approaches to suffocation, in order to review his troops, in a thin linen jacket, while the thermometer of Réaumur is at 10 degrees below freezing. His manners correspond with his humors. I dined with him this morning, or rather witnessed his dinner — he cried to me across the table, "*Tweddell!* (he generally addressed by the surname, without addition) *the French have taken Portsmouth. I have just received a courier from England. The King is in the Tower; and Sheridan Protector.*" A great deal of this whimsical manner is affected. He finds that it suits his troops and the people he has to deal with. I asked him, if after the massacre at Ismaël, he was perfectly satisfied with the conduct of the day? He said, he went home and wept in his tent. The Russian soldiers are inhuman beyond conception. The Marshal has given in his resignation, and has written a very imprudent letter to the Emperor. — The answer is arrived to-night — but the result is yet secret.'

The

The character of the Poles Mr. T. describes as 'bad, very bad;' and he subsequently adds: 'believe me, there is no liberty lost by the revolution of Poland.' This evidence comes from a man who, as all the readers of the "*Prolusiones*" will recollect, was not a lukewarm advocate in the cause of civil liberty.

The next letter to that which caused our last remarks is dated from Moscow, where the writer arrived while the court was residing in that antient capital. Of the present Lord Whitworth, who was then the British minister to the Emperor of Russia, he speaks in the highest terms; describing him as very superior to all those of our ministers at foreign courts whom he had seen on the Continent. It is to be observed, indeed, that of the *corps diplomatique* in general, and especially of his own countrymen who were members of it, Mr. T. was by no means inclined to entertain very favourable opinions; and in one of his letters, which we have purposely passed, he writes more freely of them to the eye of friendship than he probably would have thought of doing had he conjectured that his remarks would ever obtain publicity. The letter in question contains opinions that could not have been formed on much experience or reflection. The author had then seen very little of the Continent; and, were we to consider the sentiments there expressed, in which he censures very generally, as a rule by which we were to measure all future references to the same subject, it would be rather difficult to reconcile some of the praises which he bestows on individual ministers at the successive courts that he visited, with a sweeping declamation against the whole corps.

It will not be possible for us to give more than the simple route of the traveller in the northern countries: but, when we say, therefore, that from Moscow he proceeded to Petersburg, thence to Stockholm by way of Finland, and, returning to Petersburg, passed through Russia to the Crimea, we merely omit a few details with which the late travellers in those countries have furnished us in an ample measure.

At Sympheropol in the Crimea, Mr. Tweddell was an inmate in the house of the celebrated Professor Pallas; whence he took an interesting excursion among the mountains which command the Black-Sea. During this expedition, he informs his friend that he had found a great many antiquities and inscriptions relating to the time at which the Greeks were masters of that island, and after them the Genoese; and to the same letter he adds, as a postscript, 'I have made several tolerable drawings of all the most interesting views of this country, — and I have copied all the inscriptions I have found.'

found.' Dr. Clarke, in his travels in Tartary, &c., (Vol. i. p. 435.) bears testimony to the value of this collection, which has unfortunately shared the fate of Mr. Tweddell's other manuscripts; Professor Pallas having published our traveller's copies of the inscriptions, but without the power of adding those illustrations which he alone could have afforded. At the same place, Mr. Tweddell had the different costumes of the Tartars, Cossaks, Calmucks, &c. executed for him by a painter in the service of the Professor, in a masterly manner. We wish our readers to bear in mind the extent and nature of the different collections, and books of notes, to which we have referred, as it will be requisite in the sequel of this article to allude to them again.

Leaving the Crimea, we lose sight of our guide, until we meet him once more with the Duke de Polignac at Woitooka in the Ukraine; and here it may be necessary for us to overlook the traveller for a short time, and contemplate the man. A gradual change seems to have taken place in Mr. Tweddell's mind during the progress of his travels, which led him to look with indifference on those prospects and objects in life that he had once considered as the pursuits of laudable ambition; and a distaste for consequence in official stations, though he had originally imagined the diplomatic line to have been the one to which his habits and acquirements naturally led him, was an early source of his reflections. We consider a growing melancholy of disposition, arising possibly from living as an insulated being, although in the middle of society, (for he appears to have generally *travelled* alone,) to have been rather the cause than the result of this wish of abstraction from the active duties of life; and even the ambition of authorship, he somewhere says, had died away within him. How far this last might have been the sentiment of a moment, rather than the prevailing tone of his mind, it is difficult for us to judge: but we think it fair to argue that it must have been an intermittent feeling only, since it is otherwise difficult to conceive how the ardour, with which he pursued all literary acquirement, remained unabated to the last moments of his life. Some traces of the disposition of mind to which we refer will be found in an extract from a letter to his father.

' The ambition which I once possessed is, nearly, if not quite, extinct; it was propagated first by successes at the University, rather extraordinary — and, though I believe that its outward effects were not declared by either vanity or presumption, yet it continued to grow inwardly for some time longer, and to receive nourishment from the applauses which I received in the world from persons whose favourable opinion has been seen to intoxicate men both graver and older than myself. This is now passed by. I think

think much the same as I ever did upon most of the subjects which I have at all considered attentively — but I am much less anxious about the influence of events upon myself, much more penetrated with the sense of those vanities of the great and little world, which I once thought deserving of attention. My wishes are more bounded, and my head and my heart are more calm. My enthusiasm is burnt out in a great degree; I find that there are few things in life worthy to be coveted with ardor; that it is, for the most part, a choice of evil, and that the villany and folly of the greater part of mankind furnish slender hope, to a cool calculator, of the good producible by the effects of the virtuous few. I believe that if there is any happiness to be found, it is in retreat; and the great and chief good which I feel to result from my daily observations upon every thing which has struck me for a long time past, is the idea that, at some future time, if ever I should enjoy tranquillity and repose (for happiness is too much to count upon), I shall reap from reflection upon what I have seen and felt, the solid conviction, that all which passes beyond the sphere of a contracted station is unworthy to excite a wish or a regret.

Yet in a subsequent part of the same letter, although he shews a latent disinclination to any professional life, he offers to coincide with his father's views, should any thing transpire in the political line of which he might be able to avail himself. It was about this same time, and while still resident at Woitooka, that he announces in a letter to his friend Mr. Digby that he had ceased to eat flesh-meat, and to drink fermented liquors. From the latter he abstained merely as judging them to be injurious to his constitution; from the former, owing to some peculiar views which he entertained as to the moral propriety of this nearly universal usage. We are by no means inclined to follow him in his short reasonings on this question; which are little calculated by any force, or indeed novelty, to procure converts on the score of religious obligation, whatever they might do with a few on that of personal expediency. It does not appear that the *Pythagoricien*, as he was humourously called by the females of the Polignac family, ever resumed the use of this mode of sustenance: but wine he did occasionally taste afterward.

When Mr. Tweddell reached Constantinople, whither he next resorted, he was accommodated by Mr. Spencer Smythe, then envoy to the Porte, at the English palace, in the division of Pera. Here he continued to make notes, as in other places, either for the future amusement of his family or for the public at large; and he states that he had collected one hundred different dresses of that country, and had either taken or copied the greater part of the views in the neighbourhood. The constant contemplation of the miseries, which the French had

had even then inflicted on the Continent, caused considerable alteration in his political opinions. 'I am the most decided enemy,' says he, 'of the *great nation*; their monstrous and diabolical conduct makes me ashamed that I ever could imagine that their motives were more pure, or their ends more salutary:' but, at the same time, he asserts that his opinions regarding our mode of beginning the war had undergone no change whatever. The peaceful occupations of the scholar and tourist, however, were not impeded; he continued to add to his collections, especially of drawings; and, as an auxiliary resource to his own labours, he procured several from M. Præaux, of whose execution in this art he speaks with much encomium: — he had also obtained a considerable number of medals. From Constantinople he landed in Asia, but did not, as he had proposed, visit the plain of Troy; postponing that expedition until some future occasion, which Providence decreed should never arrive. He had likewise drawn for himself the outline of a more extended journey, to include Balbeck and Palmyra, with M. Præaux as a companion to assist in delineating those celebrated remains.—Relinquishing any farther progress in Asia for the present, he passed a short time in Tino and another island in the Archipelago, and arrived at Athens in December 1798. Of his occupations at a place from the antiquities of which he was so eminently qualified to receive the purest 'delight, he shall speak in his own words:

'I find here every day something new to see and to admire. The antiquities of Athens give the highest ideas of the perfection to which human talent is capable of attaining. My companion is diligently employed in copying them, and I have already some very fine drawings of them in my portfolio. I have taken three chambers, and a kitchen annexed to them, in the house of a *protégé* of the English nation. My servant dresses dinner, and in a very excellent way. As for me, I continue to adhere to a diet which I have hitherto found so salutary — cabbages, potatoes, cauliflowers, milk, eggs, and fruit, are my daily food; and, since the day that I abandoned flesh-meat, I have hardly had to complain of even so slight an indisposition as a head-ache. I am much cooler; I require less sleep; and support fatigue and heat without the slightest inconvenience — which has not been the case of any other of my countrymen in this climate. To my dinner my servant has only to make a small addition of a more substantial nature for Mons. Præaux; and so we live, very economically, and very philosophically; solely intent upon the great objects which surround us. We rise early, and dine at five o'clock — the whole interval is employed in drawing, on one hand, and on the other, in considering the scenes of ancient renown, the changes which they have undergone, and the marks which yet distinguish them.

I shall

I shall certainly have the most valuable collection of drawings of this country which was ever carried out of it. Not only they will be valuable, as bringing to my own recollection the scenes which I have visited, and as conveying an exact and excellent idea of them to my friends in England; but, exclusively of that great consideration, they will be an object of solid and intrinsic price. My principal collection will be uniform, of drawings about 30 inches long. I shall have *ten* large ones, of the main temples and other most interesting objects of Greece, which will be about four feet and a half, or near five feet: one of these large ones is already finished, and a great part of the smaller size. Those of the large dimension *are richly worth thirty guineas a piece*—so that you will easily imagine nothing but the re-union of many extraordinary circumstances could have enabled me to be attended by a person capable in other times of turning his talent to such account.

His collection of inscriptions was now continually increasing; and he flattered himself that he had ascertained with tolerable exactness many sites, which the Abbé Barthélemy had mis-calculated in his chart of antient Athens. It is some matter of consolation, in such a wreck of literary treasures, that Mr. Tweddell's corrections of Athenian topography have not shared the fate of his other works; he having communicated his discoveries on these subjects to Mr. Spencer Smythe, who presented the plans of Athens, antient and modern, to the Editor of this volume.—While thus enriching himself with the treasures of science and taste, the traveller received the melancholy intelligence of the destruction, as then reported, of Pera by fire; at which place, before his expedition to Athens, he had deposited, in the hands of Mr. Thornton, (a member of the English factory, and author of "*The present State of Turkey*,") two trunks containing, besides clothes, &c. all his papers and notes on the different countries through which he had passed, and these were, he says, very voluminous. Among other things, were one hundred drawings relating to Constantinople; as also his different journals, including those of Switzerland and the Crimea, which, he adds, were composed with much care: indeed, of the extent of these journals we may form some idea from their author's statement, when he says 'that it would require half a year of constant writing to transcribe the principal part of what he had already written,' p. 317. Independently of these precious effects, his portfolio at Athens contained fifty other views of Constantinople, more valuable than those which he imagined to be lost; fifty more of the Crimea; forty views of Athens; and one hundred and fifty drawings respecting the usages, ceremonies, and dresses of the people of Attica. Although, however, the greater
part

part of the premises of Mr. Thornton had been destroyed in this extensive calamity, Mr. Tweddell's deposit was secured in a portion of the buildings not accessible to the destructive element.

The last letter from Athens bears date July 14th, and intimates no fears entertained by the writer on the score of his own health: yet on the 25th of the same month he was no more! Monsieur Fauvel, the French consul at Athens, communicated the mournful intelligence to Mr. Neave, an English gentleman; and the nature of Mr. T.'s complaint, with the causes to which it was attributed, will be in some measure developed by the annexed extract:

“Voici une nouvelle qui vous fera beaucoup de peine, quoique la connoissance que vous avez faite de Mons. Tweddell soit encore récente. Je suis persuadé que vous le regretterez beaucoup. Nous venons de le perdre après quatre jours d'une fièvre double-tierce, fruit des fatigues excessives de son voyage. Tous ses compagnons sans exception ont eu la même maladie: la sienne n'avoit rien de plus dangereux, mais je pense qu'il s'est tué, pour avoir voulu se traiter à sa manière. Plusieurs vomitifs lui avoient occasionnés de grands efforts: il prit là dessus des poudres de Docteur James, dont il van-
toit les qualités merveilleuses, et du quinquina: deux jours apres, au moment où il paroissoit tranquille, il perdit tout à coup la parole et la connoissance. On m'y appella; je m'y rendis aussitôt, pour le voir expirer en moins d'un demiquart d'heure entre mes bras, sans avoir donné aucune marque de souffrance; la poitrine s'est remplie, à ce qu'il m'a paru, par la rupture subite de quelques vaisseaux; il a été suffoqué en un instant. Mons. Tweddell avoit la poitrine fort délicate depuis un voyage qu'il avoit fait en Suisse. Il avoit beaucoup souffert ici l'hiver dernier. Il a été inhumé au milieu du temple de Thésée, en partie par mes soins, avec tous les honneurs. La garde du Vaivode l'a salué de 3 décharges de mousqueterie. Je n'avois point voulu de prêtres, mais le temple étant aujourd'hui une église, il n'a pas été possible de faire autrement. Il a été regretté de tout le monde, et je l'ai pleuré comme un frère; il m'avoit donné des preuves si sensibles de son amitié et de son bon cœur.”

[To be continued.]

ART. II. *Paris Revisited in 1815*, by Way of Brussels: including a Walk over the Field of Battle at Waterloo. By John Scott, Author of a Visit to Paris in 1814; and Editor of the Champion, a London Weekly Journal. 8vo. pp. 413. 12s. Boards. Longman and Co.

A FAVOURABLE reception with the public has a wonderful effect in quickening the pen of an author; and Mr. Scott, in his second report on the state of France, may be said to imitate those kind personages of whom we have heard it observed, *qu'ils donnent beaucoup, et ne se font pas attendre.*

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Though a considerable resemblance prevails between this and the writer's former book, (reported in M. R. Vol. lxxvii. p. 364.) the present is certainly less replete with *outré* effusions against the character of our southern neighbours. We are hence tempted to conclude that Mr. S. must have been softened by the winning politeness of the Parisians; or that the length to which his charges were carried in his preceding volume is to be attributed to the power of first impressions, in a scene so new and extraordinary to an English traveller as the gay and volatile metropolis of France. His attention, moreover, was divided in his second journey by the military feats of our countrymen, and by an impatience to visit personally the scenes of the final overthrow of that power which had so long convulsed the Continent. With this view, he took his passage in the first instance for Flanders, and begins his narrative by a circumstantial account of the occurrences of his voyage to Ostend; and here we cannot help remarking that with him, as with other authors, success has had the unlucky effect of producing an extra degree of verbosity: his rule in this second tour being to describe not only every prominent character that he meets, but almost every individual or scene which can, by any amplification or stretch of imagination, be worked up into a picture. The consequence is that the volume, though by no means devoid of striking passages, contains much that is trifling, insignificant, and below the notice not only of a serious writer but of a man of sedate years. Of such minutiae we shall, of course, take little notice; for what purpose would it answer to relate to our readers the characteristics of his fellow-passengers on board the Margate-hoy, or to copy his account of his companions in the canal-boat to Bruges or in the Flanders diligence?

A large portion of the work is appropriated to topics of a very different stamp, we mean to the battles of Quatre Bras and Waterloo. Mr. S. disclaims, however, the intention of giving a complete or methodical report of these memorable engagements, and desires his readers to regard his account as little more than a collection of particulars and anecdotes that had escaped the attention of preceding writers: but we were, we confess, much interested in his representation of the exploits of our countrymen; and we shall make use of some of his details in our next ensuing article, which will be devoted to this subject. From Flanders, Mr. Scott proceeds to Paris, where he soon finds objects worthy of description, and gives his readers an amusing idea of the bustle of that capital, crowded as it then was (August 1815) with the military of almost every nation of Europe. The French were now sadly fallen from the high

spirits and frequent vaunts of which he had been a witness in the preceding year; and, from the moment at which the allies occupied the capital, a general impression prevailed that France would be made to pay dearly for the late struggle. The allied sovereigns and their ministers maintained a stately reserve towards the French court: for several weeks, British and Prussian sentinels were placed at the very palace of the Tuileries; and even when they were withdrawn from the presence of Louis, they continued to occupy the *Palais Royal*, and every public building of consequence throughout the metropolis.

The *Palais Royal* was the scene of almost all the quarrels that occurred between the French military and the Allies. These squabbles seldom happened between the British and the French, — but the disputes and disturbances between the latter and the Prussians were endless. The truth, I believe, was, that the French were characteristically arrogant, and that the Prussians did not understand how to repress their insolence in a dignified, prompt, and effectual manner. — The stories of conspiracies, explosions, and re-actions at Paris, which were circulated in London about this time, had no more formidable foundation than these petty quarrels, that originated in no design, and came to no conclusion; — but these furnished subjects for the talk of the evening in the saloons where the correspondents of the English newspapers picked up their intelligence, — and the competition that necessarily existed among these gentlemen, as to which should furnish for his particular journal the most striking communication, was nothing, and could naturally be nothing, but a struggle in exaggeration. Any one who should now refer to the contents of the private letters published in the *Daily Press*, to guide the opinions of the public of Britain as to the state of things in France, would find them a miserable mass of inconsistent falsehoods, in almost every particular disagreeing with each other, and scarcely ever, even by accident, corroborated by facts. At the time which I am now describing, there was no such thing as procuring even intentionally true statements from Frenchmen, — and if one could have been sure of their intentional honesty, their ignorance, in nine cases out of ten, would have been no less surprising. Finesse, imposition, and trick, are the political weapons which the parties in France think it most advisable to wield, — and this only indicates that they are, as to politics, in a state of very imperfect information, and clumsy practice. Men are always cunning until they become wise: — the Chinese merchant cheats, and he of Lloyd's is honorable in his dealings: — the difference is to be accounted for, rather by the superior commercial skill and intelligence of the latter, than by any intrinsic superiority of his moral sense. — The writers for the English journals were eagerly laid hold of by the politicians of France, ladies and gentlemen: — according to the views of the mistress or master, the conversation of the evening assembly was framed; the pun was ready where the argument was deficient; — the copy of verses clenched the doctrine, — and a lively

lively story, vouched for, by a fair partizan, — who, while she delivered it, looked the most convincing logic at the English visitor, — put contradiction out of the question, and did not leave recollection enough for doubt. Thus charged home, the simple correspondent returned to his hotel, and gravely embodied in a letter, as authentic intelligence of the French capital, derived from peculiarly respectable sources, the wild lies of a heartless set of French impostors. This, in due course of time, was received and published by the editor of some daily oracle, — and then it became the text for political debaters: — the flimsy French fabrication was taken hold of, and examined, and tried, and searched, after the thorough manner of our country, but in a way that it was never meant to bear by its ingenious manufacturers. They would think it as reasonable to make a great coat of French gauze, as to turn a serious essay on one of their own stories.

Though Mr. Scott must, even in the present work, be deemed a severe censor of the French metropolis, we find him occasionally inclined to relax, and not only to praise the climate of Paris, but to bestow a few kind words on the political feeling of the inhabitants. He describes himself as much gratified by enjoying the air of a summer's evening in the garden of the Tuileries.

• In the middle of the clumps of the garden, there were numerous dancing parties of the Parisian young men and women. The dance is a circular one, the dancers joining hands and singing as they go round; — the songs were all loyal, — it seemed for a moment as if a heart had suddenly got into the people. The scene was highly animating and even affecting, and it became more so when the King appeared abruptly at a window, and presented himself to the cheering of the crowds below, regarding them with a mild beneficent expression of face. — I do not mention this last circumstance as a decisive proof of the loyal disposition of the public. — But there was something very agreeable in the external appearance of public enthusiasm, excited in favour of a lately-retained monarch, who had suffered many misfortunes and strange reverses. One did not feel inclined to break the spell at the moment; — the spectacle had the look of that of a father blessing his children, and of children expressing their love for a father. — Certainly there were discernible, in the public behaviour, certain signs that it would be very difficult to reconcile with any violent feeling against the Bourbons. A fierce-looking soldier stood in the crowd collected below the King's window on the Sunday evening; he stood there unconnected with any one else, as the relic of a destroyed system. He was heard to utter to himself an execration against the returned family. In an instant I saw him assailed with the utmost fury. It would be quite ridiculous to speak here of persons paid by the police; they were evidently self-animated who acted in this way. I endeavoured to notice what descriptions of the people were most active: they were those

of the bourgeois, — such as shopkeepers and their wives — the country folks who had come from the neighbourhood of Paris to enjoy the Sunday, — also all the young men who had not military decorations — and particularly the women. The soldier was only saved from their rough treatment, which they were carrying to a great length, by the arrival of the national guard, who took him off in custody. It is a fact, notorious to every one who has been in Paris, that all the windows of the print shops, and all the stalls of the boulevards, were crammed with caricatures against Buonaparte, and his friends, of the most cutting, and often of the most indecent description. The invention and execution of these might certainly be the work of the police, but if the general disposition of Paris was so warmly in favour of the cause which these prints traduced, as to threaten another national convulsion, would their exhibition lead to no paroxysm of popular indignation? Instead of their exciting any expression of disapprobation or disgust, they were all day surrounded by approving crowds, who seemed to take infinite delight in their bitterness. — In the theatres, when the air of *Vive Henri Quatre* was played, the peals of clapping were as fervent as those which were heard in the British play-houses when the Allied Monarchs visited them. — The ballad singers, too, would seem to put the real political sentiments of the commonalty to the test. I stopped one night to listen to two men on the quays, who were singing a comic description of Buonaparte's various flights; they did it with infinite fun and severity. One of them, in particular, was an admirable comedian; he frequently interrupted his companion, who was going correctly on with the regular words as if he had committed a blunder, and threw in an interpolation of his own, adding tenfold to the bitterness of the ridicule. The crowd was immense, and was most vociferously cordial in its mirth. All the individuals present seemed to enter with the greatest good-will into the satire, — and at any particularly sharp point their delight went beyond all bounds. The soldiers, on this occasion, seemed as pleased as the citizens. I assuredly saw in Paris indications which were sufficient to convince me, that, with the bulk of its middle classes, Buonaparte was not now popular, — and that, notwithstanding certain hankering after glory, and vague notions about the impropriety of priests, they were, nevertheless, conscious that the government of Louis the XVIIIth afforded them the best guarantee for national prosperity, and public liberty. It was very clear that the Emperor stood much higher in the people's estimation when he was at Elba, than he did after his return from that island. They attributed his first reverses to accident; they saw him treated with respect by the sovereigns of Europe, — retaining his titles, and exercising an independent sway in their neighbourhood. They could still solace themselves with the great achievements which he had led France to accomplish: — they had not been visited with enough of humiliation to impress them with any fear that their fame was not still pre-eminent over their misfortunes; — they retained all the public trophies, — and were, in the mean while, profiting to
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a very great degree by the peace. Their public means were thriving unprecedentedly, and they were thus invited to talk big of the past, by the satisfactory circumstances in which they found themselves left. — All this, however, was a very different thing from wishing the Emperor back, — though, until the trial was made, it seemed to indicate such a wish. It certainly appeared to me, when I was first in France, that there was an unaccountable bias in the popular mind towards the imperial sway : — the people, in conversation, sunk its atrocities, and dwelt fondly on its splendours : — but, as it turned out, this was only conversation. — The eleven months of the King's reign were the most fortunate that France had known for many years. I shall justify this assertion by particular facts : the common people at Amiens, who were in a starving state under Buonaparte, were in the habit of earning three francs a day under the King. On the re-appearance of the former from Elba, their daily wages instantly fell to seventeen sous, in the prospect of the consequences. The manufactures of Rouen were rapidly thriving under the royal government. A wholesale house in Paris, with the circumstances of which I had opportunities of being acquainted, sold to the amount of five thousand francs a week, in the months of January and February 1815, and scarcely disposed of goods for five hundred a week when Napoleon replaced himself. — It is very apparent, in the facts that have occurred, that Buonaparte was not supported by the French people ; and there is scarcely a public man of any reputation, who has not availed himself of some opportunity to state, that he never connected the hopes of his country, either as they related to domestic freedom or foreign respectability, with that person's return. — But there was an union of persons, strong in talent, and faithful in intention, that would gladly have improved the last revolution, which they were far from desiring, so as to have made it the occasion of stedfastly settling the form of their government on the sound principles of popular rights. Louis's act, giving a constitution to the French, when he first arrived among them, was, in its essence, arbitrary, — though in practice it afforded a much larger share of liberty to the subject than had ever before been permanently provided for in France. The nation, with this beginning, might easily have gone on improving its institutions, if it had been fortunate enough to acquire more judicious views, and sounder moral habits : — but the individuals are not to be blamed, who would have availed themselves of a change, in producing which they had no hand, to advance their political system a stage in the road of improvement.

This course of reasoning leads the writer to discuss the much-disputed question how Bonaparte found it possible to come back against the wish of the majority of the French nation. Like other speculators, Mr. Scott can solve this mystery only by the supposition of a conspiracy; at the bottom of which he places the former favourites of the Imperial usurper and their wives, who were, it appears, extremely impatient of the

air of importance assumed by the ladies of the old aristocracy after the return of Louis. Mr. S. would have been more correct, had he admitted that Bonaparte's success was the result of the unbiassed conduct of the soldiery; and that the male and female adherents, on whom he lays so much stress, came forwards only after the burst of military enthusiasm had brought their leader within the walls of Paris. We are by no means surprized, however, that even a double visit to France should have failed to give the author a thorough insight into the state of public feeling, or the causes of political changes. He himself remarks, indeed, with propriety, that

‘ Those who will open their eyes may soon see in France that information must be sought for any how but in direct testimony. A Frenchman can persuade himself of any thing in a moment, and he can get rid of an important belief as easily and quickly. The political conversations of the saloons are not worth a moment's attention except as curious specimens of national character: according to their party is the complexion of their chattering, — but, what with pleasant fabrications, that would in England be taken for serious roguery, — and grave discussions, that would in England be thought exquisite pleasantries, — the simple listener is sure to be misled, and, if he carries his recollection about with him, he must be astounded with the conflict of inconsistencies and the jarring of contradictory reports. He would shew himself more confident than wise, who should pretend to have gathered a thorough understanding of the public mind of France from one or two visits to Paris; but a careful noting of indirect and circumstantial evidence, — a close observation of facts, and a habit of reasoning upon them independently, I may safely say, will be found excellent preservatives against imposition, and perhaps the best methods of coming to something like correct notions of the present most extraordinary state of this most extraordinary people.’

The next subject of discussion is the removal of the pictures and statues from the Louvre. This topic, sufficiently interesting in itself, gains additional attractions in the present author's hands from his having been an actual spectator of the unravelling of the mystery. M. de Bignon, and the other commissioners who negotiated the capitulation of Paris, were anxious to provide a salvo for the retention of those admired monuments of art: but the Duke of Wellington declined to assent, and Prince Blucher bluntly repelled every attempt to insert a stipulation on the subject:

‘ From the first moment of his entrance into Paris, he proceeded spiritedly, and independently, in removing from the Louvre all that was in it of Prussian property: and the blanks on the walls shewed the daily progress of the French loss in this respect. The whole amount of it, however, would have been as nothing to the remainder of the collection, if the other members of the

alliance could have been induced to forbear, — and it was thought, by those who were interested in the retention, that the best way would be to keep very quiet as to the proceedings of Prussia, — to affect to take no notice of them whatever, — hoping that silence might cause the affair to die away after the first removals were over, — and that either the dull indifference or the singular good-nature of the states of Europe, might yet leave to Paris the darling boast of being the capital of the world as to Fine Art.

‘ For some time there was reason to suspect that this manœuvre would be successful. — Indeed no Frenchman permitted himself to entertain the slightest doubt of the consciousness of the Allies, when first masters of the French capital, that they were far too weak to repossess themselves of what was held in it as trophies of their defeat. “ You knew well, that we should have arisen as one man to destroy you, if you had dared to lay hands on what every inhabitant of France feels to be his honor, his pride, his delight, his existence.” —

‘ It certainly seemed, however, as if the Allies at least hesitated very much, to mortify this offensive vanity. Every day new arrivals of strangers poured into Paris, all anxiety to gain a view of the Louvre before its collection was broken up; it was the first point to which all the British directed their steps every morning, in eager curiosity to know whether the business of removal had commenced. — The towns and principalities, that had been plundered, were making sedulous exertions to influence the councils of the Allies to determine on a general restoration; and several of the great Powers leaned decidedly towards such a decision.’ —

‘ Before actual force was employed, representations were repeated to the French government, — but the ministers of the King of France would neither promise due satisfaction, nor uphold a strenuous opposition. They shewed a sulky disregard of every application. A deputation from the Netherlands formally claimed the Dutch and Flemish pictures taken during the revolutionary wars from these countries; and this demand was conveyed through the Duke of Wellington, as Commander-in-Chief of the Dutch and Belgian armies. About the same time, also, Austria determined that her Italian and German towns, which had been despoiled, should have their property replaced, — and Canova, the anxious representative of Rome, after many fruitless appeals to Talleyrand, received assurances that he, too, should be furnished with an armed force sufficient to protect him in taking back to that venerable city, what lost its highest value in its removal from thence.

‘ Conflicting reports continued to prevail among the crowds of strangers and natives as to the intentions of the Allies, — but on Saturday, the 23d of September, all doubt was removed. On going up to the door of the Louvre, I found a guard of 150 British riflemen drawn up outside. I asked one of the soldiers what they were there for? “ Why, they tell me Sir, that they mean to take away the pictures,” was his reply. I walked in amongst the statues below. In one of the halls, I found two

brown-complexioned, stout, good natured looking women, the wives of English soldiers, examining, very curiously, the large reclining figure of the Tiber; one of them exclaimed with a laugh, "See how the young devils run over his body!" — On going to the great stair-case, I saw the English guard hastily tramping up its magnificent ascent:—a crowd of astounded French followed in their rear, — and, from above, many of the visitors to the Gallery of Pictures were attempting to force their way past the ascending soldiers, catching an alarm from their sudden entrance. — The alarm, however, was unfounded — but the spectacle that presented itself was very impressive. A British officer dropped his men in files along this magnificent gallery, until they extended, two and two, at small distances, from its entrance to its extremity. All the spectators were breathless, in eagerness to know what was to be done, — but the soldiers stopped as machines, having no care beyond obedience to their orders. —

'The work of removal now commenced in good earnest: porters with barrows, and ladders, and tackles of ropes made their appearance. The collection of the Louvre might from that moment be considered as broken up for ever. The sublimity of its orderly aspect vanished: it took now the melancholy, confused, dissolute air of a large auction room after a day's sale. Before this, the visitors had walked down its profound length with a sense of respect on their minds, influencing them to preserve silence and decorum, as they contemplated the majestic pictures: but decency and quiet were dispelled when the signal was given for the break-up of the establishment. It seemed as if a nation had become ruined through improvidence, and was selling off.

'The guarding of the Louvre was committed by turns to the British and Austrians, while this process lasted. The Prussians said that they had done their own business for themselves, and would not now incur odium for others. — The workmen being incommoded by the crowds that now rushed to the Louvre, as the news spread of the destruction of its great collection, a military order came that no visitors should be admitted without permission from the foreign commandant of Paris. This direction was pretty strictly adhered to by the sentinels as far as the exclusion of the French, — but the words *Je suis Anglais*, were always sufficient to gain leave to pass from the Austrians: — our own countrymen were rather more strict, — but, in general, foreigners could, with but little difficulty, procure admission. The Parisians stood in crowds around the door, looking wistfully within it, as it occasionally opened to admit Germans, English, Russians, &c. into a palace of their capital from which they were excluded. I was frequently asked by French gentlemen, standing with ladies on their arms, and kept back from the door by the guards, to take them in to their own Louvre, under my protection as an unknown foreigner! It was impossible not to feel for them in these remarkable circumstances of mortification and humiliation; and the agitation of the French public was now evidently excessive. Every Frenchman looked a walking volcano, ready to spit forth fire. Groups of the

common people collected in the space before the Louvre, and a spokesman was generally seen, exercising the most violent gesticulations, sufficiently indicative of rage, and listened to by the others with lively signs of sympathy with his passion. As the packages came out, they crowded round them, giving vent to torrents of *pestes, diables, sacres*, and other worse interjections.

No description can convey an exaggerated idea of the distress of the Parisians at the removal of their favourite monuments. The Duke of Wellington, hitherto the theme of their incessant praise, was now destined to become the object of all their sarcasms, and the burden of every idle tale current in that credulous metropolis. England was to have the choicest statues, the Venus and the Apollo! The French would not hear a doubt whispered on this head: — for what other reason should she who had lost nothing interfere to break up the collection? The females, accustomed to occupy a prominent place in all matters of business in France, made themselves conspicuous also on this occasion; and the British General, when looking around him in a drawing room, was said to have been told by a young lady, “*Ne regardez pas, Milord, il n’y a rien à prendre ici.*”

‘Wherever an Englishman went in Paris, at this time, — whether into a shop, or a company, he was assailed with the exclamation — “*Ah! vos compatriotes!*” — and the ladies had always some wonderful story to tell him, of an embarrassment or a mortification that had happened to his duke; of the evil designs of the Prince Regent, or the dreadful revenge that was preparing against the injuries of France. — The great gallery of the Louvre presented every fresh day a more and more forlorn aspect; but it combined a number of interesting points of view, and for reflection. — The Gallery now seemed to be the abode of all the foreigners in the French capital: — we collected there, as a matter of course, every morning, — but it was easy to distinguish the last comers from the rest. They entered the Louvre with steps of eager haste, and looks of anxious inquiry: they seemed to have scarcely stopped by the way, — and to have made directly for the pictures on the instant of their reaching Paris. The first view of the stripped walls made their countenances sink under the disappointment, as to the great object of their journey. — Crowds collected round the *Transfiguration*, — that picture which, according to the French account, *destiny* had always intended for the French nation: — it was every one’s wish to see it taken down, for the fame which this great work of Raphael had acquired, and its notoriety in the general knowledge, caused its departure to be regarded as the consummation of the destruction of the Picture Gallery of the Louvre. It was taken away among the last.

‘Students of all nations fixed themselves round the principal pictures, anxious to complete their copies before the workmen came

came to remove the originals. Many young French girls were seen among these, perched up on small scaffolds, and calmly pursuing their labours in the midst of the throng and bustle. — When the French gallery was thoroughly cleared of the property of other nations, I reckoned the number of pictures which then remained to it, — and found that the total left to the French nation, of the fifteen hundred paintings which constituted their magnificent collection, — was *two hundred and seventy-four*! The Italian division comprehended about eighty-five specimens; these were now dwindled to *twelve*: — in this small number, however, there are some very exquisite pictures by Raphael, and other great masters. Their Titians are much reduced, — but they keep the Entombment, as belonging to the King of France's old collection, which is one of the finest by that artist. A melancholy air of utter ruin mantled over the walls of this superb gallery: — the floor was covered with empty frames, — a Frenchman, in the midst of his sorrow, had his joke, in saying, — “Well, we should not have left to *them* even these!” In walking down this exhausted place, I observed a person, wearing the insignia of the legion of honour, suddenly stop short, and heard him exclaim, — “*Ah, my God, — and the Paul Potter, too!*” This referred to the famous painting of a bull, by that master, which is the largest of his pictures, and is very highly valued. It belonged to the Netherlands, and has returned to them. It was said that the Emperor Alexander offered fifteen thousand pounds for it.

‘The removals of the statues were longer of commencing, and took up more time; — they were still packing these up when I quitted Paris. I saw the Venus, the Apollo, and the Laocoon removed: these may be deemed the presiding deities of the collection. The solemn antique look of these halls fled for ever, when the workmen came in with their straw, and plaster of Paris, to pack up. The French could not, for some time, allow themselves to believe that their enemies would dare to deprive them of these sacred works: — it appeared to them impossible that they should be separated from France — from *la France* — the country of the Louvre and the Institute; — it seemed a contingency beyond the limits of human reverses. But it happened nevertheless: — they were all removed. One afternoon, before quitting the palace, I accidentally stopped longer than usual to gaze on the Venus, and I never saw so clearly her superiority over the Apollo, the impositions of whose style, even more than the great beauties with which they are mingled, have gained for it an inordinate and indiscriminating admiration. On this day, very few, if any of the statues had been taken away, — and many said that France would retain them, although she was losing the pictures. On the following morning I returned, and the pedestal on which the Venus had stood for so many years, the pride of Paris, and the delight of every observer, was vacant! It seemed as if a soul had taken its flight from a body.’

We cannot leave this extract without observing that Mr. S. is in a great minority when he prefers the Venus to the Apollo;

Apollon; it being an almost universal remark that, while the former disappoints, the latter surpasses the expectation of the spectator. It is satisfactory to find, from the evidence of an eye-witness, that no material injury (p. 334.) was incurred by any of the pictures in their removal; and that nothing was taken from the collection that did not belong originally to foreign countries. The French, under the poignancy of disappointment, poured forth the most bitter charges in that respect against the Prussians: but we are confidently assured (p. 358.) that, with the exception of a few maps and models of the fortified towns on the French frontier, seized by the more unceremonious of our allies, no species of French property was removed. An amicable spirit prevailed in the arrangements with the Dutch and Flemish deputies respecting the great cabinet of Natural History; the French being left in possession of almost all that had been taken from the Stadtholder's collection, on condition of making up a stock of equal value from duplicates of their own. By this means the admirable collection in the *Jardin des Plantes* at Paris remains complete; while Holland is, on her part, sufficiently indemnified, having received such a number of animal specimens as enable the student to carry his progress in that department to a very considerable length.

But the bitterest mortification of the people of Paris yet remains to be described. The well-known horses, taken from the church of St. Mark in Venice, had been peculiarly the objects of popular pride and admiration. — Being exposed in the public view, in one of the most public situations of Paris, this was esteemed the noblest trophy belonging to the capital, — and there was not a Parisian vender of a pailful of water, who did not look like a hero when the Venetian horses were spoken of.

"Have you heard what has been determined about the horses?" was every foreigner's question: — "Oh they cannot mean to take the horses away," was every Frenchman's remark. On the morning of Thursday the 26th of September, however, it was whispered that they had been at work all night in loosening them from their fastenings. It was soon confirmed that this was true, — and the French then had nothing left for it, but to vow, that if the Allies were to attempt to touch them in the *slightest*, Paris would rise at once, exterminate its enemies, and rescue its honor. On Friday morning, I walked through the square: it was clear that some considerable change had taken place; the effect of the forms of the horses was finer than I had ever before seen it. While looking to discover what had been done, — a private of the British staff corps came up. "You see, Sir, we took away the harness last night," said he. — "You have made a great improvement by so doing," I replied: — "but are the British employed on this work?" The man said that the Austrians had requested the

the assistance of our staff corps, — for it included better workmen than any they had in their service. I heard that an angry French mob had given some trouble to the people employed on the Thursday night, — but that a body of Parisian gendarmerie had dispersed the assemblage. The Frenchmen continued their sneers against the Allies for working in the dark: fear and shame were the causes assigned. “If you take them at all, why not take them in the face of day? — But you are too wise to drag upon yourselves the irresistible popular fury which such a sight would excite against you!”

‘On the night of Friday, the order of proceeding was entirely changed. It had been found proper to call out a strong guard of Austrians, horse and foot. The mob had been charged by the cavalry, — and it was said, that several had their limbs broken. I expected to find the place on Saturday morning quiet and open as usual; — but when I reached its entrance what an impressive scene presented itself! The delicate plan, — for such in truth it was, — of working by night was now over. The Austrians had wished to spare the feelings of the King of France the pain of seeing his capital dismantled before his palace windows, where he passed in his carriage when he went out for his daily exercise. But the insolent ignorance of the people rendered severer measures necessary. My companion and myself were stopped from entering the place by Austrian dragoons: a large mob of Frenchmen were collected here, standing on tip-toe to catch the Arch in the distance, on the top of which the ominous sight of numbers of workmen, busy about the horses, was plainly to be distinguished. We advanced again to the soldiers: some of the French, by whom we were surrounded, said, “Whoever you are, you will not be allowed to pass.” I confess I was for retiring, — for the whole assemblage, citizens and soldiers, seemed to wear an angry alarming aspect. But my companion was eager for admittance. He was put back again by an Austrian hussar: — “*What, not the English!*” he exclaimed in his own language. The mob laughed loudly when they heard the foreign soldier so addressed: — but, the triumph was ours; — way was instantly made for us, — and an officer, on duty close by, touched his helmet as we passed. —

‘The King and the Princes had left the Thuilleries, to be out of the view of so mortifying a business. The court of the Palace, which used to be gay with young *Gardes du Corps* and equipages, was now silent, deserted, and shut up. Not a soul moved in it. The top of the Arch was filled with people, and the horses, though as yet all there, might be seen to begin to move. The carriages, that were to take them away, were in waiting below, and a tackle of ropes was already affixed to one. The small door, leading to the top, was protected by a strong guard: every one was striving to obtain permission to gratify his curiosity, by visiting the horses for the last time that they could be visited in this situation. Permission, however, could necessarily be granted but to few. I was of the fortunate number. In a minute I had climbed the narrow dark stair, ascended a small ladder, and was out on the top, with the most

most picturesque view before me that can be imagined. An English lady asked me to assist her into Buonaparte's Car of Victory: his own statue was to have been placed in it, *when he came back a conqueror from his Russian expedition!* I followed the lady and her husband into the car, and we found a Prussian officer there before us. He looked at us, and with a good-humoured smile, said, "The Emperor kept the English out of France, but the English have now got where he could not! — *Ah, pauvre Napoleon!*" —

The cry of the French now was, that it was abominable, execrable, to insult the King in his palace, — to insult him in the face of his own subjects, by removing the horses in the face of day! I adjourned with a friend to dine at a *Restaurateur's*, near the garden of the Thuilleries, after witnessing what I have described. Between seven and eight in the evening, we heard the rolling of wheels, the clatter of cavalry, and the tramp of infantry. A number of British were in the room: they all rose and rushed to the door, without hats, and carrying in their haste their white table napkins in their hands. The horses were going past, in military procession, lying on their sides in separate cars. First came cavalry, then infantry, then a car; — then more cavalry; more infantry, then another car, — and so on, till all the four past. The drums were beating, — and the standards went waving by. This was the only appearance of parade, that attended any of the removals. Three Frenchmen, seeing the groupe of English, came up to us, — and began a conversation. They appealed to us if this was not shameful. A gentleman observed, that the horses were only going back to the place from whence the French had taken them: — if there was a right in power for France, — there must also be one for other states: — but the better way to consider these events, was, as terminating the times of robbery and discord. Two of them seemed much inclined to come instantly round to our opinion: — but one was much more consistent. He appeared an officer, and was advanced beyond the middle age of life. He kept silence for a moment, and then, with strong emphasis said, — "You have left me nothing for my children but hatred against England; this shall be my legacy to them." — "Sir," it was replied, — "it will do your children no good, and England no injury."

The different and copious extracts which we have made, and other passages, (pp. 57. 395. 398.) suffice to shew that Mr. Scott is always capable of an ingenious and not unfrequently of a judicious and temperate course of observation. In fact, we may with perfect justice give him credit for an impartial statement of all that he had an opportunity of seeing personally, or wherever his time was sufficient to enable him to collect the materials for forming a judgment: — but, in bearing this testimony in his favour, we must add that we have gone as far as critical impartiality will allow; since, whatever may be his descriptive powers, readers of taste will

will find themselves frequently mortified by the extremes, and sometimes by the puerilities, into which he is apt to fall. What can be said in defence of such a passage as that (p. 351.) which dwells on the Venetian horses as 'turning their unmoved faces to the Paris populace;' or which describes (p. 327.) the pictures of Raphael and Titian as 'looking with tranquil dignity on crowds of soldiers preparing to remove them from their places on the walls of the Louvre Gallery?' The best parts of the book are those in which Mr. S. makes a literal record of conversations, and forbears to attempt to deck them out in false colours for the sake of giving them an air of importance. This is strikingly exemplified in the report (p. 253.) of his nocturnal dialogue with two Highland soldiers at Peronne; whose complaints of what they considered as over-rigid discipline on the part of the Duke of Wellington are very naturally and characteristically expressed.

ART. III. *The Battle of Waterloo*, containing the Series of Accounts published by Authority, British and Foreign, with Circumstantial Details, relative to the Battle, from a Variety of Authentic and Original Sources, with connected Official Documents, forming an Historical Record of the Operations in the Campaign of the Netherlands, 1815. To which are added the Names alphabetically arranged, of the Officers killed and wounded, from 15th to 26th June, 1815, and the total Loss of each Regiment, with an Enumeration of the Waterloo Honours and Privileges, conferred upon the Men and Officers, and Lists of Regiments, &c. entitled thereto. Illustrated by a Panoramic Sketch of the Field of Battle, and a Plan of the Positions at Waterloo, at different Periods, with a General Plan of the Campaign. By a Near Observer. Ninth Edition, corrected and improved. 8vo. 15s. Boards. Booth. 1816.

THE glorious "field of Waterloo" has been so often described, that little novelty is to be expected from any account given to the public at this comparatively late period; and we shall accordingly refrain from entering into the details of that memorable day, except in as far as they conduce to illustrate some tactical observations which appear to have escaped the attention of former writers. Much has been said in praise of the talents of our commander, and the gallantry of our troops: but scarcely any one has made a point of specifying, in a clear and connected detail, the dependence of one event on another; or has tried to analyze, with the deliberate eye of an historian, the causes to which our triumph is to be attributed. The time is now come to exchange the enthusiasm

siasm of admiration for calm inquiry; and, without pretending to many other sources of information than such as are furnished by the various official reports and the printed letters of individual officers, we shall contribute our humble endeavours towards preparing a more precise colouring than has yet been given to this dazzling picture. We may thus hope to enable our readers to form their decision with regard to several interesting questions, which are still introduced as doubtful in print or in conversation; and, if we do not seem to rival some cotemporary writers in high-sounding panegyrics on our army, we shall not be backward in tracing and pointing out the distinguishing features of its superiority: — assured that, the more close is our examination, the more substantial will be found that basis on which rest both the pride of our troops and the security of our country.

It appears that the disposable force of the allies in Belgium in June 1815, making the necessary allowance for detachments and garrisons, was about 170,000 men; of whom 100,000 were under Marshal Blücher and 70,000 under the Duke of Wellington. The Prussians, impatient to fight, had made the greatest exertions to bring up their troops; and on our side the activity had been equal, but a considerable portion of our army was in America or on the passage home. Against this formidable array, Bonaparte took the field at the head of nearly 140,000 men, of whom about 25,000 were cavalry; relying on the ardour, the experience, and the uniformity of his troops, to counterbalance the numerical superiority of his opponents. A considerable part of the Prussians, however, consisted of new levies, or *landwehr*, and Belgians and Germans could not be said to amalgamate thoroughly with the British: but Bonaparte's principal hope rested on celerity of movement, and on the chance which he thus gained of striking a decisive blow against an enemy scattered over an extent of sixty miles, and subject to the want of concert that attends a divided command.

The French troops concentrated themselves by rapid marches between the 10th and 14th of June, so as to be able on the morning of the 15th to move forwards, if not in collected force, at least in a manner which made their different attacks support each other, and draw towards a common centre in the course of the day. They appear to have succeeded in concealing for several hours both the magnitude of their force and the scope of their movements; since the first Prussian courier, who reached Brussels in the evening of the 15th, did not convey a positive assurance that it was the mass of the French that were advancing on Charleroi. Enough, however,

however, was signified to make the Duke of W. take immediate steps for preparing the troops to march; and when, a few hours afterward, the arrival of intelligence from other quarters shewed the movement against the Prussians to be the real attack, orders were issued for the whole British force to "march to the left," that is in the direction of Nivelles and Quatre Bras, places situated nearly 25 miles south of Brussels. This second order was delivered to our different corps in the course of the night; so that in some places by three and in others by four o'clock in the morning of the 16th the infantry was in motion. They held their course straight forwards, without halting for refreshment, until they had advanced eighteen or twenty miles; and they were even then prevented from making a meal, the noise of the distant cannon, followed by the arrival of express orders from the Duke, urging them on to the scene of conflict. As they continued to advance, they met from time to time waggons of wounded, or saw lying by the road-side numbers of similar sufferers, partly British, but chiefly Germans, a brigade of whom had been stationed at Frasne, the most advanced point under the Duke's command. He himself had set out from Brussels at seven in the morning.

Battles of Quatre Bras and Ligny.—The Duke arrived some time before his troops at Quatre Bras, a post of great importance at the meeting of four roads, one of which led to the Prussian army. He had the mortification, however, to find that the van of the French under Ney had not only advanced along the last-mentioned road, but were proceeding to pour their *tirailleurs* into a wood that flanked the position of Quatre Bras, in the hope of throwing into disorder the British reinforcements as they successively came up. It was between two and three in the afternoon* when our troops, first the Highlanders from Brussels, and next the Guards from Enghien, began to arrive at the scene of action; and the Duke immediately caused the wood to be attacked. We succeeded in driving the enemy out of it: but our want of artillery and cavalry (neither of which had come up) prevented us from pushing the French with success; so that a considerable time was passed in an alternation of advance and retreat, with heavy loss on both sides.

* Soon after three o'clock, the Duke of Wellington rode into that part of the field of battle which is close to the village of Quatre Bras. He was followed by his staff, which was not however very numerous. He halted a few yards in front of the 92d regiment,

* See the Duke of Wellington's dispatch.

and

and exposed to a very heavy fire of round shot and grape. He spoke little or nothing; his look was that of a man quite cool, but serious, and perhaps something anxious. He looked intently at various parts of the field where there was firing going on, and often pulled out his watch, as if calculating on the arrival of the regiments not yet come up. He said something, at one of these times, about when the cavalry might be expected. The shot, in the mean while, was plunging into, and along, the ground, close to him. He had not been long in the field before the arm of a gentleman, with whom he had just been in conversation, was carried off by a ball. The sufferer was instantly removed, — but his Grace was not observed to take any notice of the unpleasant affair. It is thought a good, and even humane rule, to act in this apparently unconscious way, in these situations where neither spirits nor time must be wasted: all the relief that can be given to the injured is in waiting for them, and expressions of sympathy, or even its appearance, would but dissipate attention, and perhaps subdue courage. — Shortly after the first-mentioned accident occurred at Quatre Bras, the Duke dismounted from his horse, and causing his staff to do the same, sat upon the ground for a short time. The regiments, as they came up, entered the field by the road near which his Grace was: the balls were perpetually flying in amongst them. — The Brunswick cavalry were charged back upon this point by the French cuirassiers. The Duke retired from before their charge. — These cuirassiers received some terrible fires as they approached the infantry: men and horses came tumbling down in heaps. — Some of them made their way to the very rear of our lines, and two or three came back galloping, shouting, and brandishing their swords. They received the whole fire of a battalion. One man still kept on his horse. He had the hardihood to cut with his sword at the infantry as he passed. A Hanoverian met him in combat and wounded him: he would not give up his sword but to an officer, — his enemy was on the point of putting him to death, when one of our officers interfered and saved his life.

‘The Duke again took up his old ground: — the battle was now spreading. An officer belonging to the battalion close behind his Grace, suddenly observed a large column of French infantry approaching. He exclaimed hastily and loudly — “There is a body of them!” The Duke heard what was said, and gently, without any alteration of manner, turned his horse’s head in the direction to which the officer pointed, and moved slowly that way. “Yes,” said he, “there is a considerable body there — a considerable number indeed.” Then, without altering his quiet tone, — “Colonel, you must charge.” — The charge was made, and other charges succeeded, the whole of which were successful, but scarcely a wreck of that gallant battalion returned.” — (J. Scott, *Paris Revisited*, pp. 125 — 130.)

Both armies had marched a long distance on that day. It was the object of Bonaparte to make Ney stop the advance of the British far from the Prussians, in the hope of accomplishing the total overthrow of the latter; and his instructions to that

Marshal, without containing a communication of his whole plan, directed him to push on and to fight the British wherever he found them. The D. of Wellington's determination, on the other hand, was, whatever might be the object or strength of the force opposed to him, to exert every nerve to co-operate with Blücher; not by a vain attempt to march seven miles farther to join him, but by giving full occupation to the army under Ney. Both sides thus fought straight forwards without any accurate knowledge of the strength of their opponents; the French having the advantage in point of numbers and preparation at the outset, but the British gradually becoming stronger as their succours came up. The encounters took place partly in the wood and partly in the adjacent fields, which were covered at this season with a crop of rye, of such a height as to prevent on our side a correct observation of the adverse movements, and to add materially to the confusion of the scene. Several sudden charges were made by the French cavalry, all of which were met with courage by our regiments, but with greater or less loss according to their state of readiness for action. On the whole, however, the French were very roughly handled, and had been driven from a part of the contested ground, when Ney sent to order up immediately a body of 25,000 men, which had arrived within two miles of the scene of action: but he had the mortification to learn that they had been marched back to the main army under Bonaparte; and, although they were returned as soon as possible by the latter, the services of a most important corps were lost to the French at a time when they were most wanted. They passed the evening in marching backwards and forwards; while, had they either been employed by Bonaparte against the Prussians or by Ney against the British, the loss of the allies would have been, beyond doubt, very greatly increased. In consequence, however, of their being withdrawn, the British retained possession of the ground which they had gained*, and, their cavalry and artillery coming up in the evening, were prepared to renew the battle with great vigour on the next day. The force engaged did not on either side exceed 20,000 men; and the loss was proportionably very heavy, that of the Duke being in killed, wounded, and prisoners nearly 5000; that of Ney considerably greater.

The battle of Ligny was both on a larger scale and between armies in a better state for the contest, the Prussians having occupied the ground some time before, and the French not having had so far to march in this direction as towards Quatre Bras. Ligny, if we may judge from the opinion of Drouot,

* See the French official account.

or from what is unfortunately much more conclusive, the extent of the Prussian loss, was in several points an exposed position. The slopes on which their masses of infantry were drawn up laid them open to the ravages of the French artillery, while the enemy were in a great measure protected from the cannonade by the sinuosities of the ground. Of the opposing forces on this day, the numbers appear to have been nearly equal; the Prussians acknowledging an army of 80,000 men, and Bonaparte attacking them with two corps d'armée and the guards, the total of whom, even in a complete state, could not exceed that amount. The fighting was marked not by manœuvring on either side, but by extreme impetuosity in the French and extreme obstinacy in the Prussians. As the former had succeeded in the outset in gaining possession of the village of St. Amand on the Prussian right, the great efforts of Blücher were directed to re-occupy this ground; he partly succeeded; and it was at this critical time that Bonaparte took the determination to order round the 25,000 men whom he had placed at Ney's disposal. The battle now raged along the whole line; Blücher was obliged to call successively all his reserves into action; and Bülow's corps not coming up as expected, it became indispensable to order a retreat, at the time when the French reserve, consisting of the guards, began to penetrate to his rear. It was now nearly nine o'clock at night, and the retreat took place without much disorder, the French soon desisting from the pursuit. The loss of the Prussians was extremely heavy, — not less than 20,000 men in killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the French nearly 10,000.

In the night of the 16th, the conversation in the enemy's camp turned on the events of this sanguinary day. The Prussians had given way; and how had it happened that the British, whom the French had made sure of defeating, had gained ground? It was owing, said the infantry-officers, to the inferiority of the French in number, and to the cavalry not having boldly repeated their charges; "*ils n'avoient pas franchement abordé l'infanterie.*" Marshal Ney has declared his opinion that, had Bonaparte, on the 16th, directed his preponderating force against Quatre Bras, he would have overpowered the British, without incurring great danger from the Prussians, who might have been watched or opposed by the remainder of the French. He should, however, have taken into the account that such a movement could not have escaped the observation of the Prussians, or of the British van-guard; that our regiments would have received orders to halt before they reached Quatre Bras; that, the march of the French being thus unavoidably lengthened, the action could not have begun

begun till late in the afternoon; and that, on the next day, Blucher would not have failed to have burst through the opposing division of the enemy and have marched to our support. It must at the same time be admitted that the extent of mischief might have been fully as serious in this case as in that which actually took place, and would have been owing in both to the same cause.

This cause forms one of the principal points that we shall endeavour to discuss. It is a very general notion, even among the Duke of Wellington's admirers, that at the outset of the operations he allowed himself to be taken by surprise, and some of them have gone so far as to apologize for him by throwing the blame on Fouché: who, it is gravely alleged, sent a female with an exact plan of Bonaparte's operations to the frontier, but managed so that her arrival at the British headquarters should not take place till *after* the battle of Quatre Bras. (*Paul's Letters*, p. 92.) Some sagacious politicians imagine that Fouché acted thus in order that he might *keep in* with both parties: but the fact will be found to be that the Duke of Wellington, like other eminent commanders, would not place much faith in intelligence received from sources that may so easily be corrupted. Frederick II. was surprized at Hochkirchen, in consequence (it is said) of his secret correspondent in the Austrian camp being discovered by Marshal Daun and obliged to send him a false dispatch *: but, be this as it may, the truth is that the greatest military successes are obtained not by relying on such precarious information, but by vigilance and activity in watching the enemy's movements. If ever a General was fitted for the intriguing business of *espionnage*, it was Bonaparte; yet, if we scrutinize the causes of his mightiest victories, whether in his memorable campaign of 1796, in his capture of Mack in 1805, or in the movements that led to the still more disastrous day of Jena, we shall perceive that the whole may be explained without a reference to such mysterious communications. It admits of no doubt that at the battle of Quatre Bras our troops were in a very unprepared state: but the explanation of this fact will be found to involve very little censure on a General who had been always distinguished, when commanding separately, for his promptitude in point of information. The Duke seems to have erred in nothing but in placing too much confidence in the vigilance of the officers, whether Prussian, Belgian, or British, who were stationed on the frontier: but the great cause of our fighting unprepared is to be sought in the temper

* See the article on Gley's *Journey into Germany and Poland*, in the APPENDIX to our lxxxth Volume, published with this Review.

of a veteran glowing with all the impatience of youth to come into contact with the oppressors of his country, and determined to fight in Flanders, as he had done in Champagne, without allowing much time for the co-operation of his allies.

The plan of the Prussians, against so active an enemy as Bonaparte, should have been to place in the advanced positions such small bodies of horse or foot as might have made a temporary resistance, during the two days that were evidently necessary to collect the numerous bodies of the allied troops scattered over an extent of fifty or sixty miles. These detachments might have been ordered to retreat, or authorized to surrender, as soon as their commanders had ascertained the decided superiority of the enemy, and could transmit such intelligence to head-quarters as would enable the allied Generals to determine with confidence the real direction of Bonaparte's march. On this system, the day for a general action would have been the 17th; by which time all the allied troops might have arrived, from right and left, at a central position on the Brussels road in the neighbourhood of Waterloo or Genappe. Blucher, however, chose to try the fate of arms on the 16th, without calculating the time required by the British to arrive, and even without waiting for one of the divisions of his own army. "The Marshal's plan," says the Prussian official account, "was to fight a general engagement with the enemy *as soon as possible*. On the 16th, Bulow's corps had been delayed in its march, and had not yet come up; nevertheless, the Field-Marshal resolved to give battle:"—a resolution in which he persisted without considering that the British General was not on the frontier but at Brussels.

No time appears to have been lost by the Duke in acting on the intelligence transmitted to him by the Prussians. It reached him only on the evening of the 15th, and our troops (at least our infantry) began their march from all points at daylight on the 16th. Had the assembling of the French force been made from the east, the Duke would have had less hesitation in directing his march immediately towards the Prussians: but a great part of the enemy came from the west, and might have threatened Brussels by a shorter road than that which they actually took. The consequence of making a stand in so advanced a position as Ligny was that, as early as the forenoon of the 16th, Ney's vanguard was in possession of the great road of communication between the British and the Prussians. The intercourse of the two armies was thus interrupted; so that the Duke remained during the whole of the succeeding night in uncertainty as to

the issue of the battle of Ligny. A patrol sent by his Grace in the direction of Ligny, in the morning of the 17th, seems to have brought him the first account of Blücher's retreat: it was confirmed by a Prussian aide-de-camp some time afterward, but too late to save the double labour of first bringing up our artillery, and afterward dragging it back all the way to Waterloo.

In thus animadverting on the over-eagerness of Blücher, we must not be deemed insensible to the merits of that gallant and estimable veteran. His fierce impetuous mode of fighting had great effect in checking and enfeebling the French; which was apparent, among other things, by Bonaparte's finding it necessary to call to his assistance on the 16th the corps of 25,000 men from under the command of Ney.

Battle of Waterloo.—The early part of the 17th had been devoted by the British to bringing in their wounded companions, and preparing for a new conflict at *Quatre Bras*: but, on receiving intelligence from the Prussians, the main body of our army began to retreat about ten o'clock. The day passed without any action, except at the village of Genappe; where the French cuirassiers and lancers having *debouched* from a lane, a charge was ordered first with our hussars, which did not succeed, and afterward with our heavy horse, the result of which was completely favourable. After a fatiguing march of twelve miles, our army reached the eminences of Mont St. Jean; when, as if to complete their hardships, they were saluted by a very heavy fall of rain, which deluged the ground and made their night's bivouac extremely uncomfortable. The evening was occupied by the different divisions in repairing to their respective posts, and in making various preparations for the expected attack of the next day.

The intelligence of Blücher's retreat had been accompanied by a notice that it was to be made on Wavre, a place distant twelve miles from Waterloo; and that by the 19th the Prussians would be in a state to act with vigour against the French*: but an interval of two days was not to be passed with impunity in the face of such an enemy as Bonaparte. He had now great hopes of accomplishing his desired object of fighting the British separate and unsupported; and he detached under Grouchy 40,000 men who had fought at Ligny, with orders to follow the track of the Prussians, to occupy them as Ney had occupied the British on the 16th,

* See the account of the battle of Waterloo, by Don Miguel Alava, the Spanish General accompanying the Duke of Wellington. and

and to prevent their moving to the right to the assistance of their allies. Proceeding himself with his fresh troops in the direction of our army, he employed the 17th less in pressing on our rear than in making every arrangement for the decisive conflict of the succeeding day. Notwithstanding the torrents of rain, and the wretched state of the roads, the French army and artillery were moved forwards from their respective positions fifteen, sixteen, or eighteen miles along the road to Waterloo. The van, accompanied (as usual) by Bonaparte in person, reached the ground opposite to our army in the evening, and a partial cannonade took place between their light artillery and the guns planted in our position. Sufficient day-light remained to enable the French staff-officers to reconnoitre our situation: but the main body of their army passed the night at Genappe, and in the villages, a considerable way in the rear. Much, then, remained to be done on the morning of the 18th in bringing up both troops and artillery; otherwise Bonaparte, who strongly felt the value of the interval, would have begun the action at an earlier hour.

The Duke of Wellington had very decisive reasons for trying the issue of a battle at Waterloo. He was acquainted with the position, having previously had it surveyed in the contemplation of its becoming the scene of an engagement: he was assured of Blücher's alacrity to co-operate with him; and he might calculate that, even after an ample allowance for bad roads and unfavourable weather, the Prussians, setting out in the morning, would arrive at the scene of action by two, three, or four o'clock in the afternoon. Besides, Brussels could be defended only by fighting at Waterloo. Our position there was favourable, not in its front, the slope being too slight to impede a charge of horse or the advance of a column of foot, but from its compact nature, as it did not extend in all above two miles, and was covered on the right and left by ravines. It had one more advantage which was not put to the test;—that of providing for the eventual preservation of the army in case of the most unfavourable alternative. "What would have been the consequence," said an officer to the Duke, after the battle, "if by misfortune the position had been carried?"—"We had the wood behind to retreat into."—"And if the wood also was forced?"—"No, no; they could never have so beaten us but we could have made good the wood against them." (See *Paul's Letters*, p. 172.)

In front, the British position had only two small out-works, one in the centre consisting of a farm-house called

la Haye Sainte; the other to the right, of greater consequence, and so well known of late under the name of Hougomont. In drawing up our troops, the Duke mixed the Belgian and Hanoverian regiments in every part of the position with regiments of British, so as to give them the full benefit of the example and support of our gallant countrymen: the front consisting almost throughout of infantry formed in squares, each side several files deep, with directions to preserve that order whatever might be their loss, by drawing closer as their ranks were thinned. Between the squares, considerable spaces were left for the purpose of enabling the battalions to deploy when ordered into line; as well as for affording our cavalry an opening when advancing from the rear to charge the disordered enemy. The squares being placed *en echiquier*, (like a chess-board,) a body of cavalry venturing to penetrate through an opening exposed itself to a fire in front from the square behind that interval, and to a discharge on each flank from those which it passed. So desperate an attempt would not have been made by ordinary cavalry: but the cuirassiers, confiding in the protection of their armour, frequently tried the deadly experiment, in vain. Such was the position of our infantry:—a position which, with the well-known firmness of our men, would have baffled without difficulty all the efforts of the enemy, had not the artillery made dreadful ravages among our squares. Some of them were in a degree protected by the unevenness of the ground, but others were unavoidably in sight; and all, even those that were behind the eminence, were exposed to the destructive effect of shells.

The French were likewise posted with every advantage which talents and familiarity with the art of war could suggest. Along the ridge opposite to the British were 45,000 men, cavalry and infantry, which supplied successive columns for the early attacks; behind was a reserve of 15,000 men, most of whom were of the Imperial guards; while on the right was stationed the 6th corps, (20,000 strong,) which had not been in action on the 16th, and which was destined to resist the approach of the Prussians. The force under the Duke's command in the field on the 18th of June was nearly 60,000 men; of whom about two-thirds were of first-rate character, but among the rest, particularly the Hanoverians and Belgians, were troops of recent levy, or of doubtful firmness in the hour of trial. Though Bonaparte, after the arrival of his reinforcements in the afternoon, had under his command nearly 80,000 men, justice requires that, in calculating the force opposed to us, we should make a deduction
of

of 20,000, on account of the necessity of reserving on his right a powerful corps to watch the approach of the Prussians. The hopes of the French lay, therefore, not in their numbers so much as in the experience and uniform character of their troops; the soldiers speaking all one language, and being commanded by officers who had toiled together through many hard-fought campaigns.

Each army was fatigued by long marches, and had suffered severely from the inclemency of the weather; yet each was full of ardour in its cause and of confidence in its leader. In other respects, likewise, these resolute combatants were on a footing of equality. A defensive force, when extended along a length of line, is easily penetrated by assailants who possess the means of concentrating an overpowering mass on any particular point: but the position of the British, protected in flank, though open in front, was such as to put their advantages on a par with those which are naturally possessed by an attacking force. More cannot be said of the aid derived from the nature of the ground, and it would not be fair to acknowledge less. — Seldom have two armies been more completely furnished with the means of combating and destroying. The artillery, on the one part, possessed all that Paris could furnish during three months of preparation; while, on the other, ample supplies had been drawn from our magazines during the same interval, by an almost daily communication with England by sea. The cavalry on each side was numerous, and in fine condition. Both armies were commanded by Generals of the very first reputation: the one renowned for his skill in defensive warfare, and the other known throughout the Continent for having vanquished the troops of every nation by his overwhelming system of attack.

The first efforts of the French were directed against the house of Hougoumont, the possession of which would have afforded their columns a free approach to the right wing of the British, and would have enabled them even to bring nearer their artillery. The sharp-shooters stationed by the Duke in the orchard surrounding the *chateau* were driven in by a superior force: but all the efforts of the enemy, reiterated as they were, proved ineffectual against the troops stationed in the building and within the court-wall. Fortunately, the trees sheltered the wall from the cannon so as to prevent a breach: but the enemy's bombs set fire to the house inside, and reduced it to a mere shell. The communication with our line was for a time cut off, and the ascending blaze seemed to indicate some dreadful catastrophe to the gallant troops that occupied it; yet the detachment of Guards stationed

stationed in it still stood their ground, fired through holes in the gate and the wall on their assailants, and literally heaped the adjacent ground with the dead bodies of the French. The maintenance of this post was of the greatest importance, both as presenting a flank-attack on us during the day, and as enabling the extremity of our right to move forwards in the evening to enfilade the columns of the French in their last desperate assault.

To Marshal Ney was assigned the command of the attacks on our centre, and his station during the action was in the high road leading directly up to our position. Columns of cuirassiers and lancers, having advanced to protect a charge of their infantry, were themselves attacked by our light dragoons: but the latter suffered greatly from the superior weight of the enemy's horses and men. They had, however, in some measure disordered the French; and, on their being forced to retire, a brigade of heavy horse advanced to the charge and literally overthrew the opposing force, rolling over both men and horses, and obliging a strong column of infantry to surrender. In other parts of our line, the brunt of the attack was borne by our infantry; the French squadrons coming boldly up, and some of the officers galloping forwards in the vain expectation that our soldiers would waste their fire on them.

'On our part, the coolness of the soldiers was so striking as almost to appear miraculous. Amid the infernal noise, hurry, and clamour of the bloodiest action ever fought, the officers were obeyed as if on the parade; and such was the precision with which the men gave their fire, that the aid-de-camp could ride round each square with perfect safety, being sure that the discharge would be reserved till the precise moment when it ought regularly to be made. The fire was rolling or alternate, keeping up that constant and uninterrupted blaze, upon which, I presume, it is impossible to force a concentrated and effective charge of cavalry. Thus, each little phalanx stood by itself, like an impregnable fortress, while their crossing fires supported each other, and dealt destruction among the enemy, who frequently attempted to penetrate through the intervals, and to gain the flank, and even the rear of these detached masses. The Dutch, Hanoverian, and Brunswick troops, maintained the same solid order, and the same ready, sustained, and destructive fire, as the British regiments with whom they were intermingled.'—(*Paul's Letters*, pp. 160, 161.)

Such, in few words, was the nature of the repeated attacks attempted during this most arduous conflict. Our artillerymen were frequently ordered to leave their guns that they might not be exposed to the fire of our infantry, which was always reserved until the enemy drew near. "The carnage," says

says Ney, "was the most dreadful I had ever seen;" yet he continued confident of success until late in the afternoon. "Several times," says Drouot, "when I brought him orders from the Emperor, did he repeat to me that we were on the eve of gaining a great victory; that he was about to make with our infantry a decisive effort on the centre of the enemy, while our cavalry should carry the batteries which did not appear to be strongly supported." Every attack was preceded by tremendous discharges of artillery:—never were the audacity and impetuosity of the French more conspicuous, and never were they so completely baffled;—infantry, dragoons, cuirassiers, and lancers all failed before the British line. The Duke of Wellington was seen riding backwards and forwards, bearing succour to every exposed point, or determining the moment when our soldiers were to move, and rush forwards on the assailants. 'He was every where to be found encouraging, directing, animating:—he carried his glass in his hand; and so just was his observation, that you would have said that his eyes penetrated the smoke and forestalled the movements of the foe. How he escaped, that Merciful Power alone can tell, who vouchsafed to the allied arms the issue of this pre-eminent contest.' (*Battle of Waterloo*, p. 57.)

'Every inch of ground was disputed on both sides, and neither gave way till every means of resistance was exhausted. The smallest hillock, the most trivial embankment, was frequently taken and retaken several times. Repeated charges of cavalry took place; the field of battle was heaped with dead, and the firing, instead of slackening, became more and more violent. Both sides contended with equal fury, and the defence was as obstinate as the attack was impetuous.'—'The English artillery made dreadful havoc in our ranks: we were so completely exposed, that their ricochets passed easily through all the lines, and fell in the midst of our waggon-train, which was placed behind on the road, and its environs. A number of shells too burst amongst them, and rendered it indispensable for the train to retire to a greater distance. This was not done without considerable disorder, which the English clearly perceived. Our artillery reopened their fire with equal vivacity; but probably with much less effect, as their masses could only be levelled against by approximation, being almost entirely masked by the inequalities of the ground. The continuous detonation of more than 300 pieces of artillery; the fire of the battalions and light troops; the frequent explosion of caissons, blown up by shells which reached them; the hissing of balls and grape-shot; the clash of arms; the tumultuous roar of the charges, and shouts of the soldiery—all created an effect of sound, the pen is impotent to describe.' ("Relation fidèle de la dernière Campagne de Bonaparte." *Battle of Waterloo*, p. 115.)

The

The Prussians had been during some time in sight, but being at first in small numbers, and afterward fully occupied by the corps under Count Lobau, their presence was productive of no relaxation in the attacks on the British. Bonaparte had long watched the moment when a partial breach in our line was to afford him a favourable opportunity of bringing up his reserve: this never took place: but, after six o'clock in the evening, he felt that his only chance of success depended on making a violent effort with these fresh troops. It was then, accordingly, that, having called them from behind the ridge by which they had hitherto been protected from our artillery, he caused them to advance along the road leading to the centre of our position, harangued them in his usual strain, and was answered with reiterated cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" The shouts were so loud as to fix the eager attention of our line; which, however, was prevented by the mist and clouds of smoke from seeing what was going on, although the distance did not exceed a few hundred yards.

We are now come to that part of the battle in which, at Ligny and on so many other occasions, the attack of a fresh force in the close of the day had given victory to the French; and it is on the repulse of this tremendous and final effort that the fame of our army most proudly rests. It was now that the French were taught the difference between the courage of men excited to a few hours of ardent exertion, and that steady fortitude which never yields to alarm and knows of no retreat but by command. It was now, likewise, that we reaped the advantage of preserving the possession of Hougoumont, and of thus enabling our right wing to advance and flank the French columns in their approach.

The British right wing, with its artillery and sharp-shooters, was brought round from a convex to a concave position, so that our guns raked the French columns as soon as they debouched upon the causeway for their final attack. Our artillery had orders during the whole action to fire only upon the infantry and cavalry of the French, and not to waste their ammunition and energy in the less decisive exchange of shot with the French guns. The service of the artillery was upon this occasion so accurate, and at the same time so destructive, that the heads of the French attacking columns were enfiladed, and in a manner annihilated, before they could advance upon the high road. Those who witnessed the fire and its effects, describe it to me as if the enemy's columns kept perpetually advancing from the hollow way without ever gaining ground on the plain, so speedily were the files annihilated as they came into the line of the fire. Enthusiasm, however, joined to the impulse of those in the rear, who forced forward the front into the scene of danger, at length carried

carried the whole attacking force into the plain. But their courage was obviously damped. They advanced indeed against every obstacle till they attained the ridge, where the British soldiers lay on the ground to avoid the destructive fire of artillery, by which the assault was covered: but this was their final effort. "Up, Guards, and at them," cried the Duke of Wellington, who was then with a brigade of the Guards. In an instant they sprang up, and, assuming the offensive, rushed upon the attacking columns with the bayonet. This body of the Guards had been previously disposed in line, instead of the squares which they had hitherto occupied. But the line was of unusual depth, consisting of four ranks instead of two. "You have stood cavalry in this order," said the General, "and can therefore find no difficulty in charging infantry." The effect of their three fatal cheers, and of the rapid advance which followed, was decisive. The Guards of Napoleon were within twenty yards of those of our sovereign, but not one staid to cross bayonets with a British soldier. The consciousness that no support or reserve remained to them added confusion to their retreat.'—(*Paul's Letters*, pp. 180—182.)

It was at this time, and not sooner, that the operations of the Prussians had a decided influence on the battle. They had marched in two columns by two distinct roads, but both were naturally bad; and they were rendered so heavy by the late rain that a British officer, who left Wavre early in the morning, occupied five or six hours in making his way to Waterloo. Bulow's corps, which had not fought at Ligny, had set out on its march as early as four in the morning: but such was the delay in passing a narrow bridge at the outset, and such was the great difficulty of bringing up their cannon through the defiles, that their van did not shew itself on the French flank until half-past four in the afternoon. They immediately began to act: but, as their number did not exceed 6,000 men, they could occupy only a part of the enemy; and it was not till half-past seven o'clock (see the *Prussian Official Account*) that they were enabled to operate with a preponderating force against the French reserve under Count Lobau. This our Commander perceived; and he had no sooner repulsed the attack of the Imperial guards, than he ordered the whole of our line to advance. Though our troops soon overcame the resistance of the *tirailleurs*, and of the different battalions which had participated in the last unsuccessful attack, nearly 10,000 men of the Imperial guard remained drawn up in hollow squares, who refused to surrender, and whose resistance at first was considerable: but the British line, both horse and foot, advanced with the greatest determination; and these veteran warriors either fell before them or were hurried along in the flight and panic which were now become general throughout the French army.

Our

Our men took possession of the enemy's batteries, and ascended the ridge from which Bonaparte had issued his mandates and sent forth his reserves, but were prevented from proceeding farther both by their extreme fatigue and by the line of pursuit being now occupied by the Prussians: who, favoured by the full moon, and inflamed by national antipathy, followed up their advantage without intermission and without mercy.

The loss of the French during the battle has never been computed with accuracy: but, when we consider the steady fire on our side, and the close order in which the enemy generally exposed themselves to our guns, we shall probably not be far wrong in estimating it at double our own; that is, at 25,000 men. Such a slaughter in so limited a space is almost without example, the reported loss in these encounters being generally much exaggerated. The comparatively small number of French officers of rank, and particularly of Bonaparte's Staff, who fell, is to be ascribed to the orders given to our artillerymen to fire only on solid masses. The losses on both sides, on these dreadful days, may be thus computed:

Prussians, total loss, viz. at Ligny, Waterloo, Wavre, and Namur, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, - - - - -	33,000
British, (exclusive of Hanoverians,) at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, - - - - -	11,000
Hanoverians, - - - - -	2,700
Belgians and Dutch at Quatre Bras and Waterloo, - - - - -	4,100
Computed loss of the French at Quatre Bras and Ligny, - - - - -	15,000
Ditto at Waterloo, on the part opposed to the British, - - - - -	25,000
Ditto on the part opposed to the Prussians and in the pursuit, which continued all the way to the Sambre, - - - - -	20,000
Fugitives dispersed throughout the country, who never resumed service, - - - - -	15,000
Remainder who were rallied at Laon and elsewhere, but not in a state to face an enemy, - - - - -	20,000
Total, - - - - -	145,800

Observations on the Battle. — The French, always anxious to find an apology for defeat, are apt to attribute their reverses to mismanagement on the part of Napoleon: but the generalship on both sides appears to have been very judicious, and much more exempt from error or oversight than the case usually

usually is in operations of such magnitude. Bonaparte wasted no force in vain efforts against our flanks; and Wellington incurred no loss by attempting to pursue the French columns in their repeated retreats. It is not true that Bonaparte mistook the Prussians for the French under Grouchy; his miscalculation in that respect could go no farther than supposing that Grouchy might ere long follow the Prussian corps that had marched to our assistance; and his pretending to consider the Prussians on the hill as French is much on a par with his professed exultation at seeing our army in its position in the morning, when he exclaimed, "*Ah! je les tiens donc, ces Anglois.*" No man ever acted more completely a feigned character than Bonaparte, from the beginning to the end of the revolutionary drama; and the more closely we examine his conduct, the more we shall be struck with his judgment and sagacity. "He fought the battle," says the Duke of Wellington in a private letter to his mother, "with infinite skill, perseverance, and bravery." In fact he seems to have committed only two errors in the short campaign of the last year; the first on the 16th, when he did not employ a corps of 25,000 men in a decided manner either under himself or under Ney; and the second on the 18th, in continuing his attacks after six and even seven o'clock in the evening, when it was clear that any success which he might have gained would be indecisive, while to obtain it he was sacrificing the only force that remained to cover his retreat.

If we advert to the duration of a battle, we are naturally led to compare past times with the present, and to observe the extraordinary improvements introduced into the mode of warfare. In the case of Blake and Van Tromp, we read of three days' naval engagement, while the battles of Camperdown and Trafalgar scarcely lasted as many hours. A corresponding abridgment, though not altogether to the same extent, has taken place in land-battles; since, whatever may be the length of partial attacks, it is very seldom that a general engagement lasts above a few hours after the opposing lines have come into contact. The contest at Ligny, obstinate and sanguinary as it was, did not exceed four hours in duration, viz, from five o'clock to nine; and Waterloo was a conflict of seven hours, from half-past one till half-past eight. Could the Duke of W. have foreseen all the impediments in the way of the arrival of the Prussians, he would probably have pursued a different plan, and have either availed himself of the protection of the forest of Soignies, or have adopted some other method of effecting a close combination with Prince Blucher for operations on the succeeding day.

It

It is a common error in the reports of battles to lay too much stress on particular circumstances, and to represent the most important results as depending on the cast of a die. One writer* declares that, had Bonaparte delayed his attacks of cavalry, he would have been ultimately successful; and a German officer, too frequently quoted by those who have given an account of the battle, maintains (see *Battle of Waterloo*, p. 74.) that, had Bulow been an hour later, Bonaparte might have been victorious, and might have advanced all the way to the Rhine. These reasoners find a confirmation of their suspicions in the circumstance of our baggage having been sent to the rear, as if that were not an ordinary precaution with every prudent General. Had it even happened that the Prussians had not come up till it was dark, our commander could either have stood his ground or have withdrawn a mile to put his troops under cover of the wood, from which they would have sallied forth in conjunction with the Prussians to attack the French on the next morning. Our success might thus have been greater or less according to circumstances, but we were never in danger of a defeat. Even at seven in the evening, our troops, though dreadfully thinned by the shot and fatigued by a hard day's duty, remained unshaken, and perfectly able to repel fresh attacks.

'We all imagined,' says a British officer, 'the fight was over, and that it would die away with the night;' but to our surprise, the head of an immense column of the Old Guard appeared trampling down the corn fields in our front: they advanced to within one hundred and fifty yards of our brigade, without attempting to deploy or fire a shot. Our wings threw themselves immediately forward, and kept up such a murderous fire, that the enemy retired, losing half their numbers, who, without any exaggeration, literally lay in sections.' — (*Battle of Waterloo*, p. 67.)

If this battle exhibited no great variety of manœuvres, it highly deserves the attention of the tactician in other respects. To withstand and repel charges of cavalry, even of cuirassiers, is nothing new in military history: but to baffle *with the same battalions* successive columns of infantry, renewing their attacks during seven hours, is almost unprecedented in the annals of war. At Eylau, the repeated assaults of the French were indeed frustrated, but there was this material consideration that the right wing of the French did not (from the badness of the roads) arrive in time to co-operate with the centre; so that the Russians had to oppose to Davoust a portion of the same troops that had driven back Bonaparte. At

* See Boyce's *Second Usurpation of Bonaparte*, p. 52.; a work now on our table, of which we mean soon to speak more at large.

Waterloo, on the contrary, no miscalculation occurred; and, whatever may be pretended in the French bulletin, there was no precipitation on the part of the cavalry. Four grand assaults took place in all; each under the eye of Bonaparte, and each at the time that he directed. — Here we may be allowed to advert to other conflicts of the kind, and to point out the striking difference of result when the French have been opposed by our countrymen or by our allies. The Germans and the Russians have long been noted for undaunted firmness, and the latter have very frequently been known to stand, though unsupported, until cut down at their posts. Yet, in their battles with the French, some unfortunate circumstance has generally happened to render their resistance ineffectual; while our troops, on the other hand, have repeatedly made good their point, and repelled their impetuous assailants. Let us refer in support of this fact to actions that are now comparatively in the shade, such as Corunna, Talavera, Busaco, Albuera, and the almost forgotten defence of the lines of Schagerbrug by Sir Ralph Abercrombie, 10th Sept. 1799. Various reasons have contributed to this proud distinction; the superior equipment of our troops in point of arms and ammunition; the judgment, on most occasions, of our commanding officers: but, above all, the intrepidity of our men, which is such that the British are said to be the only infantry that can withstand in line the charge of a column. Nothing, certainly, in point of courage, was wanting on the part of the French at Waterloo: Bonaparte adopted their favourite plan of tactics, and his officers seemed to rival each other in rushing in the face of danger:

“In vain with unexampled courage the French cavalry walked their horses round the British squares and dashed at the slightest opening; in vain, when they arrived within a short distance, a few of them rushed on, and would have nobly sacrificed themselves by receiving the fire of their opponents, while the main body waited to charge on the British ere they could reload their pieces or fill up the chasms. The cool intrepidity of the allied infantry baffled every attempt to break them.”

(*Boyce's Second Usurpation of Bonaparte*, Vol. ii. p. 53.)

It was currently stated in France that, in consequence of the political influence of England, her commander was invested with the “controul of the whole allied force from the sea to the Rhine:” but it appears from a demi-official letter ascribed to Gentz, (see *Battle of Waterloo*, p. 83.) and still more from the course of events, that Wellington and Blücher held separate and independent commands. How different would have been the turn of affairs, had the former been

generalissimo; or had the latter retreated from Ligny on the morning of the 16th, and thus brought himself into co-operation with Bulow's corps on his left and with the British on his right! There would then, in all probability, have been only one battle, in which the loss of the French would have been greater or less in proportion as they ventured, but the result of which would never have been doubtful. Equal with respect to equipment, in courage, and in skill, the allies would then have had the benefit of their numerical superiority of 30 or 40,000 men; a force sufficient to retrieve the day in any point in which a mass of assailants might, for a moment, have penetrated. The rout of the enemy might not, at least on the first day, have been so complete as it was at Waterloo; but Bonaparte's power would have been broken, and the inability of resistance would have been rendered evident to the French nation.

.. Different Accounts of the Battles. — The Duke of Wellington's official report, though not composed with attention to style, and though much shorter than most men would have written on such a subject, is still extremely clear and satisfactory. The apparent mis-statement with regard to the result of the battle of Ligny was probably owing to the Prussians not acknowledging their failure, until their success at Waterloo had made it quite a secondary consideration. With reference to the conduct of his army at Waterloo, the Duke says expressly, "there is no officer or description of troops that did not behave well;" an observation which we recommend to the serious attention of those who deal so liberally in censure of the Belgians and Hanoverians. — The Prussian General Gneisenau's report of the battles seems sufficiently faithful, except as to the numbers of the French, which are strangely exaggerated both at Ligny and Waterloo. Bonaparte's account, particularly towards the close, is a tissue of falsehoods, strung together for the purpose of diverting the public attention from the desperate games that he played, and attributing his failure to a cause which had no existence. Drouot's relation of the battle is less fallacious than that of his master, though evidently written to exculpate the latter, and to disguise the extent of the French loss. The veracity of Marshal Ney's account is not, we believe, questioned.

Of the various relations proceeding from private sources, that of Mr. J. Scott in his "*Second Visit to Paris, by Way of Waterloo*," may be called rather a collection of anecdotes than a methodical statement. The account of his namesake Mr. Walter Scott, in "*Paul's Letters*," is perhaps the least exception-

able that has appeared, and wants only a plan of the ground, with somewhat more minuteness respecting the time and place of the grand attacks. Mr. Boyce has given, in Vol. ii. of his "*Second Usurpation of Bonaparte*," a very full collection of particulars, compiled (with no great arrangement) from all the former writers. The book which forms the immediate subject of this article is highly interesting in respect of its contents, and highly censurable in the manner of announcing and arranging them. The introductory narrative (if narrative it can be called) is written in a style of pomposity and inflation; and the various papers which follow are put together without any regard to dates, and with very little attention to the subject. That such should have been the case in the first edition of a work so eagerly expected is sufficiently natural, but why was it not remedied in a subsequent impression? Defective, however, as it is, it has served for a store-house to most of the writers whom we have mentioned, and among others to the author of *Paul's Letters*. It consists of 1st, The prefatory account just mentioned; 2dly, Letters from officers descriptive of the battle, and extremely interesting; 3dly, A translation of an account of this short campaign by a Frenchman, intitled "*Rélation fidèle et détaillée de la dernière Campagne de Bonaparte*;" 4thly, The various official accounts of the battles of Ligny and Waterloo; viz. the French, the Prussian, the Hanoverian, the Belgian, &c.; 5thly, Return of our loss, with the names of the officers; 6thly, Public documents subsequent to the battle of Waterloo, and relating to the progress of the allies in France; the departure of Bonaparte for St. Helena; the thanks of Parliament to the Duke of Wellington, &c. — A *Supplementary Volume* has lately appeared, of which we shall speak farther hereafter.

We shall conclude our notice of these memorable exploits by subjoining answers to a few of the questions which are still not unfrequently asked, when a discussion happens to arise on the subject of the late campaign. This may serve as a brief specimen of the application of the interrogative mode to historical research, and our object in it is merely to shew the method of making an explicit statement on matters about which many persons are at a loss to form a decided opinion.

What point did Bonaparte carry by the rapidity of his marches and attacks? — That of fighting his opponents with equal numbers both at Ligny and Waterloo.

Did he betray any want of personal courage at Waterloo? — He remained during the day in an exposed situation, and manifested no want of spirit as long as he had a prospect of success: but he had none of the generous resolution of a soldier.

dier in sharing the hazard of his comrades; he neither led an assault nor attempted to cover the retreat.

Why did not the Duke of Wellington allow our troops to pursue the French after they had repulsed the earlier attacks? — Because it would have broken their defensive order, and because he waited for the co-operation of the Prussians.

How far did the Prussians contribute to the victory of Waterloo? — Their expected approach prevented the French from bringing against us the 20,000 men under Lobau; and their coming up in numbers at the close of the evening induced the Duke of Wellington to make a general advance: but their operations had no effect on the fate of the battle as far it regarded the 60,000 men opposed to the British, who were completely foiled without them.

Had Bonaparte eventually any prospect of success, on the supposition of his defeating Blucher and Wellington? — None whatever; his army would even in that event have been half extinguished, and incapable of resisting the Austrians and Russians.

What was the total of his regular force under arms in France? — Not more than 200,000 men, of whom nearly 140,000 were under his personal command.

ART. IV. *General Zoology, or Systematic Natural History*, commenced by the late George Shaw, M.D. F.R.S. &c. With Plates from the first Authorities and most select Specimens, engraved principally by Mrs. Griffiths. Vol. IX. in Two Parts. By James Francis Stephens, F.L.S. 8vo. pp. 560. 2l. 12s. 6d. Boards. Wilkie, &c. 1815 and 1816.

THIS estimable work suffered a temporary suspension in consequence of the lamented demise of its original projector and conductor: but we are now informed that 'the Birds will be finished by Mr. J. F. Stephens, who has brought this part of the work into a considerable state of forwardness, and will introduce, during its progress, all the improvements proposed by modern systematic writers: — that the Natural History of the Molusca will be written by Dr. H. D. Blainville of Paris, and that of the Crustacea by Dr. W. E. Leach, under whose superintendence the whole continuation of the work will be conducted.'

The two orders reviewed in the present volume are the *Picæ* and *Passeres*. The genera comprized under the first of these divisions, as they are here denominated and exhibited, are, *Pogonius*, *Trogon*, *Bucco*, *Colophilus*, *Phænicophæus*, *Opæthus*, *Cuculus*, *Indicator*, *Yanx*, *Picus*, *Tridactylia*, and *Galbula*.

Galbula. — *Pogonius*, which has been detached from *Bucco*, is discriminated by a large thick beak, ciliated at the base, the upper mandible bidentate on both sides, the nostrils covered with bristles, and the feet simple, with two toes before and two behind. The known species are the *Sulcirostris* of Leach, corresponding to the *Bucco dubius* of Latham, the *Lævirostris* of Leach, or *Bucco dubius* β of Latham, and the *Viciiloti*, first made known, we believe, to English readers, by Dr. Leach, in his Zoological Miscellany. — The different species of *Trogon*, which Mr. Stephens describes, occur in Gmelin's edition of Linné's *Systema Naturæ*, or in some one of Latham's publications, with the exception of *T. narina*, the account of which is extracted from Le Vaillant's *Oiseaux d'Afrique*. — *Bucco* presents us with no articles of novelty. — The institution of *Polophilus*, or *Coucal*, is founded on the following characters: beak long, and slightly incurved, nostrils strait and elongated, and feet simple, with two toes turning forwards, of which the exterior is the longest, and two turning backwards, the interior of which is furnished with a very long claw.

The tail of the birds belonging to this genus consists of ten feathers; the wings are short and rounded; the feathers of the neck and upper part of the body are generally stiff with shining edges. They were first named *Coucal* by Le Vaillant, who was well acquainted with the difference of character which distinguishes this genus from the true *Cuculi*.

The Coucals in general form a most beautiful tribe of birds; they reside in woods, feed on insects and fruits; they construct their nests in trees, and (contrary to the manners of Cuckows) bring up their young, from whence their generic name is derived.

The fourteen species belonging to this family are chiefly detached from *Cuculus*.

Phenicophaeus has been separated from the same category, on account of the naked and papillated space round the eyes; and it is distinguished from *Polophilus* by the outer hind-toe being the longest. It is the *Malkoha* of Le Vaillant, and contains a very few species, of whose manners little seems to be known. Some peculiarities of the beak here stated, and the short silky feathers which cover the nostrils, constitute the new genus *Opæthus*. 'There is but one species of this genus known, which is a native of Africa, and one of the most beautiful of the birds that are found in that quarter of the globe. It feeds on fruits; is easily tamed; and is said to be capable of turning its exterior hinder toe either backwards or forwards.' Mr. Stephens denominates it *O. Africanus*, or *African Touraco*. It is the *Cuculus perra* of Gmelin, and the *Touraco* of Latham.

Between forty and fifty genuine *Cuculi* are particularized; the *Canorus*, or common species, taking the lead, and forming a long and interesting article: but some of the most remarkable facts relative to the economy of this bird have been already agreeably detailed by Dr. Jenner, in the lxxviiith volume of the Philosophical Transactions. We shall, therefore, limit our present extracts to a few paragraphs:

“Cuckows may be, and often are, brought up tame, so as to become familiar. They will eat in this state bread and milk, fruit, insects, eggs, and flesh, either cooked or raw: but in a state of nature [they] chiefly live on caterpillars of the smooth kind, though they have frequently been dissected with their *stomachs* full of the hairy larvæ of various *Bombycides* *. Some have fed on vegetable matter, beetles, and small stones. When fat, they are said to be as good eating as a land-rail. The French and Italians eat them to this day. The ancient Romans admired them greatly as food; and Pliny says that there is no bird which can be compared to them for delicacy.

“Some imagine the Cuckow remains in this country hidden in hollow trees, in a torpid state, during the winter. In support of this opinion Willoughby relates the following story: “The servants of a gentleman in the country, having stacked up, in one of the meadows, some old, dry, rotten willows, thought proper on a certain occasion to carry them home. In heating a stove, two logs of this timber were put into the lower part, and fire was applied as usual. But soon, to the great surprise of the family, was heard the voice of a Cuckow chirping from under the stove. Wondering at so extraordinary a cry in winter-time, the servants drew the willow logs from the furnace, and in the midst of one of them saw something move; when taking an axe, they opened the hole, and, thrusting in their hands, first they plucked out nothing but feathers; afterwards they got hold of a living animal, and this was the Cuckow that the fire had waked. It was, indeed, brisk and lively, but wholly naked and bare of feathers, and without any winter provision in its hole.”

“Mr. Bewick also informs us that a few years ago a young Cuckow was found in a torpid state, in the thickest part of a close furze bush. When taken, it soon exhibited signs of life, but was quite destitute of feathers. Being kept warm, and carefully fed, it grew and recovered its coat. In the following spring it made its escape; and in flying across the river Tyne was heard to utter its usual cry.

“To assert as a general fact, that the Cuckows remain torpid in this country during the winter, because a few instances are recorded of their having been found in this state, would be both presumptuous and absurd. It is very probable that these accidental occurrences have arisen from their being young birds,

* *Lasioampa Rubi*, (*Fox-moth*): *L. Querets*, (*Oak-egg-moth*): and *L. potatoria*, (*Drinker-moth*).

that had not been strong enough to leave us at the usual time of migration, and had therefore sought for shelter and warmth in the places where they are said to have been discovered.

In conformity with Le Vaillant's arrangement, the present author has separated *Indicator* from *Cuculus*, assigning for its characters a strong, conical beak, dilated at the base, and narrow at the tip; the upper mandible bent and carinated, the lower recurved at the tip; the nostrils slightly covered with feathers; the external hinder toe longest, and armed with a sharp claw. The species are *Sparmannii*, (*Cuculus indicator*, Gmel. and Lath.) *major*, and *minor*. — The faculty possessed by the Indicators of pointing out honey to travellers has been questioned by Bruce, but corroborated by Sparrmann and Barrow. Perhaps Le Vaillant is not remote from the truth, when he asserts that the natural call of the honey-guides directs people to spots where wild honey is deposited, but that the birds utter this call without any deliberate intention of attracting the notice of human beings.

Yana, which still includes a single species, may be regarded as forming the link between the Cuckows and the Woodpeckers. Among other singular habits recorded of the *Y. torquilla*, or *Wryneck*, is the frequent repetition, soon after its arrival in this country, of a cry resembling that of some of the smaller species of hawks. — 'If this bird be surprised in its nest, it has a singular action of defence; stretching itself at full length, and erecting the feathers of the head, it suddenly rises, making at the same time a hissing noise like a snake; which has often been the means of the nest not being plundered of the young, from the supposition that they were advancing their hands on a brood of that reptile.' — The *Pici*, or *Woodpeckers*, form a family of about sixty species; a few of the more recently discovered of which are introduced on the authority of Vieillot, in his Natural History of the Birds of North America. The *major* and *medius* of former writers were ascertained by the late Col. Montagu to be the same.

Tridactylia, as its name imports, has been instituted to comprehend those species which agree with the preceding in other characters, but have only three toes: a distinction which applies to *Picus tridactylis*, Lin., here denominated *Tridactylia hirunda*, and to the *P. tridactylis* β . Lath., the *T. andaluth* of the present writer. — *Galbula* furnishes only five species, of which the *Rubricollis*, or *red-throated*, was formerly considered as only a variety of the *Viridis*. Vieillot, however, has figured it as distinct; and it not only differs in having the throat red,

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instead of *white*, but the tail is proportionally longer. — The genera which compose the order *Passeres* are, *Crucirostra*, *Loxia*, *Phytotoma*, *Hyreus*, *Emberiza*, and *Fringilla*. The first of these has very properly been detached from *Loxia*, since in the birds belonging to it the beak is not only thick but crossed, and the mandibles, when at rest, are inversely curved.

‘The singular structure of the beak of the birds belonging to this genus was considered as a mere *usus naturæ* by Buffon, calculated to render them much less essential service than any other known kind of beak : but notwithstanding the apparently awkward and useless shape, it has been found to be most admirably adapted to their particular habits. The two mandibles do not lie straight, but cross each other in a similar manner to a pair of scissors : they are by this means enabled to obtain their food with the greatest facility. They live mostly on the seeds of the cones of the fir ; in procuring which, they exhibit a wonderful specimen of instinct, as they fix themselves across the cone, then bring the points of their beak immediately over each other, and insinuate them between the scales, when, forcing them laterally, the scales open ; and then again bringing the points in contact, pick out the seed as easily as any other bird would take up hemp seed. The degree of lateral force which they are capable of exerting is very surprising, and they are very fond of exercising it for mere amusement, which, in a tame state, renders them rather mischievous, as we are informed by Dr. Townson, who kept several of these birds in his study ; that they used to amuse themselves by coming to his table and taking off pencils, boxes, and the like, tearing them to pieces instantly, by pecking a small hole, and inserting their beaks in the same way they would when procuring food. These birds are able to pick up the smallest seeds, notwithstanding the shape of the beak.’

The only two species of Cross-bills are *C. vulgaris*, (*Loxia curvirostra*, Lin.) and *C. leucoptera* (*L. leucoptera*, Gmel.) — Nearly a hundred species of *Loxia* are shortly reviewed : but all of them have been formerly described. — *Phytotoma* comprehends a single species, which has been particularized both by Daudin and Latham. — The characters of the new genus *Hyreus* coincide with those of *Phytotoma*, except that the feet are furnished with only three toes. The only species is the *Abyssinicus*, synonymous with *Phytotoma Abyssinica* of Latham, and *P. tridactyla* of Daudin. — The *Emberizæ* amount to seventy-four, and the *Fringillæ* to a hundred and ten species : but the author's notices of their discriminating features, though generally well selected, present us with little that is new, or deserving of particular remark.

From this rapid analysis of the plan and contents of the present volume, our readers may form no inadequate notions

of its extensive range and general deserts. The species discussed are abundantly numerous; the occasional alterations of nomenclature and arrangement, which have been adopted, may be regarded as so many improvements of the system; the language, though not highly polished, nor wholly free from inaccuracies, is, on the whole, perspicuous and appropriate; and the engravings are executed with a laudable degree of merit. We are perfectly aware that, of many of the kinds of birds which Mr. Stephens has delineated, little more is known than their scientific characters and general aspect: but of many, also, some authentic information has been obtained relative to the habits and dispositions; and we cannot dissemble that we could have welcomed a far more liberal portion of physiological and economical detail, than the author has provided for the instruction and entertainment of his readers.

Art. V. *Essai Historique, Politique, et Moral, sur les Révolutions, &c.*; i. e. An Historical, Political, and Moral Essay on Revolutions, Antient and Modern. By F. A. (Vicomte) de Chateaubriand. 8vo. pp. 390. London, Colburn. 1815.

IN reporting M. Thiébaud's Voyage to Elba, (M. R. for May 1815, p. 26.) we took notice that this member of the French Institute had seriously asserted that Porto Ferrajo, in that island, was the harbour at which the Argonauts arrived after their return from their far-famed expedition in quest of the golden fleece. The volume before us, eminent as is the author, is replete with notions equally fanciful and excentric. He has composed an elaborate work on the correspondence between the civil dissensions of France in the present age, and those of the Grecian republics above two thousand years ago;—a parallel not confined to those general views which would strike the student of history, but pursued throughout an almost endless variety of subdivisions and ramifications. The revolutionary factions of "*La Montagne*" and "*La Plaine*" are compared, with all imaginable gravity, to the parties at Athens in the days of Solon; that philosopher himself, with his reverend brethern, Thales and Periander, is brought into a line of competition with Montesquieu and La Rochefoucault; while J. J. Rousseau is placed in a parallel with Heraclitus. In the same spirit of never-failing comparison, Egypt is said to have borne, in point of political situation, a resemblance to modern Italy, England to Carthage, Holland to Tyre, Prussia to Macedon, and Germany to Persia. The author does not stop even here; he

he finds grounds of similarity between the late position of the Bourbons and that of Dionysius at Corinth; and, to complete the picture, the poetic tribe, with Voltaire and Fontanes at their head, are arrayed against a list of Grecians, beginning with Anacreon, Simonides, and Sappho.

The sketch that we have given and the names which we have mentioned comprize the titles of almost every chapter in the book. The character of eminent individuals is also described; and the leading events in the parallel epochs of history are set against each other, with the view of conveying to the reader a palpable impression of the resemblances, or fancied resemblances, between one revolution and another. As it would be endless to accompany the author through his long list, or to attempt any serious dissection of a work in which sober reasoning and accurate investigation are set at defiance in every chapter, we shall content ourselves with a few extracts taken from the concluding part, and relating to an age and a country with regard to which M. de Chateaubriand was least likely to wander into exaggeration:

Influence of the Reformation. — ‘The Reformation is one of the greatest events in the history of modern Europe. When men once begin to doubt in religion, doubts in politics will quickly follow. Whoever ventures to inquire into the foundations of his creed will feel a desire to investigate the principles by which he is governed. The mind being once set free, the body naturally wishes to follow its example. Erasmus prepared the way for Luther, Luther for Calvin, and Calvin for a thousand others. The political influence of the Reformation is to be traced in the different changes in Europe. In considering it in this place purely in a religious point of view, we may remark that the many sects to which it gave birth had the same effect on Christianity that the philosophic schools of Greece had on polytheism. They undermined the whole religious system. The tree, spread into boughs, could no longer vigorously extend its trunk, and was easily cut away branch by branch.

‘I cannot close the subject of the Reformation without making one other remark. Wherefore all these scenes of carnage? that “League,” during which Frenchmen were to be seen insulting and dragging from their graves the bodies of their lately massacred countrymen? Why those troubles in the Low Countries, in which the Duke of Alva played the first scene of the tragedy of Robespierre? Why the massacre of the German peasantry? the civil wars of Scotland? the rebellion of Cromwell, during which multitudes of wretched beings perished by suffocation on board the hulks? — After the storm of the Reformation had subsided, the Vatican re-appeared, but divested of its former splendour. The glory of its walls had been lost, and its half-pierced roof was torn by its own lightning, which the fury of the tempest had made to recoil against it. Kings and Popes, in opposing religious innova-

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tions by measures of violence, had only irritated the minds of men. Liberty, although weak and imperceptible in a calm, becomes a giant in a tempest. — Among the fatal consequences that resulted from these religious commotions, one ought not to be omitted. Revolutions bring with them the extinction of morals, like those poisoned streams which destroy every flower in their course; and the eye of the law, closed during the convulsions of a state, no longer watches the citizen who leaves his passions uncontrolled and plunges into immorality: years, nay ages, are requisite to reclaim such a people. This was evidently the case in Europe after the agitations of which I have just spoken; and religion is so intimately allied to morals, that it loses its influence in proportion to their relaxation.

When harmony was at length re-established, the people had leisure to take a retrospective view, and began to blush for their folly. Knowledge, always on the increase, confirmed this disposition to hate that which seemed to be the cause of so many evils. In matters of faith there are no limits: if we begin to disbelieve something, we shall soon discard the whole. Rabelais, Montaigne, and Mariana excited surprise by the novelty and boldness of their political and religious opinions: Hobbes and Spinoza, pulling off the mask, shewed themselves in their native colours; and soon afterward Louis XIV. gave to Europe the last example of national fanaticism in the recall of the edict of Nantes.

At length came the time of the Regency. The Duke of Orleans was distinguished for genius, politeness, and urbanity, but he was the most dissipated character of his age, and the least fitted to govern a volatile nation, on whom the vices of its rulers have so much influence, especially when joined to an amiable disposition. The philosophic sect, the eventual cause of the French Revolution, dates its origin from this period. When nations are once corrupted, men are sure to spring up who persuade them that there is no such thing as a Divine retribution.

The immoral influence of the court of the Duke of Orleans was unluckily much aggravated by the disorders in property arising out of the Mississippi-scheme. The administration of Cardinal Fleury, prudent and exemplary as it was, could not accomplish the desired reform; and its beneficial effects were soon counteracted by the depravity of the mature years of Louis XV. By this time, the press had assumed an activity unknown in former ages, and the sober part of the community became dissatisfied at making sacrifices for the sake of deceitful courtiers and a profligate sovereign. Such was the situation of France when, in the middle of the century, a set of men appeared who were disposed to go beyond all reasonable bounds in directing the press against established institutions.

The Philosophic Sect under Louis XV. — 'That spirit of innovation and scepticism, which took its rise under the Regent, went on

on with rapid progress, until at last, in the reign of Louis XV., was formed a society of the most shining men that France had ever produced: — Diderot, D'Alembert, and Voltaire. Two great men, only, perhaps the ablest of their age, refused to form part of it; I mean Jean Jacques Rousseau and Montesquieu; and hence arose the violent enmity of Voltaire against these distinguished characters, particularly against the former, the apostle of God and of morality. This society professed to have for its object the diffusion of knowledge and the overthrow of tyranny: nothing certainly could be more noble: but the real spirit of the Encyclopedists was a furious persecution of established systems, and an intolerance that wished to destroy liberty of thinking in every body but themselves; in particular, a rage against what they presumed to call *L'Infame*, or the Christian religion, which they had sworn to exterminate. Nothing is more astonishing in the history of human nature than that the despotic Frederic should become a member of this coalition, which was employed in sapping the foundation of the power of princes; and perhaps the greatest literary curiosity that exists is the correspondence between Diderot, Voltaire, D'Alembert, and the King of Prussia. There we are astonished to see in every page the monarch throwing off the mask of royalty, and the philosophers discarding that covering by which they had been so long concealed from the vulgar; treating morality as a fable; speaking boldly of liberty for themselves, and reserving bondage for the unenlightened multitude; jesting with all that is most sacred; and holding up to each other's ridicule the characters and opinions of their fellow-men.

Such was this famous sect; which, under Louis XV., began to extend itself, and brought with it the destruction of morals in France. The indefatigable Voltaire never ceased to repeat, "Let us strike, let us crush *L'Infame*." A multitude of scribblers, to secure the approbation of their master, followed his example; and free-thinking soon became a fashion. It was in vain that Rousseau exclaimed with a warning voice: "My countrymen, they mislead you; there is a God who punishes vice and rewards virtue." The efforts of this magnanimous adversary were of little avail against the torrent of philosophers and priests, who, though in other respects deadly enemies, joined in the persecution of that great man.

While religious principles were thus assailed by a band of philosophers, the principles of government engaged the attention of others. It is worthy of notice that the Encyclopedists were very unskilful politicians; unluckily, Montesquieu, J. J. Rousseau, Mably, and Raynal, came forwards to enlighten those who had lost that vigour and purity of mind which are necessary to make a good use of truth. Thus, at the moment when the people began to read, they were fated to peruse writings which treated of nothing but politics and religion. The effect was incredible; they lost their morals in proportion as they lost their ignorance. Meantime, the court, regardless of the rapid approach of a vast kingdom to that abyss in which it at last disappeared, plunged deeper and deeper into vice and despotism. Instead of enlarging its views, extending its plans, and purifying its morals, in accordance with the increase of knowledge among the people, it allowed

allowed its prejudices to become still more contracted, not knowing either how to submit to the order of things or to oppose it with vigour. This miserable policy, in which a government was seen narrowing its views at the same time that those of the public were expanded, is remarkable in all revolutions. It is like trying to describe a large circle in a small circumference, and the consequences are inevitable. A disposition to religious toleration became general; yet the clergy wished to put to death a young man who in a fit of drunkenness had insulted a crucifix; the people appeared inclined to resistance, and a system of alternate concession and restraint was henceforth adopted. No sooner did a spirit of liberty make its appearance than the *Lettres de cachet* were multiplied. These "*Lettres*" caused, no doubt, more noise than mischief, but they were, it must be confessed, subversive of every legitimate principle. Whatever is not law, or whatever is contrary to the spirit of just government, is criminal. Who would submit to have a sword suspended by a hair over his head, even were he confident that it would not fall? To see the monarch thus immersed in pleasure; his courtiers corrupt; his ministers weak or mischievous; the people losing their morals; one part of the philosophers assailing the church, another part attacking the state; the nobility, either ignorant or partaking of the vices of the day; the ministers of religion at Paris the disgrace of their order, and those in the country bigoted by prejudice; — such a scene suggested the notion that each party wished to rival the other in their endeavours to demolish a mighty edifice. Ever since the latter half of the reign of Louis XV. religion was on the decline, until at length it disappeared, together with monarchy, in the gulf of the Revolution.

Were the rest of the volume directed like these passages to a sober view of things, or confined to topics within the author's knowledge, it would have afforded an useful as well as an eloquent commentary on historical subjects: but, instead of observing this limitation, M. de C. has chosen to gratify, in almost every chapter, a taste for digression and declamatory discussion that is calculated to lead a writer into the most improbable delineations and suppositions. We shall only farther quote a short passage which begins extremely well, but affords in its close a specimen of the fanciful combinations in which this writer takes such pleasure in indulging.

‘What, then, is the principal inference to be drawn from all the resemblances pointed out in this volume? It is that a revolution in the present day has no title to possess the attraction of novelty; an attraction which in France, and in some measure in neighbouring countries, proved one of the most powerful means of its extensive adoption. Almost all that we have considered as novelties in the history of the French Revolution have been acted over and over in those of Greece. Man, feeble in his means and limited in his

his invention, does little else than repeat the actions of his forefathers, turning round in a circle from which he finds no outlet. We might even venture to draw up a tabular statement, anticipating the course of events in any nation of given character; putting in one column the degree of knowledge possessed by them; in another, their political character; in a third, the hazards resulting from these combinations, and from the prevalence of such passions as envy, ambition, &c., which we should place in the fourth column, &c.

The endless aberrations of M. de C. are the more extraordinary, as the plan on which he set out was very clear and consistent; his object (Introduction, p. 3.) being to investigate, 1. The nature of revolutions in former ages; 2. How far these revolutions bear a resemblance to that of France; 3. What were the causes that engendered the French Revolution, and produced its explosion in so sudden a manner. It follows from these various merits and demerits, that, in attempting to form an estimate of the general value of the book, the reader of M. de Chateaubriand will be not a little embarrassed. On the one hand, he will find repeated examples (pp. 33. 128. 133. 191. 230.) of fallacious theories or exaggerated expressions; the author treating, in one of these passages, the voyage round Africa ascribed to Hanno as an event accomplished to an extent much beyond the bounds of probability: in another, taking for granted the fabulous traditions of the early knowledge of the Hindoos: while, in a third, after a ridiculous comparison between the conduct of the French emigrants and that of the Grecian exiles who combated with the Persians, he very coolly computes the number of Persians, killed at the battle of Plataea, at two hundred thousand: adding gravely in a note, *mon calcul est modéré*. On the other hand, the work offers a number of redeeming passages, of which we shall merely mention the observations (p. 159.) on Switzerland and the origin of Swiss liberty; and the concluding sentences of the volume, which afford an example of a very pretty comparison. 'Scarcely ever do we perceive the reality of things: we see their images falsely reflected through the medium of our wishes; so that we may be said to pass our time like one who should judge of the outward atmosphere through the medium of a transparency, exhibiting the serenity of a mild latitude in the midst of the clouds and storms of the north.' In multiplying historical comparisons, and attempting so many parallels of character, repetitions must unavoidably occur. Still the essay contains much pleasant observation, and its defects escape the notice of the reader until subjected to the test of attentive examination. M. de C. has been censured in France as an interested writer, and as one who allowed

allowed his pen to be guided by the expectation of political favour: but, if an estimate be formed either from the passages extracted above, or from the general tenour of the whole, he will here be found equally severe on the clergy and noblesse, the reputed pillars of the throne, and on the *tiers état*, the grand engine of the Revolution.—Though the present publication is not of inconsiderable length, a notice given by the author indicates that the subjects discussed in it are likely to call forth several more treatises of equal magnitude. Not contented with apprizing us of a similar work on the revolutions of Rome, he enumerates not fewer than twelve of those formidable changes in history, antient or modern, all of which he seems to consider as intitled to a minute investigation, and to an elaborate parallel with each other.

ART. VI. *Chemical Essays*, principally relating to the Arts and Manufactures of the British Dominions. By Samuel Parkes, F.L.S. Author of the *Chemical Catechism*, &c. 5 Vols. 12mo. 2l. 2s. Boards. Baldwin and Co. 1815.

WHEN the author of these essays came under our notice as the writer of a *Chemical Catechism**, we spoke of him as having produced a work of some merit, although not without considerable defects; and we understand that it has received material improvement in the later editions through which it has passed. He is also extensively concerned in the management of various chemical manufactures, and is supposed to possess an union of practical and scientific knowledge on the subject which is not very frequently to be found. The volumes now before us consist of a number of detached essays, on subjects of which some are immediately connected with the art, and others rather with the principles of the science: but they are all on topics of an interesting nature. Mr. P. expatiates, in the preface, on the great importance of chemical science to a country like England, which depends on the progress and improvement of its manufactures for its welfare, if not for its political existence; and he very aptly illustrates the intimate and necessary connection which subsists between the perfection of many of the manufacturing processes, and the knowledge of chemistry. This, however, is still more clearly pointed out in the first essay; the direct object of which is to shew 'the utility of chemistry to the arts and manufactures,' a position which is illustrated by numerous examples. The steam-engine must always stand foremost.

* See Rev. Vol. liii. N. S. p. 64.

on such occasions, as the most remarkable instance of a philosophical principle immediately applied to a practical purpose; while the processes of dying, of making glass, of tanning, of fermenting and distilling, of refining sugar, and of smelting metal, although many of them are performed by rude nations who are totally unacquainted with scientific knowledge of any description, have all received very valuable improvements, and are perhaps susceptible of being farther advanced, by applying to them the modern discoveries.

The next two essays are on Temperature; and, though not strictly scientific, they contain a considerable portion of valuable and some curious information. Mr. Parkes divides the subject into the two heads of Natural and Artificial Temperature; observing that 'the variety of climate in the different regions of the earth, the effects of caloric on animal and vegetable life, and the nature of its agency on combustible substances, will arrange themselves under the first division of the subject; while that on Artificial Temperature will contain a brief detail of a variety of expedients for procuring fire, for modifying the effects of heat and cold, for economizing fuel, and for improving certain operations which have a considerable influence on the success of many of the manufactories of the country.' He first notices the opinion that many parts of the earth, particularly about the central and northern regions of Europe, are less cold than they were in the age of Augustus; an alteration which, if it exists, must depend on the improvement in the agriculture of those countries, the removal of superabundant quantities of wood, and the draining of marshes. The effects of different temperatures on the freezing of water, the manner in which heat is propagated through fluids, and Crawford's doctrine of the different capacities of bodies, with its application to respiration and animal temperature, next pass under review; though, as the reader may suppose, in rather a cursory manner. The modern theory of combustion is then more minutely detailed, and is thus described:

'Some bodies are combustible, others are incombustible. If a body which is formed of combustible materials be heated to a certain degree in atmospheric air, combustion will commence, and its affinity for oxygen will be so great that it will abstract it from the atmosphere. Should the combustible substance be placed in favourable circumstances, with the free access of atmospheric air, this perpetual accession of oxygen will keep up the combustion till the whole of the combustible matter becomes saturated with oxygen, when it is said to be consumed.

The heat, in this process, generally arises from the decomposition of the oxygen gas of the atmosphere, but the light and the

the flame in most cases proceed from the combustible body itself. In fact, combustion appears to be merely a chemical process; a double decomposition, in which not only two compound bodies are separated into their original elements, but two new compounds are always formed. For while the light, which is extricated from the burning substance, unites with the caloric of the oxygen gas, and forms what is called fire, the oxygen itself combines with the base of the combustible, and forms a new incombustible substance. This incombustible matter will be either water, an acid, or an oxide; or a compound of two or more of these substances.

The subsequent essay, in which the author treats of the means of increasing and diminishing temperature, and economizing fuel, contains more new matter than the first, or at least matter which has not so much the appearance of being common-place. The effects of convex lenses, of electricity, especially that modification of it called Galvanism, of explosive compounds, of mechanical compression, percussion, and the decomposition of water, as in the spontaneous combustion of hay, or other damp vegetable substances, are enumerated among the modes of producing heat, which are either adopted for various purposes or are such as occasionally fall under our notice. Then are related the means of diminishing or modifying heat, of which the chief is evaporation, the direct application of ice or snow, (a custom which is attempted to be traced up to the time of Solomon,) and the solution of salts. The next subject is 'the means of guarding against and modifying the effects of cold.' The chief of these means is obviously the production of artificial heat by the burning of fuel: on which point the author professes to do little more than copy from Count Rumford, or at least to apply the principles which that philosopher has established. This is, however, the most valuable part of the essay; not that it contains much that is absolutely novel, but because many of the observations are evidently the result of experience, and such as, although obvious when pointed out, might probably not have suggested themselves to any person who had not been engaged in the practical details of the manufacturing processes. We particularly refer to the directions for the construction of fire-places, which are minute, and appear to be judicious; the position of boilers; the management of chimneys; and the means of regulating the rate of combustion and the extrication of heat.

Volume II. contains five essays, on Specific Gravity, on Calico-printing, on Barytes, on Carbon, and on Sulphuric Acid. Of these the essay on calico-printing is the most important; and it opens with an historical sketch of the progress

of the art, from its commencement to its present improved state. It would seem that the fabrication and the dyeing of cloth were practised even in the earliest ages of which we have any records remaining; as among the ancient Egyptians, the Jews, the Syrians, and probably some of the Oriental nations. The perfection to which these manufactures have arrived, in different parts of India, is well known; and we have reason to suppose that nearly the same processes, which are employed in the present day, have been in use there for many ages. Mr. Parkes next lays down some positions illustrative of the principles on which the theory of calico-printing depends; and he begins by examining the nature of the materials applied for the production of the colours.

The colouring substances chiefly employed in this art are divided into two classes, viz. *substantive* and *adjective*. A substantive colour is one which is capable of itself of producing a permanent dye on wool or woollen cloth; such is the juice of the buccinum, used by the ancients for producing the imperial purple; such are also the woad and indigo employed by the moderns for producing a permanent blue; and we may add the metallic solutions, particularly those of iron, cobalt, gold, platina, and silver, which give various colours, according to the processes by which they are prepared.

By adjective colours is meant all those which are incapable of giving permanent dyes without the aid of certain intermedia, which form as it were a bond of union between them and the substances intended to be dyed.

These intermedia are what are known by the term *mordants*; and are used for this purpose in very considerable quantities by the calico-printer of the present day.

The operation of bleaching is noticed as the first step to be taken in preparing the cloth; and afterward the different mechanical parts of the process, by which the surface of the article is rendered suitable for the reception of the colouring matter, and the colours themselves are applied to it. We cannot follow Mr. Parkes through all the details into which he now enters: but we can recommend this part of his work as amusing to the general reader, and instructive to those who wish for practical information.

Of the remaining essays, on Citric Acid, on the Fixed Alkalies, on Earthen-ware and Porcelain, on Glass, on Bleaching, on Water, on Sal-Ammoniac, and on Edge-tools, we may say that they all contain some useful information, and may be read with advantage by those who have any particular interest in the subjects to which they refer: but we think that the essays on glass and on bleaching are, on the whole, the

most

most valuable. The art of bleaching, like that of calico-printing, appears to have been exercised in remote antiquity, though in a rude and simple manner : but, among all nations that have possessed any degree of refinement, it has been an object of considerable attention. It is, however, practised in our own times on such totally different principles, that it may be reasonably considered as altogether of modern invention; and one in which we observe very remarkably the result of a chemical discovery directly applied to the improvement of the arts. Mr. Parkes arranges his observations on the practice of bleaching in two parts; giving an account first of the European method, before our knowledge of the oxymuriatic acid, and afterward of the processes that have been adopted since that attainment. This detail is very interesting; exemplifying in a striking manner the gradual developement of science, the manner in which each step was gained, how one suggested another, what difficulties occurred in the practice of the art after the theory had been ascertained, and what points still appear to be imperfect and open to farther advancement. Dr. Home's proposal for the employment of sulphuric acid appears to have been the first instance of a proper chemical agent being used in the process; and it is curious to remark how this circumstance indirectly operated to the improvement of the manufacture of the acid; by the increased demand for it which was thus occasioned. The discovery of the oxymuriatic acid by Scheele, and his observation of its property of destroying vegetable colours, — the application of this property to bleaching by Berthollet, — the different trials that were made with it, both on the Continent and in this island, — the substitution of the oxymuriates of potash and afterward of lime for the acid itself, — as well as many other collateral facts connected with the subject, — form a very engaging narrative, and exhibit in an impressive manner the great importance of uniting scientific research with practical details.

Altogether, we feel justified in giving a favourable character of these volumes; because, though they are not exempt from defects or inaccuracies, and we could imagine the matter to be better selected and better arranged, still their merits much exceed their defects.

ART. VII. *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*, from the earlier Teutonic and Scandinavian Romances; being an Abstract of the Book of Heroes, and Nibelungen Lay; with Translations of metrical Tales, from the old German, Danish, Swedish, and Icelandic Languages; with Notes and Dissertations.

[*Art. concluded from the last Review, p. 367.*]

TO the interesting preliminaries which occupied our former article on this work, succeeds first an abstract of the book of heroes, divided into adventures; and in several of these sections are included poetic versions of the more remarkable passages. Hughdietrich and his son Wolfdietrich are the principal heroes. As the second part of this poem conducts the hero to Jerusalem, it was no doubt composed while crusading was the fashion. The third adventure may serve as a specimen:

Accompanied by his two companions, he arrived, after seven days, at Jerusalem, without having met with any adventures. They found the city surrounded by a great host of heathens, and, undismayed at their number, immediately commenced the attack, upon a detachment of a thousand. Wolfdietrich was unhorsed by the Pagan Telfigan, but calling upon God, who died on the cross, he roused himself again, and attacked and slew him, while his companions fought in other parts of the field.

'Twixt the champions and the host was fought a sturdy fight,
Against the Christian hero advanced, with falchions bright,
Beneath their waving banners, with loud and savage shout,
Dimming the air with arrows, many a Pagan rout.

Their heathen tongues with blasphemy at the Christians railed.
Many a youthful Saracen the Knight of Greece assailed;
Round him did they crowd, and struck him many a blow;
But where his glittering falchion fell, they cried alas and woe!

On their bucklers loud his blows did to the sky resound,
And the blood his wrath had spilt in torrents rolled around;
Many a ring of steel from their hauberks down he felled,
Blows of death and horror his trusty weapon dealt.

Warriors from their prancing steeds to the ground he thrust;
The number was right marvellous, whom he rolled into the dust.

The battle's din resounded in the firmament like thunder.
Thrice he cleft, with sword in hand, the Pagan host asunder.

The ship-boy, who had been left under a tree, was pierced by the sword of a Saracen; but Wolfdietrich soon revenged his death, and was so incensed, that he speedily finished the battle, and by the assistance of his fellow, Werner, left all the pagans dead on the field. Then he retired into a neighbouring forest to rest, after the fatigues of the fight.

' The

' The heathen King Mertzigan soon heard of the defeat of his knights, and of the death of his nephew Telfigan. He sent out another detachment of a thousand knights, under the conduct of Terferis. The Christian champions came out of the forest to meet them. Terferis was killed by Werner, and the fight continued till the night. It was renewed in the morning. Werner, after performing wonders of chivalry, was slain. This misfortune made Wolfdietrich desperate. He pursued the flying pagans into the middle of the royal camp, where his horse fell, and himself being entangled among the tent-ropes, made captive, and brought before the King, who adjudged him to be hanged the following morning. But a pagan having beheld his matchless valour with admiration, and unwilling that such a champion should die an ignominious death, released him, restored his horse, and assisted him to arm himself. When he found himself again at liberty, he rode into the tent of Mertzigan, and made his table flow with the blood of his vassal princes. The pagan host was summoned to arm themselves, and Wolfdietrich again found himself in great danger.

' Fortunately a Christian knight in the city beheld the battle, and immediately admonished his brother-knights to issue for the relief of the hero. Five hundred followed his advice, and found Wolfdietrich in the midst of an innumerable host of pagans. After a terrible combat, they succeeded in completely defeating them, and Mertzigan was happy to escape, with a few followers, into his realm of Martzfell.

' The Christians returned into the city of Jerusalem with the rescued hero, after having buried two hundred of their knights, who had fallen in battle. Wolfdietrich now accomplished his vow, and paid his devotions at the Holy Sepulchre; then he departed, repelling every solicitation of the knights to remain amongst them.'

In the fourth part of this poem occurs the history of Laurin, king of the dwarfs, which was first edited by Suhm at Copenhagen in 1787. We will extract from the original a few words of text as samples of the language :

“ Er ist Laurein genant,
Und dienen im alle wilde lant,
Alle gezwerg sein im untertan.
Es ist ein kunig gar lobesam
Gen allen mannen
In Tirolesen lannen.
Hat er im derzogen vil zarten
Einen rosen garten.
Das die mauer sholl seyn
Das waz ein faden seidein.
Der im den zebrech,
Wie pald er daz rech,
Der must im lassen swere pfant
Den rechten fuss die linke hand.”

A literal or rather verbal version, line for line, would be :

He is called Laurein,
 And all the wild country obeys him,
 All the dwarfs are his subjects.
 He is a very gracious king
 To all men
 In the Tyrolese lands.
 He has drawn round his residence
 A rose-garden.
 What should be the wall
 Is a thread of silk.
 Whoever plucks one,
 As soon as he smells it,
 Must leave him the heavy pledge
 Of a right foot and a left hand.

This passage is translated as follows in the volume before us :

‘ He dwells among the mountains, and rules with royal might;
 What though his form be little, he bears him like a knight.
 Should hundred armed champions against him wage the fight,
 They would fall in fearful jeopardy, before that little wight.
 ‘ For two-and-thirty years he has graithed a spacious mead,
 And a garden fair has planted all with the roses red ;
 A silken line is drawn around: there many a champion good
 Upon the blooming meadow has shed his purple blood.
 ‘ Four portals to the garden lead, and when the gates are closed,
 No living wight dare touch a rose, gainst his strict command
 opposed.
 Whoe’er would break the golden gates, or cut the silken thread,
 Or would dare to crush the flowers down beneath his tread,
 Soon for his pride would leave to pledge a foot and hand ;
 Thus Laurin, king of dwarfs, rules within his land.’

The reader may now perceive with how much of elegance and paraphrase the poetical extracts are rendered, and will feel grateful to Mr. Weber for making them so agreeably legible. Wieland has been indebted to passages in this romance for the first meeting of Theon and Oberon.

The Song of the Nibelungs comes next in order. We do not see why Mr. Weber should retain the German plural in *en* instead of anglicizing the word. Siegfried, Hildebrand, and Dietrich of Berne are the principal heroes of this poem. Another king of dwarfs, named Elberich, occurs in it: whence it may be conjectured that the first stationary establishments of civilized persons in the mountains of the Tyrol, Saxony, and Harz, were those of the proprietors of mines. The knights ascribe great magic power, and great subterraneous wealth, to these dwarfs. The professed date of the poem

is

is in the time of king Etzel, or Attila; and perhaps the exploits of Attila became topics of some coeval Lombard story-books, out of which these adventures have been drawn. They may one day serve as the basis of a German Iliad; and the oldest records of the heroes of the country may well become to a future Homer what the Milesian tales of his rude predecessors were to the friend of Lycurgus.

An addition called *The Lament* has been made to the Song of the Nibelungs by another hand: a short analysis of it is given; and the best of the elegies is translated. This extract terminates the text of Mr. Weber, the main body of his work: but three several appendices are subjoined: the first containing the old fragment of a romance concerning Hildebrand, which is mentioned in the introduction; the second including the song of Hildebrand from the Danish; and the third supplying, also from the Danish, an adventure of Tidrich mentioned in the book of heroes.

We renew and repeat our acknowledgements to Mr. Weber for the compilation and illustration of this vast and interesting mass of poetical antiquities. So much intercourse subsisted in early times between the maritime nations of the north, that many ballads and many story-books became a sort of common stock of literature to the sea-faring *wights* (in this form the word Picts, or Vikingur, still subsists in our language,) who, from Holland, Denmark, and Norway, contributed to supply the eastern coast of Britain with colonists, and effected settlements in Normandy.

It is a duty of the several members of the Gothic family of nations to seek in their own earliest productions, and to welcome from those of the kindred dialects, all that can throw light on the usages and amusements of our common ancestors. A cultivation of these studies will be found to contribute to higher interests than those of archaeological curiosity, and to prepare the bonds of commercial and civil friendship between the nations who once bowed to the name of Odin. We are glad to see the investigation of northern antiquities no longer reposing wholly on continental industry; and that to the names of Græter and Nycrup we can place in parallel those of Weber and Jamieson.

We now proceed to the second part of this volume, which in our judgment should have formed a separate publication. Mr. Weber illustrates *Teutonic* and Mr. Jamieson illustrates *Danish* Antiquities: their respective plans are different: Mr. W. gives an analysis of the poems brought under review, and translates only the more peculiar and characteristic passages; while Mr. Jamieson translates the poems entire, and

attaches notes of commentary in explanation of the difficult passages. Unfortunately, he has chosen a very Scottish and a very antiquated dialect for the medium of communication; so that the greater part of these translated ballads is still to us utterly unintelligible. We find, indeed, a little glossary at the end, for the help of us south-country-men: but the fatigue of looking out every strange word in the dictionary renders perusal a school-boy task.

The principal source of Mr. Jamieson's poetical versions has been the *Kæmpe Viser*, or heroic songs, a collection of Danish ballads first edited in 1695, and lately, we believe, re-published. A few of these poems have been translated into modern English: among which we shall select our specimens.

‘ GRANDMOTHER ADDER-COOK.

- “ Maria, what room have you been in,
Maria, my *only* child?”
- “ I have been with my grandmother; —
Alas! lady mother, what pain!”
- “ What then has she given thee to eat,
Maria, my only child?”
- “ She has given me fried fishes; —
Alas! lady mother, what pain!”
- “ Where did she catch the little fishes,
Maria, my only child?”
- “ She caught them in the kitchen-garden; —
Alas! lady mother, what pain!”
- “ With what did she catch the little fishes,
Maria, my only child?”
- “ She caught them with rods and little sticks;
Alas! lady mother, what pain!”
- “ What did she do with the rest of the fishes;
Maria, my only child?”
- “ She gave it to her little dark-brown dog:
Alas! lady mother, what pain!”
- “ And what became of the dark-brown dog,
Maria, my only child?”
- “ It burst into a thousand pieces:
Alas! lady mother, what pain!”
- “ Maria, where shall I make thy bed,
Maria, my only child?”
- “ In the church-yard shalt thou make my bed,
Alas! lady mother, what pain!”

We

We will now subjoin the *Grotta-saungr* or quern-song, a lay of Pagan times. In 1794 it was first printed at Copenhagen; and, though not attached to the parchment-manuscript of the Edda in the King of Denmark's library, it is usually found affixed to other manuscripts of that work:

'GROTTA-SAVNGR; THE QUERN SONG.

' *Fenia and Menia.*

" Now are we come
to the king's house,
two fore-seers,
Fenia and Menia."
These were at Frotha's [house],
Frithleif's son,
(mighty maidens)
held as thralls.

" They to the Quern [eye]
were led,
and the grey millstone
were bid set a-going.
He promised to neither
rest nor relief,
ere he heard
the maiden's lay.

" They made to rumble,
ceasing silence,
with their arms, the Quern's
light stones.
He bade again the maidens,
that they should grind.

" They sang, and whirled
the grumbling stone,
so that Frothi's folk
mostly slept.
Then thus sang Menia,
who had come to the grinding:

' *Menia.*

" Let us grind riches to Frothi!
Let us grind him happy
in plenty of substance,
on our gladdening Quern.

" Let him brood over treasures!
Let him sleep on down!
Let him wake to his will!
There is well ground!
Here shall no one
hurt another,
to plot mischief,
or to work bane (*death,*)

nor strike therefore
with sharp sword,
though his brother's murderer
bound he found."

' *Both.*

" But he spake no
word before this:
' Sleep not ye,
nor the cuckows without,
longer than while
I sing one strain."

' *Fenia.*

" Thou wast not, Frothi,
sufficiently provident,
[tho'] persuasively eloquent,
when thou boughtest slaves.
Thou boughtest for strength,
and for outward looks;
but of their ancestry
didst nothing ask."

' *Menia.*

" Hardy was Hrungrir
and his father;
yet was Thiassi
stouter than they.
Ithi and Arnir
our relations,
mountain ettin's brethren,—
of them are we born."

' *Fenia.*

" The Quern had not come
from the grey fell,
nor thus the hard
stone from the earth,
nor thus had ground
the mountain-ettin maiden,
if her race known
had not been to her."

' *Menia.*

" We nine winters,
playful wierd-women,
were reared to strength,

under

under the earth.
We maidens stood
to our great work;
we ourselves moved
the set mountain from its place.

“ We whirled the Quern
at the giant's house,
so that the earth
therewith quaked.
So swung we
the whirling stone,
the heavy rock,
that the subterraneans heard it.”

‘ *Fenia.*

“ But we since then,
in Sweden,
two fore-seers,
have fought.
We have fed bears,
and cleft shields;
encountered
grey-shirted (*mailed*) men.

“ We've cast down one prince;
stayed up another.
We gave the good (*brave*)
Guttormi help,
Unstably we sat
Till the heroes fell.

“ Forward held we
these six months [so]
that we in conflicts
were known.
There scored we
with sharp spears
blood from wounds,
and reddened brands.

“ Now are we come
to the King's house,
unpitied,
and held as thralls.

“ The earth bites our feet be-
neath,
and the cold above;
we drive an enemy's Quern;
sad is it at Frothi's [house]!

“ Hands shall rest;
the stone must stand;
I've ground for my part
with diligence.”

‘ *Menia.*

“ Now must not to hands
rest well be given,
till enough ground
Frothi thinks.

“ Hands of men shall
harden (*temper*) swords,
blood-dropping weapons.”

‘ *Fenia.*

“ Awake thou, Frothi!
Awake thou, Frothi!
If thou wilt listen to
our song,
and prophetic sayings.

“ I see fire burn
east of the town;
the war heralds wake;
it must be called the beacon.
An army must come
hither forthwith,
and burn the town
for the prince.

“ Thou must no more hold
the throne of state,
nor red rings,
nor stone (*royal*) edifices.
Let us drive the Quern,
maiden, more sharply!
We shall not be armed
in the bloody fray.”

‘ *Menia.*

“ My father's daughter
ground more furiously,
because the near deaths she
of many men saw.
Wide sprung the large
prop (from the quern-eye)
of iron to a distance. —
Yet let us grind on!”

‘ *Fenia.*

“ Yet let us grind on!
Yrsu's son must
with the Kalfdani
revenge Frothi.
So must he of his [mother]
be called
son and brother: —
we both know that.”

‘ *Both*

‘ Both.

‘ The maidens ground,
and bestowed their strength.
The young women were in
ettin mood.
The spindle flew wide;
the hopper fell off;

burst the heavy
nether millstone in two!

‘ But the mountain giants
woman these words said:
“ We have ground, Forthi!
Now must we finish.
Full long stood
we maidens at the grinding.”

The song of Eric, and still more the abstract of the Eyrbyggja-saga, are truly valuable communications.

We feel inclined to lament the expensive manner in which these compositions are printed; and we cannot refrain from observing that, had the authors come forwards separately each in a single octavo, the materials here brought together would have been more neatly and conveniently accessible. As the case is, however, we exhort the opulent to patronize a work so long and so much wanted, and on the whole well executed. Of the two parts we prefer the first: the prose is more strictly confined to its purpose, and wanders less into irrelevant speculation; while the verse, or, to borrow a periphrasis from the Edda, the waters of Mimer are deeper drawn, and of a fresher reek.

ART. VIII. *Alpine Sketches*, comprized in a short Tour through Parts of Holland, Flanders, France, Savoy, Switzerland, and Germany, during the Summer of 1814. By a Member of the University of Oxford. 8vo. pp. 320. 9s. Boards. Longman and Co.

THIS ‘Member of the University of Oxford’ was one of the first of our countrymen who embraced the opportunity of travelling, which was afforded by the conquering arms of our allies in the spring of 1814. He represents his determination to visit the Continent as having been very suddenly taken, at the suggestion of an Oxonian friend; and, setting out with very little preparation, he crossed from Harwich to Helvoetsluys, and made a rapid progress through the interior of Holland; visiting successively Rotterdam, the Hague, Haarlem, Amsterdam, and Utrecht, towns that have been sufficiently described by former travellers, and on which the observations of the present writer furnish little that is new or remarkable. Holland was then scarcely beginning to recover from the misery into which she had been thrown by the tyranny and anti-commercial edicts of Bonaparte.

‘ Passing through the streets of Haarlem, we observed many houses pulled down, and were told that the wretched distress of the

the inhabitants obliged them to take them to pieces, to sell the materials for bread!! Another curious collection of paintings was shewn us here by an inhabitant of the place, who kindly undertook to be our conductor, after which we proceeded about a mile from the town to Mr. Hope's superb mansion, situated on the borders of a fine natural wood of considerable extent. — Upon our return to the town we visited the gardens of the famous florists, for which this place is so celebrated. — The Museum is one of the finest I have ever seen, containing many well-arranged specimens of precious stones, metals, &c. besides a very extensive collection of mathematical and philosophical instruments, with models of most of the principal engines used in the various manufactories of the country, and an electrifying machine of immense power. The top of this building affords an admirable view of the adjacent country. The greatest treat we reserved for the last, and now, after giving the organist due notice, we proceeded to hear the far-famed organ, the powers of which are truly astonishing, though it is capable also of producing the finest and most delicate tones imaginable. There are 60 entire stops with 5000 pipes, the largest of which is 38 feet high, and 18 inches in diameter. The organist appeared a man of great musical genius, and amongst other pieces performed the overture to *Lodoiska* with admirable effect, introducing an imitation of thunder, which appeared to make the very foundations of the church tremble. After listening with rapturous delight to this extraordinary instrument for more than an hour, and until the poor organist was quite exhausted by the necessary exertions, we took our leave, regretting that probably it was the last time we should ever be so gratified.

We have next a rapid survey of Zwoil, Arnheim, Gorcum, Dort, Williamstadt, Antwerp, and Brussels; at the last of which the traveller heard that, by pushing forwards to Paris, he might be in time to see the King's entrance into that city, and therefore determined to post with what he justly terms 'characteristic precipitation' to the French capital. His observations on Paris are directed chiefly to the public monuments which have engaged the attention of so many former travellers; and we were not sorry to observe that he speedily took leave of this metropolis in quest of scenes of a very different kind.

'I took a conveyance direct to Geneva, in one of those carriages which are always upon the road between that place and Paris, for which I paid six Napoleons, including the living for nine days, the time in which two poor horses were destined to drag us there. Before I had reached the barriers I cursed my ill stars for throwing me in the way of such a vile machine, with a couple of horses who had travelled the road probably once a month for the last twenty years, and a lethargic driver, who knowing the woeful plight of his cattle, and that they had to perform a journey

journey of near four hundred miles, dared not put them off a walk. We travelled scarcely fifteen miles the first day, and slept at a miserable hut by the road-side, where the bed seemed stuffed with potatoes rather than feathers, to say nothing of its numerous inhabitants, who "murdered sleep." In the morning I desired to be called at three o'clock, and with a few clothes in my knapsack, my travelling case at my back, and my gun, I walked off, leaving the rest of my baggage to follow in the *voiture*. Here the country began to wear a different aspect: the vineyards close down to the river, the waving crops of corn, and the hay-harvest just beginning to shed its perfume around, gave it an appearance of cultivation hardly to be expected so soon after the devastations committed by two plundering armies. By the assistance of a good map, I found my way across the country to Montereau, a small town on the Seine, over which I was ferried, (for the bridges were destroyed by the French army in its retreat upon Paris,) and late in the evening reached Ville-neuve-la-Guiard, where I found my creeping conveyance, which had halted there for the night.'

On this unusual, but by no means uncomfortable, plan of walking during the chief part of the day, and getting towards evening into his homely vehicle, the traveller proceeded through Sens, Auxerre, Dijon, Auxonne, and Dole, a frontier-town in Franche Comté; soon after which he found himself on ground that promised an ample return for his pedestrian labours.

' Every thing here begins to wear the Swiss character; forests of pine blacken the distant mountains, foaming cataracts descend from the rocks, and impending precipices seem ready to crush the peaceful inhabitants beneath; the neatness of whose houses, and the peculiar cleanliness of whose dress, are well contrasted with the splendid filth of the country I was leaving. —

' Being now in the Jura mountains, the ascent was continual. —

' The cascades, the thundering torrents, the chasms and gorges in the mountains covered with luxuriant meadows and pine forests, were all crowned with a diadem of ice. A cataract descended close to the village where its waters were employed in the numerous manufactories of the iron, which is brought from the mines of Besançon. As I was attentively gazing at it, the trunk of a huge pine came down, brought by the roaring floods from the inaccessible forests above, a kind of tribute which this torrent often pays to the inhabitants of the valley.'

Having crossed the Jura ridge and descended on the eastern side, the author passed some time at Ferney, where he still found several relics of Voltaire. He next proceeded to Geneva, and describes with much rapture (pp. 80, 81.) his excursions on the lake; where the transparency of the water, the balmy sweetness of the air, the beauty of the neighbouring

seats

seats and vineyards, but, above all, the grandeur of the surrounding mountains, make the traveller consider himself on an enchanted spot. We prefer, however, to accompany him on the excursions which he soon afterward undertook among the Alps, and where he found himself transported from smiling valleys to the regions of frost and snow:

‘ The chamois is a little larger than a goat, but much superior in power and agility; the strongest man cannot hold one of a month old: they bound from precipice to precipice to a prodigious distance, gaining the loftiest summits, and precipitating themselves from the steepest rocks without fear. The chase of this animal occupies a great part of this mountainous population, and many perish annually in the hazardous pursuit.

‘ Often the hunter, overtaken by a dark mist, loses himself amongst the ices, and dies of cold and hunger; or the rains render the rocks so slippery, that he is not able to re-ascend them. In the midst of eternal snows, braving all dangers, they follow the chamois frequently by the marks of their feet: when one is perceived at a distance, the hunter creeps along till within reach of his gun, which he rests on a rock, and is almost always sure of his prey: — thus the innocent beast, which tranquilly feeds perhaps, enjoys the last moments of its happy existence. But if his watchful eye perceives the enemy, as is often the case, he flies from rock to rock, “*timor addidit alas*,” and the fatigues of the pursuer begin, who traverses the snows, and climbs the precipices, heedless of how he is to return. Night arrives, yet the hopes of the morrow re-assure him, and he passes it under a rock. There, without fire, without light, he draws from his wallet a little cheese and oaten bread, which he is obliged to break with a stone, or with the hatchet he carries to cut his path in the ice. This repast finished, he falls asleep upon his bed of snow, considering what route the chamois has probably taken. At break of day he awakens insensible to the charms of a beautiful morning, to the glittering rays which silver the snowy summits of the mountains around him, and thinking only of his prey, seeks fresh dangers. Thus they frequently remain many days in these horrible deserts, while their wives and families scarcely dare to sleep, lest they should behold the spirits of their dead husbands, for it is believed that a Chasseur after his death always appears to the person who is most dear to him, to make known the spot where lie his mangled remains, and to beg the rites of burial.’

The route by which the author and a travelling companion proceeded to make the tour of the Alps was nearly in the course of the river Arve, which descends from these enormous mountains, and rolls westward and northward until it falls into the Rhone. They were at first much gratified by a succession of beautiful rivulets, verdant meadows, and towering forests:

‘ Pré-

' Presently we heard the roar of the cascade of Arpenaz. This sheet of water falls from an height of eight hundred feet, is lost in the air, and descends in fleecy clouds where the sun forms rainbows; then caught again by an inclined rock, it casts its huge masses of white spray around, and rushes down with increased velocity into the basin, which nature has formed for it in a verdant meadow below.

' We stopped at the picturesque village of Salanche for the night. Early the next day we provided ourselves with mules and guides, and ascending for the space of several hours arrived at the little romantic lake of Chède, and soon afterwards at the hamlet; having on our left, woods of wild walnut, whose broad foliage sheltered us from a burning sun, and on the right, the river Arve, whose muddy stream, flowing from the snows and glaciers and joined by a multitude of little cascades, roared over its rocky bed in the dark gulph below.' —

' We approached the torrent of Gias, one of the largest that falls from these mountains, and passed it on foot, upon the blocks of granite which rose above its surface. A prodigious mass of waters precipitated themselves around; rolling along huge fragments of rock, trunks of trees, and whatever obstructed their passage, with a frightful noise. In passing this spot our guides told us, that a few days before, it had been the grave of a poor peasant girl. Her mule, alarmed at the waters, rushed over the precipice, and was caught by the trunk of a pine, whilst its ill-fated rider continued falling from rock to rock, and at last disappeared in the boiling torrent below.

' Passing at the foot of the Glacier de Boissons, which runs down from Mont Blanc into the valley, we arrived at the village of Chaumoni, called Le Prieuré, in the evening. It is built upon a little elevated ground on the borders of the Arve, and at the height of 3144 feet above the level of the sea' —

' It is a well attested fact that this little enclosed valley was not known, even to the people of Geneva, till the year 1747, when it was discovered by two travellers, one of whom was an Englishman. It is rich and well cultivated, although bounded on all sides by snow and ice. The butter and cheeses here made have a balsamic flavour, and the honey is exquisitely fine. These productions, with a few cattle, form the sole commerce of the canton. They sow in the month of May, and reap in August. The Arve, which runs through the whole length of the valley, abounds with trout; and the mountains with the chamois.

' The rays of the sun, concentrated in this little space, and reflected from the rocks on all sides, bear a great power. In the summer the thermometer of Reaumur stands usually at 19°. (75° of Fahrenheit.) The winter commences in November and ends in May, during which season the valley is covered with snow to the depth of three or four feet; the nights are clear, and the thermometer is usually at 10° below congelation.'

The great source of terror to the inhabitants in these elevated regions is not the extreme cold, but the severity of the tempest

tempest and the awful explosion of the avalanches. These dreadful storms are engendered by the violence of the wind when confined and engulfed in chains of mountains. Still the population is found to be on the increase; a circumstance to be attributed partly to the ease of subsistence, and partly to the pure and tranquil character of the inhabitants. They have before their eyes three summits covered with perpetual snow, the highest of which is Mont Blanc, with its head frequently buried in clouds, and rising with gigantic magnitude over the whole chain of the Alps.

Mont Blanc being at present too deep in snow, the guides would not attempt it, but, armed with iron pointed poles, we set out to ascend Mont Anvert. Crossing the meadows on mules, which shewed a wonderful sagacity in picking out their hazardous path, we rode about a league up the mountain, when we were obliged to dismount, and trust to our feet. We followed our guides through a forest of pines, and soon began to enter the regions of winter. Vast masses of granite lay around us, which had been brought down by the recent avalanches:—at times, the guides would not allow us to speak, least the concussion of the air should bring down the snows hanging frightfully above. In the crevices, between the rocks, the beautiful Rhododendron was in full bloom, and the ground in many places variegated with the choicest flowers. We presently reached the fountain de Caillet, a pure spring which flows from the rocks, and which is about half the distance to the summit. Soon afterwards we approached the Mer de Glace, then turning from it again, after an arduous ascent of four hours, arrived at the top. A new universe opened beneath our view; nature seemed to rise out of chaos,

“*Rudis indigestaque moles.*”

Before us was an immense extent of solid ice, many hundred feet deep; like a sea, whose waves running mountains high were suddenly congealed. Life and movement had fled this terrible desert: a vast silence reigned around, all was dead, and we seemed to be in the very tomb of nature. We perceived pyramids of ice, so bright, so high, so majestic, that the astonished imagination could scarcely measure them; they were the enormous accumulations of the snows and ices of four thousand winters! In the midst of these awful scenes, some benevolent traveller has left money to build a house for shelter, which we took possession of, spreading upon the table the dinner which we had brought up with us: and after descending to view the wonderful spectacle of the Mer de Glace, we returned to partake of it. We made a large fire and seated ourselves around it, with our cold fowl in our hands; our wine wanted no cooling.

‘I asked my friend if he recollected the valley de Tempé?’ ‘Yes,’ said he, blowing his fingers; ‘but you shall never persuade me that I am there.’

‘However, so, well were we satisfied with our situation, that in spite of the chilling cold, we determined to pass the night there, and

and made preparations accordingly. After dinner we ventured to ascend the craggy precipices of the pyramid du Charmôz, high above us, walking over ruins made by the convulsions of the globe, whose epoch is lost in the night of time, and seeing beneath us mountains heaped in wild chaos one upon another, with their dark gulphs and frowning chasms. Nothing could exceed the splendid effect of the atmosphere on these elevations; where the disk of the sun appeared smaller, and disarmed of its burning power, although casting a most brilliant white light.

‘Its last rays afforded a spectacle most superb. The summits of all the surrounding mountains seemed inflamed; to this ardent tint succeeded the purple, and the rose, which latter lighted up the highest pinnacles of the rocks during the whole night: the stars held their silent course “through the drear realms of night,” and shone without scintillation. The moon seemed nearer to us, although its diameter was smaller, and the deep blue of the heavens appeared lost behind its disk.’—

‘At the elevation of seven or eight thousand feet, you experience the same variations of temperature which local circumstances cause in the 80° of latitude; and in a walk of a few hours up these mountains, you have felt the influence of all the seasons, running through the whole scale of vegetation.’—

‘At intervals, the distant explosions of avalanches made us shudder with affright. We reached a lone chalet, situated in the midst of a beautiful pasturage, the summer residence of a shepherd, who tends his cows during a few weeks in the year, upon this favoured spot. Mounting again, with infinite labour we attained the summit of the Col de Balme, where glittering snows seemed lengthening into the clouds. Yet at this stupendous height, Mont Blanc, twelve miles distant, appeared to tower as much above us as when we were at its foot. Between us and it lay the Mer de Glace, the Glaciers de Boisson, L’Argentiere, and La Tour: on the other side of the valley, the summit of Mont Buet reared its head between the Aiguilles Rouges: still nearer on the right, over the desert tracts of snow we saw the ancient territory of the Pays de Vaud; and in the east, the Rhone winding through Le Valais towards the lake of Geneva, backed by lofty rocks and mountains with the white summit of St. Bernard.’—

‘Upon the highest point of the Col de Balme is the boundary stone between Switzerland and Savoy. We were standing by it, admiring the stupendous scenery around, when on a sudden the rolling of an avalanche struck our ears: we listened—the noise was yet far off, but grew louder, and in a few seconds a mountain of snow seemed falling over us.—

‘The noise echoed, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other; then it seemed afar off in the distant vallies. To put an end at last to our alarms, an avalanche of snow, which caused all the confusion, rolled down with a mighty crash, and covered the rocks we had just been traversing. The danger having thus vanished, we pursued our course.’—

‘Presently a chamois started, and dashed with the rapidity of lightning,

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lightning down the trackless precipices. We now begin to descend towards the little valley of Trient, which was about two leagues below us. These two leagues, which to walk would have taken four hours at least, we performed in less than one, by employing the means made use of by the people here, of resting on our poles and suffering ourselves to slide with wonderful rapidity down the almost perpendicular beds of frozen snow; there was little or no danger in it, although it looked terrific; for which the quickness of the motion nearly took away the breath, on we came to a shelf, where it was necessary to stop, it was easily done by pressing the heels down close, and bringing the pole forward. Thus you may approach the very edge of an unperceived precipice, and yet stop in time.

The course of the travellers lay eastward, along the valley of Trient, until they reached the canton of Le Valais; which contains, in a comparatively small space, almost all the variety of scene, climate, and productions of Switzerland at large. The inhabitants are of very simple habits, but subject frequently to the *goutte*, and exhibit unfortunately too many examples of those helpless beings called *Cretins*. — From Martigny, the author proceeded to Sion, the capital of this romantic canton, and found the beauty of the situation strongly contrasted with the filth and indolence of the natives. The language of these valleys is a strange mixture, French being spoken in some districts, Italian in others, and German to the east and north. — The next object of attention was the small town of Leuck, situated on a little eminence in the midst of meadows, and surrounded by a magnificent amphitheatre of mountains. In this spot, cold as the deserts of Siberia, are five springs of mineral waters, all warm, but of different degrees of temperature; the highest being from 115° to 130° of Fahrenheit.

A wooden house in the village contains four baths, and there is another in a meadow at a little distance. The visitors are sometimes very numerous, and the accommodations very tolerable at the Auberge, which faces the road; from whence one of the most extraordinary scenes in nature presents itself. On the north and west you are enclosed by the stupendous heights of Mont Gemmi, with their snowy summits buried in the clouds; on the east by a lofty mountain clothed with pine forests, and crowned by a diadem of ice; while the only visible entrance is towards the south, winding between the narrow rocks. —

Before 1719 Leuck was a well-built town, but at that time a frightful avalanche parted from Mont Gemmi, and buried the whole place beneath its immense volumes of snow, in which sixty persons perished.

They rebuilt many of the houses, and again the baths were frequented, but in 1758 a new avalanche destroyed every thing; since

since which time most of the inhabitants abandon the place in winter, returning again when the danger is passed.

The morning after our arrival we went to reconnoitre the stupendous pass of Mont Gemmi, over which our route lay to Berne. In our walk we encountered several beautiful cascades; and on the point of a rock near one of these romantic spots, sat a young peasant playing on his *cornemuse* the sweet air of the Ranz des Vaches. This simple little song awakens in the souls of the Swiss so keen a remembrance of their mountains, the asylums of their infancy, the happy scenes of their first joys; that it is forbidden to be played under pain of death, among those troops who are employed upon foreign service. Some mule drivers happened to be coming down the pass, but so high in the air that they were scarcely perceptible, and we trembled for their safety. A young Dutch traveller some years ago fell over a precipice at the height of more than three thousand feet without being killed. He wished to cross Mont Gemmi, but unfortunately took a path that overhung a glacier: the ascent was rapid, and so slippery that he fell over backwards, but fortunately, in that spot, the ices were united, and he continued rolling down the frozen snow into the bottom of the valley, where he lay the whole night senseless and bathed in his blood. The next morning the bergers perceived and brought him to the village, where by the charitable efforts of the Curé he was recovered.

One evening we visited the extraordinary pass which forms the only communication between the Baths and the village of Albinen on the heights above. A perpendicular rock 420 feet high is scaled by nine ladders, placed one above another, and supported only by the projecting crags. An Austrian General, whom curiosity had induced to ascend a short time before, was so alarmed by the awfulness of the situation when upon the seventh ladder, that he was obliged to be bound hand and foot to it, till assistance could be procured to take him down, when he was carried back insensible to the village. I was glad to find myself safe again at the bottom, yet we were told that the women of the country will go up and down with a dead calf upon their backs.

After having passed some days among the delicious retreats of the Baths of Leuck, one morning, when

“Ancor dubbia l'Aurora, ed immaturo
Nell' oriente il parto era del giorno,”

we mounted our mules, and set out for the arduous ascent of Mont Gemmi. In half an hour we arrived at the foot of its stupendous rocks, and environed by the still silence of death, mounted through galleries suspended in the air, over dark abysses whose depth the eye scarce dares to measure. The noise of our steps, repeated by the echoes, and increased by the imagination, added to the feelings of terror which already assailed us. Like the ladder in Jacob's vision, it touched the heavens and finished not. At each step the valley below grew fainter, the hills and rocks in it were soon lost in a confused plain, and new objects struck us with awe and admiration. Prodigious drifts of snow spread

spread in boundless extent all around us into the clouds; and the diversities of light contrasted with the grand masses of shade, rendered the aspect magnificent indeed. The *couches* of the atmosphere varied in an extraordinary degree. In advancing, every object appeared to us with the greatest clearness and the most extreme precision, while those which we had left seemed to sink behind a nebulous veil.

'At length we arrived amidst wild rocks, the very image of desolation and chaos, where we looked down upon the valley 7600 feet below us!—

'We walked over crumbling rocks lying in colossal fragments one upon another,

"With ruin upon ruin, rout on rout,

Confusion worse confounded."

the enormous chasms between which were filled with beds of snow. In the midst of this savage wilderness, we discovered a large lake. The cold was excessive, and the snow fell fast around, although it was on the 22d of June. Amid these scenes of awful grandeur, is the hut of a *douanier*, who receives the customs between the cantons of Berne and Le Valais: which habitation is considered to be at a higher elevation than any other in the three quarters of the globe.'

On descending from this elevated spot, the travellers took a northerly course, and soon reached a milder temperature. The vallies, or rather defiles, in the country which they were now traversing, (the Canton of Oberland,) are in a manner separated from the rest of the world, and are sometimes so contracted as to give room for little else than a narrow path and a mountain-torrent. Still, the powerful influence of the sun in the latitude of 46° is sufficient to call forth a rich display of vegetation in certain situations, particularly in the valley of Frutigen.

'We presently entered a charming valley, where the numerous cabins, hanging on the sides of the verdant mountains, and the luxuriant carpeting of the meadows, formed a strong contrast with the scenes we had just left.

'There is scarcely a spot of ground, of the extent of half a dozen acres, but has a neat cabin in its centre, of which the inhabitant is sole proprietor, and there supports himself upon his own patrimonial estate.

'No one is rich enough to buy his neighbour's property—no one so poor as to be obliged to sell his own.'—

'A peasant described to us his manner of living during the winter months. "This season," said he, "lasts nearly eight months, all communication between our villages ceases, and we live solely upon the provisions which we have laid up during the summer. My family is composed of seven persons. My winter's provision consists of seven cheeses, each weighing about 25lbs.; 108lbs. of dried bread, twenty-five bushels of potatoes, each about 40lbs.; seven goats and three cows, of which one is to be killed

killed for food. During the long frosts, my family are all employed in some useful work. My wife and children spin and weave, while I sit over my fire and read to them."

The rest of the volume is occupied by an account of Berne, Zurich, Schaffhausen, Basle, and other towns that lay in the author's course in his progress homewards. He now resumed his former hasty mode of travelling, and went to the north along the Rhine, all the way to Holland, in an interval by much too short to afford him a proper view of the country. The tour ended by proceeding from Aix-la-Chapelle to Juliers, Liege, and Ostend.

We are sorry that we cannot conclude with an unqualified testimony to the writer's manner of reporting his travelling observations. His composition is liable to a variety of objections; since it abounds at one time in repetition and exaggeration, and is deficient at others in that clear and careful enumeration of circumstances which is indispensable to perspicuity. For an example of turgid style, we would mention his effusions (pp. 203. *et seqq.*) on the glaciers; and for errors in proper names, or for the introduction of quotations that are often rather common-place, we may refer without exception to every chapter of the book. We meet in one passage (p. 23.) with a strange chronological error; in others (pp. 59. 260.) with trifling details; and in a third (p. 147.) we have the vulgarism 'of an evening:' so that, in selecting the passages extracted above, we deemed it necessary to free them from a number of irrelevant and unsuitable appendages. It seems that the author undertook (see preface, p. v.) a tour in Italy after he had sent the present volume to the press; and it will be some satisfaction to us if the unceremonious hints, which we have felt ourselves under the necessity of giving him, shall have the effect of making him prepare his next address to the public with greater care and fastidiousness.

ART. IX. (I.) *An Essay on Provident or Parish Banks; for the Security and Improvement of the Savings of Tradesmen, Artificers, Servants, &c. until required for their future Wants, or Advancement in Life. Containing a brief History of the several Schemes for the above Purpose; and developing the Causes which have promoted or prevented their Success. To which is added, a detailed Account of the Plan, Regulations, and Routine of Management of the Provident Bank in the Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden. By Barber Beaumont, Esq. F.A.S. Managing Director of the Provident Institution and County Fire Office, and One of His Majesty's Justices of the Peace for Middlesex.* 8vo. pp. 70. Cadell and Davies. 1816.

ART. X. (II.) *An Essay on the Nature and Advantages of Parish-Banks for the Savings of the Industrious.* Second Edition, greatly altered, and enlarged by an Account of the Rise and Progress of the Scheme; and Remarks on the Propriety of uniting these Institutions with Friendly Societies, &c. &c. By the Rev. Henry Duncan, Ruthwell. 8vo. pp. 115. 2s. Edinburgh, Oliphant and Co.; London, Hatchard. 1816.

ART. XI. (III.) *A Plan for a County Provident Bank; with Observations upon Provident Institutions already established.* By Edward Christian, of Gray's Inn, Esq. Barrister, Professor of the Laws of England, &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 88. Clarke and Sons.

ART. XII. (IV.) *Reasons for the Establishment of Savings Banks, with a Word of Caution respecting their Formation.* 12mo. pp. 28. 6d. Richardson.

WE observe with great pleasure that the question of savings-banks is likely to be put on a proper and definitive footing, with much less discussion and loss of time than the introduction of a new institution generally occasions. Whoever has been obliged to travel through the mass of pamphlets that have appeared on the Bullion-Question, or even those on our agricultural distresses, will find much gratification in comparing, with those tedious and frequently inconsistent publications, the clear and candid essays recapitulated in the title of our present article. A new undertaking seldom acquires at once all the simplicity of which it is susceptible; for it is a curious fact that we find it a matter of much greater time and difficulty to disentangle a plan from superfluous accompaniments, than to form the first conception of it or to sketch its fundamental outlines. The Bank of England itself was encumbered, for many years after the grant of its charter, with schemes of advancing money on the deposit of goods, and with a vain attempt to mix the business of a mercantile with that of a money-establishment. In the present instance, some errors of a similar kind have occurred, first in the case of the undertaking called the London Provident Institution, and next in the first parish-bank founded by the Rev. H. Duncan of Ruthwell in Scotland; but the degree of inconvenience resulting from either has been trifling; and we may now consider ourselves as having attained, in the Edinburgh savings-bank, a plan of almost as great simplicity as the object can well admit.

I. We shall proceed, then, without farther preamble, to pass in review the different tracts; beginning with that of Mr. Beaumont, who has a title to precedence on more grounds than one. He was the person who in 1806 projected the
Provident

Provident Institution in our metropolis, calculated its tables, and conducted its affairs from the outset; and he commences his pamphlet with a short notice of the attempts made in former years to introduce such establishments by act of parliament. After having recapitulated the regulations of the institution just mentioned, he explains those of the parish-bank of Ruthwell in Scotland, which dates from 1810, and was one of the earliest models of those repositories that have of late engaged such general attention:—next, he takes notice of a similar association, on a somewhat different plan, founded two years ago at Edinburgh;—after which we have the regulations of the **Provident Institution of Bath**, and of a corresponding establishment at Southampton.

‘ This brief history of Institutions for rendering early savings available for the supply of future wants would be very incomplete, if it were not to take notice of a description of provision against casualties, and for old age, of a very comprehensive nature, and most extensive application, viz. **Friendly or Benefit Societies**. These societies, extending to every town in Great Britain and abounding in every quarter of the metropolis, propose to indemnify the early economist against almost every ill that can happen to his corporeal existence; and to anticipate every want to the supply of which his early savings are applicable. In these societies not only are the visitations of ill health, and the pressure of old age provided for, but relief is frequently offered in cases of insolvency—when in want of work—on accidents by fire—to provide substitutes if drawn for the militia—on the birth of a child—or the decease of any part of the member's family. Various acts of parliament have given encouragement to these societies: and a bill that was passed in 1793 endows them with a preference, before any other creditor, against their trustees and officers—it also exempts them from stamp duties and court fees in their legal proceedings, and supplies them with expeditious and cheap means of settling disputes.—

‘ It is only to be lamented, that such a good disposition in the people, and such beneficent provisions in the legislature, should be used by the artful as the means of foisting impositions upon the deserving persons intended to be made secure. *Benefit Clubs in the metropolis* are, it is believed, with very few exceptions, cheats upon the unwary—their benefit is chiefly to the publican at whose house they are set up, and to the secretary, their contriver, who is usually some broken adventurer. For the most part, the contributions are not a third part of what is necessary to realize the promised advantages—and the secretaries, some of whom manage twenty different clubs, seem to be under no other restraint in outbidding each other in the advantages they promise, than the necessary caution not to overstrain the credulity of their subscribers. Consisting at first of the young and healthful, the members are all payers-in—and the fund continuing to improve

for a time, persons unused to consider subjects of this kind are delighted with the prospect, and think it must last for ever; but when, from being young and healthy payers-in, they become sickly and aged drawers-out, the scene presently changes. Hence most of the clubs are exhausted in fifteen or twenty years, and very few indeed reach to the age of thirty years, when those who have been many years members reap no other fruit from their life-long industry and frugality, than grievous disappointment. These continual falsifications of the just hopes of the frugally disposed are not more cruel to the sufferers themselves, than they are prejudicial to the cause of industry and frugality in others. Many, desirous of saving part of their earnings, and applying them to their future wants, seeing the failures of these clubs, give up their object in despair, and spend the sums they would otherwise save, in present enjoyments.'

Mr. B. then explains the farther objections to benefit-clubs, and points out the defects of the different schemes for banks that have been proposed by Baron Masères, Mr. Whitbread, and Mr. Ackland, who was aided by the calculations of Dr. Price. He next enters into a more specific detail of the London Provident Institution, the object of which was twofold; that of insuring lives on a scheme rather more favourable to the assured than other institutions of the kind; and that of acting as a savings-bank (on a particular plan) for the kingdom at large. In the former, the business of the establishment has been pursued with great success, but in the latter a variety of obstacles have been encountered. The trouble of corresponding, and the risk incurred through the neglect or defalcation of agents, soon made it necessary to stop the receipt of small savings in the country, and to confine it to London; the management of the latter at the office was found scarcely compatible with the other business of the concern; and the number of subscribers was very limited, because the repayment of the money took place not (as in the case of the lately established savings-banks) on the demand of the owner, but only in the shape of an annuity in old age. The intention was to make the poor lay by a provision for advanced years: but this, however well meant, was not found suitable to their circumstances; since the time, at which a married man is most likely to need an extra-supply, is generally that of middle-life, viz. when his children have begun to be expensive to him, without being yet able to do any thing for their own support. In advanced years,

When this period is passed by—when his children's labour is sufficient for their support, and his wife also is at liberty to work for her livelihood, his condition then re-approaches to the independence of a single man, and if his diminished bodily powers

cause

cause his earnings to be at that period curtailed — his subdued desires, on the other hand, free him from many expences which the habits of youth made necessary; so that, if he continues to enjoy the blessing of health, the labour of old age for many years will supply its wants. It is, therefore, not quite reasonable that a young man *should sink* his savings to procure an independence in an old age which he may not live to enjoy; and overlook the probability of such savings being wanted to supply food for an infant-family, or the expences of the sick bed.

The savings-banks now established leave it in general to the contributor to withdraw the money at his option; and they are seldom liable to any other objection than that of too great a complexity in their arrangements, arising from a solicitude on the part of the directors to act as guardians to their humble neighbours.

‘ Be it ever remembered, that *the great merit of these Saving Banks is their simplicity* — adhering to the operation of merely *taking care of the working man's savings*, be they much or little — *improving them at good interest* — and *returning them whenever demanded* — the management will be easy and without expence; but enter into complex machinery, and all the reverse effects will follow. The perfect freedom, convenience, and cheapness of these Banks, at once compose their attraction, and their great utility. Bind the depositors to stated periodical payments, and speculate on contingent benefits, and this very promising plan of economy will evaporate into the cloud of plausible but erroneous schemes, which daily win the complaisance of the charitable, but which soon disappoint their expectations and sink into oblivion.

‘ The plan of the *Edinburgh Bank* is the *best of all* in the north, because it is the most simple; it professes to do but little, but it does that little well.’ —

‘ In various other parts of England, and also in Ireland, similar institutions have lately been proposed, and announced under high patronage and munificent support; indeed the best feelings appear to have been kindled toward the subject.

‘ That they may not end in disappointment, the writer of this essay has been induced to take up his pen, and submit to the public the result of his experience. — The best advice then that he can give to the opulent and beneficent is, to be the *Interest Bankers* for the poor in their respective neighbourhoods, — and there to stop. In that way they may do more for the good of working people, than by any other act of general kindness. — The chief caution necessary is not to spoil this simple machine by *improvements*. Almost every place of deposit for savings that has been lately announced has had something new thrown in — a combination of several districts, with a central seat of management — *impediments* against the deposits being withdrawn, lest they should be wasted — optional annuities — an actuary or secretary, to be elected, with a certain salary, before it is seen whether any *adequate* employment will arise — and lastly, a *large subscription* from
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among the rich and charitable. All these things, it is submitted, are unnecessary. A combination of several townships, with a central seat of directors, can seldom be of use; for if proper persons, in each town, are willing to receive the weekly amounts of deposits, and pay interest, no combination of places can do more; but they must do less, by creating useless correspondence, interference, and delays. Interest Banks are best managed in their separate localities. All regulations for suspending the freedom of paying in, and drawing out, are essentially bad.'—

It is now ten years since the author projected the *Bank for Savings*, of the Provident Institution; but being encumbered with restrictions and scientific calculations, after several years unsuccessful trial it was given up: experience has now stripped the plan of every thing but the simple process of receiving, improving, and paying, and it thrives beyond expectation.'—

It is the great object of the Banks for Savings to reclaim the working class from their present habit of relying on the helping hand of others in their difficulties, and to teach them to depend only on the natural support of their own industry and prudence.—

Impressed with these considerations, the author has exerted himself lately to establish a "Provident Bank" in his own parish, St. Paul's, Covent Garden, and he has the satisfaction to see that it has every prospect of doing well. Indeed the alacrity, with which the benefit has been embraced, confirms him in the belief that the wanderings of the lower class are, in a great measure, attributable to the want of plain and convenient ways for the exercise of prudence. In the course of an hour after the books were opened, fifty-seven persons had deposited savings to the amount of upwards of seventy pounds.'

In an appendix to Mr. Beaumont's pamphlet, we find the office-regulations of the institution in question, followed by an address to the lower orders; which we would recommend as a model of clearness, ingenuity, and cogent argument, to persons who intend to make similar appeals to their humble neighbours. The only deficiency in Mr. B.'s plan relates to a very material point,—we mean the mode of investing the deposits. Bankers not being in the habit of allowing interest on small sums, and the public funds being liable to fluctuation, Mr. B. suggests the scheme of dividing the deposits among the most respectable persons of the neighbourhood; taking the precaution that not more than 2 or 300l. shall be in the hands of any one individual. He is induced to recommend this course by the existence of an act of parliament relative to benefit-clubs, (33 Geo. III. cap. 54.) which gives, in the event of bankruptcy, a preference to the depositors before all other creditors: but this is certainly liable to objection, and by no means so desirable an arrangement as that of lending the money on a specific security.

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"It is much to be lamented that the plan of savings-banks was not adopted ten or twelve years ago, because in that interval the lower orders could have availed themselves of them to a much greater extent than they can under the present circumstances of reduced wages and deficient employment.

'It is a curious fact, that in places where the labouring class have *highest wages*, the inhabitants are encumbered with the *highest poor-rates*. The following extract of a letter which I have received from an esteemed friend, who has considerable estates at Coventry, shews the existence of the evil in that city in a striking point of view. It is believed that similar conduct prevails in most manufacturing districts.

"In reply to your favour of yesterday, respecting the improvident conduct of the *Women Ribbon Weavers* at Coventry, I understand for at least six months last year they were (when they liked to pay attention to their work) in the habit of gaining about three pounds per week. Very few of them, I believe, worked more than *four days a week*, and the manufacturers were obliged to give them such work as they liked, or they would not do any. A respectable butcher informed me that he could not sell legs of mutton but at a very reduced price, as the weavers would not purchase any thing but ducks, geese, fowls, &c. which they dressed most evenings for supper. The drapers, &c. had not any thing sufficiently good in their shops, but were obliged to send to London for the best silks, &c. to please the ladies. The *first or second week* after trade becomes bad, they in general *pawn their fine dresses*, and afterwards *apply to the parish for relief*; the *poor-rates* have, in some instances, been *double the rental of the houses*."

Some good 'Old English Maxims' fill the last page of this benevolent tract.

II. *Mr. Duncan on Parish-banks*.—The reverend author of this pamphlet enters at considerable length into an historical sketch of these institutions, and explains with great clearness the points in which they differ from the old established associations under the name of "Benefit-clubs," or "Friendly Societies." The latter, though generally praise-worthy in their motives, were founded on such erroneous calculations, that they frequently left an inadequacy of funds at the time when the advanced years of the original subscribers rendered assistance most necessary. Still Mr. D. is so far from being exclusively attached to the new establishments, and so convinced of the expediency of providing for particular contingencies of distress arising from old age and sickness, that he dedicates a section (p. 47.) to the method of uniting the parish-bank system with that of friendly societies; and it is in this solicitude to combine a variety of objects, and to provide for

for them by a multiplicity of regulations, that he differs from other advocates of savings-banks, particularly from Mr. Beaumont, Mr. Christian; and the managers of the Edinburgh Association.

The progress of these institutions has been more rapid in Scotland than in the other parts of the United Kingdom; the general steadiness there of the lower orders, the intimate connection subsisting between a clergyman and his flock, but, in particular, the absence of poor-rates, having all concurred to accelerate the adoption of this most beneficial arrangement. The Principal of the University of Edinburgh (Dr. Baird) has been indefatigable in the cause; and it has lately derived a most efficient patronage from being taken up by the numerous body of gentlemen who are known by the denomination of the Highland-Society, but who are in fact occupied with questions of interest to Scotland at large. Mr. D. has subjoined to his pamphlet, by way of example to other associations, the rules of the Dumfries Parish-bank, following it up with a notice of other institutions, as well as with some very useful calculations. He records, likewise, several affecting anecdotes of the pleasing results of early prudence in the lower orders, consequent on the exhortation of their superiors and on the facilities afforded by the institution in question. It is only to be regretted that his pamphlet is composed in a diffuse style, and that he aims too much at system and modification in a matter of which the essence consists in brevity and simplicity.

III. Mr. Christian's pamphlet consists chiefly of a recapitulation of the plans of the principal establishments of this nature that have been already formed. He begins with the Provident Institution of Bath; which he has no hesitation in pronouncing to be founded on a basis that cannot last, because it will require the aid of constant charitable contributions, and because the promise of a *bonus* or premium at the end of five years must be altogether illusory. The regulations of the Southampton Provident Institution are next discussed, and treated with as little ceremony. In the third place, Mr. C. passes under review the suggestions of Mr. Twiss, a barrister, who has lately published on this subject, which he is disposed to approve in the main: but, in discussing the merits of Mr. Beaumont's plan, he is struck with the serious objection that occurred to us with regard to lodging deposits in the hands of individuals, howsoever apparently respectable. The regulations of the Hertfordshire Savings-bank are next investigated, but pronounced to be inferior in simplicity and in judgment to those of the Edinburgh-bank. The pamphlet concludes with
a few

a few directions (pp. 75. *et seqq.*) which Mr. C. considers as indispensable to every institution of the kind.

IV. We are now to wind up our report with a notice of the little tract under the title of *Reasons for the Establishment of Savings-banks*. It differs from the preceding works in containing, not the scheme of any particular foundation, but some general reasoning in recommendation of the institution at large; and we have seldom met with more truth in a short compass than in this cheap and modest essay, the chief (and rare) objection to which arises from its too great brevity, and the obscurity in which it is likely to remain from the writer not venturing into a comprehensive view of the subject. The sufferings of the lower class proceed, he says, in a great measure from their improvidence in youth.

‘All the labouring classes are subject to great inequalities. At some periods they enjoy a surplus, at others they experience a deficiency. In youth, in health, in celibacy, in summer, their earnings are more than adequate to their exigencies. In age, in sickness, when surrounded with a young family, and often in winter, the case is sometimes unhappily reversed, and they are then frequently sore pressed with difficulty. The misfortune is, that in the sunshine of prosperity they make no provision against the rainy season of adversity; which, consequently, finds them destitute and dependent. Those surplus earnings, which, if carefully saved, might have secured them against want, are all consumed; and they have no other resource but charitable aid or parochial relief. In all this, however, they are objects rather of pity than of blame. They have no place where they may deposit, in safety, their surplus earnings. The fastenings of their humble dwellings afford no security against depredation. Their little hoards serve only to expose them to personal danger; and the minute streams, furnished by their economy, have no access to any channel of public security.’

The benefit of such institutions is two-fold; first in providing a fund which may eventually be very considerable; and next in improving the conduct, habits, and character of the lower classes. Economy implies temperance and industry, — a disposition to respect ourselves and to value the respect of others. The books of a savings-bank will be a standing memorial of the exemplary habits of individuals; so that the rising generation may, by means of this institution and the late improvements in education, exhibit a practical example of much that our forefathers endeavoured in vain to effect by religious and moral exhortations. Man is a creature of habit; and, unless he can be brought under the influence of good principles, he will often prove too weak to contend with his various temptations. We entreat the parti-

our attention of our readers to an observation of this author, viz. that, great as would be the advantages of savings-banks to the lower classes, those which would accrue to the higher would be scarcely less considerable. The comfort and security of the upper orders depend materially on the dispositions and habits of their inferiors, in the capacity of servants and otherwise; while nothing would conduce so much to lessen the enormous and progressively increasing burden of poor-rates, as the success of the institutions now set on foot. We should thus, in process of time, succeed in drying up the main sources of pauperism; after which we may find it practicable to devise some better mode than we have as yet obtained, for affording relief to real objects of charity.

The writer of this little tract concludes with a few cautions regarding the mode of establishing savings-banks. The rate of interest can scarcely be expected to remain in peace so high as it is at present; and the public funds, moreover, which are the proper investments for such deposits, are liable to fluctuate in value: whereas nothing is so desirable to a poor man as a certainty,—the knowledge that he will draw out exactly that which he paid in. This consideration leads the author to suggest (pp. 25, 26.) certain hints calculated to produce that result; and to enable the managers of savings-banks to pay over, without expence or responsibility, to the representatives of the depositors, the small sums that may stand in the names of the latter at the time of their death.

We take leave of this interesting subject with the most cordial wishes for the speedy diffusion and the success of the new establishments. Their plan possesses a number of satisfactory and encouraging characteristics, in as much as it accomplishes the relief of the lower orders, not by a call on the sympathy of their superiors, but by means of the independent earnings of their own labour. We have had occasion to witness the superior comfort of those parts of the kingdom in which poor-rates are comparatively unknown; and we have long felt that the best way of consulting the advantage of our humble brethren is to pay them a fair price for their exertions, to secure to them the means of gradual saving, but to avoid all interference with the disposal of the surplus of their earnings. Times, it is to be hoped, will ere long mend, so as to afford the unmarried mechanic the power of making periodical contributions to that fund which is eventually to form the basis of his domestic comfort; and, when the present season of distress is over, we shall anticipate, with the writer of the last-mentioned tract, a very flattering improvement in the conduct and circumstances of the younger generation.

MONTHLY

MONTHLY CATALOGUE,

FOR SEPTEMBER, 1816.

POETRY.

Art. 13. *Poems.* By Lord Byron. 8vo. 2s. Murray. 1816.

We did not intend to take any notice of the minor productions of Lord Byron's pen which have lately been circulated in society, in the news-papers, and in pamphlets unauthorized by him: but the poems before us are issued from the press by his own bookseller, and may therefore be inserted in our list as forming an authentic publication. They are prefaced by the following Advertisement:

As some of the Verses in this Collection were evidently not intended for general circulation, they would not have appeared in this authentic form, had they not been already dispersed through the medium of the public press, to an extent that must take away the regret which, under other circumstances, the reader might perhaps experience in finding them included amongst the acknowledged publications of the Noble Author.

Still, the nature of the domestic event which gave occasion to the poem principally known, *Fare thee well*, induces us to refrain from making any remark on it as a composition, or even from quoting it, — which indeed would be superfluous. The bitter *Sketch of the Female Companion* is not here added. The other pieces here printed are, 1. *To —*, beginning, 'When all around grew drear and dark;' 2. Stanzas beginning 'Bright be the place of thy soul;' 3. Ditto, 'When we two parted;' 4. and 5. Stanzas for Music; 6. *Ode on Waterloo*, from the French; 7. Lines from the French, on the separation of Savary and a Polish officer from Bonaparte; 8. *On the Star of the Legion of Honour*, from the French; 9. *Napoleon's Farewell*, from ditto; 10. Lines to Samuel Rogers, Esq.

Numbers 1. and 2. breathe that spirit of pathetic tenderness, for which some of Lord Byron's writings are remarkable: but the third is a juvenile composition which might as well have remained unknown. No. 4. consists of lines given by his Lordship 'to Mr. Power in the Strand, who has published them, with very beautiful music by Sir John Stevenson.' We transcribe them:

'There's not a joy the world can give like that it takes away,
When the glow of early thought declines in feeling's dull decay;
'Tis not on youth's smooth cheek the blush alone, which fades so fast,

But the tender bloom of heart is gone, ere youth itself be past.

'Then the few whose spirits float above the wreck of happiness,
Are driven o'er the shoals of guilt or ocean of excess:
The magnet of their course is gone, or only points in vain
The shore to which their shiver'd sail * shall never stretch again.

'Then

* Besides all this objectionable alliteration, the *shiver'd sail* is technically improper. The sea-term to *shiver the sails* occurs when

' Then the mortal coldness of the soul like death itself comes down ;
It cannot feel for others' woes, it dare [*dares*] not dream its own ;
That heavy chill has frozen o'er the fountain of our tears,
And tho' the eye may sparkle still, 'tis where the ice appears.

' Tho' wit may flash from fluent lips, and mirth distract the breast,
Through midnight hours that yield no more their former hope of
rest ;

'Tis but as ivy-leaves around the ruin'd turret wreath,
All green and wildly fresh without, but worn and grey beneath.

' Oh could I feel as I have felt, — or be what I have been,
Or weep as I could once have wept, o'er many a vanished scene :
As springs in deserts found seem sweet, all brackish though they be,
So midst the wither'd waste of life those tears would flow to me.'

The succeeding stanzas begin with a strange vulgarism :

' There *be* none of Beauty's daughters
With a magic like thee.'

We know not the originals of the poems said to be *from the French*,
nor whether in fact Lord B. thus denominated them merely to
avoid responsibility for their sentiments. *Napoleon's Farewell*,
not being of so private a nature as that of the noble Lord himself,
may be transferred to our pages.

' Farewell to the Land, where the gloom of my Glory
Arose and o'ershadowed the earth with her name —
She abandons me now, — but the page of her story,
The brightest or blackest, is filled with my fame.
I have warred with a world which vanquished me only
When the meteor of Conquest allured me too far ;
I have coped with the nations which dread me thus lonely,
The last single Captive to millions in war !

' Farewell to thee, France ! — when thy diadem crowned me,
I made thee the gem and the wonder of earth, —
But thy weakness decrees I should leave as I found thee,
Decayed in thy glory, and sunk in thy worth.
Oh ! for the veteran hearts that were wasted
In strife with the storm, when their battles were won —
Then the Eagle, whose gaze in that moment was blasted,
Had still soared with eyes fixed on victory's sun !

' Farewell to thee, France ! — but when Liberty rallies
Once more in thy regions, remember me then —
The violet still grows in the depth of thy valleys ;
Though withered, thy tears will unfold it again —
Yet, yet, I may baffle the hosts that surround us,
And yet may thy heart leap awake to my voice —
There are links which must break in the chain that has bound us,
Then turn thee and call on the Chief of thy choice !'

when a ship is thrown up in the wind, and the sails, becoming
flaccid, shiver, or shake ; or when they are first loosed, and are not
filled. Suppose we read,

The shore to which their *ripen* sail can never stretch again. *Riv.*

Art.

Art. 14. *Poems on his Domestic Circumstances.* By Lord Byron. To which is prefixed the Life of the Noble Author, and a Portrait of him. 8vo. 1s. Edwards.

After the brief biography here compiled, we find 1. the *Rare thee well*; and 2. its attendant *Sketch*; 3. the *Lines on the Star of the Legion of Honour*; 4. an Ode beginning 'Oh, shame to thee, Land of the Gaul?' 5. *Verses on Madame Lavalette*; 6. *Napoleon's Farewell*; and 7. the *Ode*, from the French, on *Waterloo*. We are not aware on what authority Nos. 4. and 5. are ascribed to Lord B., but the latter is more in the style of Anacreon Moore; and the former is very severe on the national character which it ascribes to modern France, particularly in what is here considered as her desertion of her once idolized hero, Napoleon. The third and fourth stanzas will evince its tendency:

' Go, look through the kingdoms of earth,
From Indus, all round to the Pole,
And something of goodness, of honour, and worth,
Shall brighten the sins of the soul:
But thou art *alone* in thy shame,
The world cannot liken thee there;
Abhorrence and vice have disfigur'd thy name,
Beyond the low reach of compare;
Stupendous in guilt, thou shalt lend us through time
A proverb, a *bye-word* for treach'ry and crime!

' While conquest illumin'd his sword,
While yet in his prowess he stood,
Thy praises still follow'd the steps of thy Lord;
And welcom'd the torrent of blood;
Tho' tyranny sat on his crown,
And wither'd the nations afar,
Yet bright in thy view was that Despot's renown,
Till Fortune deserted his car;
Then, back from the Chieftain thou slunkst away —
The foremost to insult, the first to betray!

The portrait of Lord Byron is slightly executed, but is in some degree a likeness.

Art. 15. *Lady Byron's Responsive "Fare thee well."* 8vo. 1s. Edwards.

It is stated that this poem is the production 'of a common friend of the persons most nearly interested': but we doubt whether those persons will thank their friend for thus putting words and sentiments into the mouth of one of them, and making them public, even though they breathe affectionate regret. We decline, however, for the reason before given, (see Art. 13.) to dwell on the subject.

Some lines, by another hand, intitled *Conciliator to Lady Byron*, are added to the preceding effusion.

Art. 16. *Lines on the Departure of a Great Poet from this Country.* 8vo. 1s. Booth.

Of the spirit in which these lines were conceived, the short preface to them will afford a sufficient idea:

REV. SEPT. 1816.

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‘ The few following lines were written some months ago, and circulated among the author’s friends, upon the occasion of the great poet alluded to quitting the country. However great the poetical merits of that celebrated person may be, who has for some years past been wearying the public with the waywardness of his fancies, and the gloom of a misguided imagination, the blemishes in his character are equally glaring, and one of the author’s reasons for publishing these lines is, that there should be at least one public expression of the sentiments which are generally entertained concerning them.’

Of the *manner* in which this design has been *executed*, a brief extract or two will also be an adequate exemplification. The writer begins, in terms almost libellous, to speak of *impious songs*, of a *mad career of crimes and follies run*, of being ‘*grey in vice when life was scarce begun*,’ and proceeds to treat of the ‘great poet’s’ departure from England.

‘ All the dear ties that social worth can claim,
Slain at the foot of headlong, heedless, Fame ; —
These for his fate suppress the gen’rous tear,
Forbid each rising hope, or doubt, or fear.
Except the fear that our deserted shore
Should be polluted by his presence more.

‘ Yet in this wreck of Honour, Truth and Love,
Where nought is left to praise, or to approve,
When all his falsehood and his guilt deplore,
Save those who love him for his vices more —
The Muse still owns him in his humours wild,
And blushes to behold her wayward child.
Yes, in that dark abode, that sinful mind,
There is a fane where Genius dwells enshrined;
Adorning, with a solitary pride,
The mind, a wilderness in aught beside :
Her altars beaming with unholy fires,
Fann’d by the breath of loose and wild desires,
The gloomy vices dark’ning in her train,
There Genius holds her barren court in vain. —
From that perverted source no blessings rise
To make mankind more happy, good, or wise ;
No thought that cheers us, and no hope that warms,
But all that shines is cold, and fruitless all that charms.’

He then invokes the ‘ possessor of this wasted mine,’ and thus concludes :

‘ How would it profit thee in time to come,
When summon’d to thy last most dreaded home,
Tho’ men should venerate thy latest verse,
Tho’ mournful Muses should adorn thy hearse,
To be recorded, when thy race is run,
England’s best Poet, and her guiltiest Son.’

It

It is not competent for us to weigh the truth of the character thus unsparingly assigned to the 'great poet' in question: but we are sure that such an one ought not to be drawn *untruly* with impunity.

Art. 17. *A Sketch from Public Life: a Poem, founded on recent domestic Circumstances: with Weep not for me! and other Poems.* 8vo. 1s. Hone.

A *tirade* of which the object and complexion are similar to those of the *Lines* above mentioned. For instance:

'And for his verse! who has not glowed beneath
His vivid 'words that burn, and thoughts that breathe?'
Who has not loved, admired, adored — and what?
A hardened villain! or a graceless sot!
Felt for the wretch to every vice a slave!
Gulled into admiration of a knave!
From Nature when he the dark portraits drew,
The *Giaour* we recognized, the *Corsair* knew;
And, dress them forth in glory as he will,
Scoundrels and knaves and villains are they still:—
So ill suffices all the gloss of rhyme,
To soften villainy, or varnish crime.
And shall his song protect him?'—
No! all ye powers of verse! insulted Maids!
Confound his triumph! purify your shades!
Assert your rights to plead *Truth's* holy cause,
Nor lend your aid to violate her laws!
The holy fires that kindle song refuse,
And quench the inspiration of his Muse,
Till virtue warm it;— and domestic love
And wedded constancy his lines approve.
If from his tongue the poison-froth *must* start,
And venom issue from his viper-dart,
Then, injured powers of Virtue! come along!
And crush the worm through all its slime of song.'

We need not enlarge.—The subjoined poems "are trifles, light as air."

Art. 18. *Lines on the Conflagration of Moscow.* By the Rev. C. Colton, A.M. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge. 8vo. 1s. Taylor and Hessey.

Moscow, it is said, has risen so rapidly like a Phoenix from its ashes into new life and vigour, that a poem on its regeneration would now be more apt than a "twice told" lament on its late destruction. Mr. Colton, however, has chosen the latter theme, and thus he singeth it:

'Now sinks the blood-red sun, eclips'd by light,
And yields his throne to far more brilliant night;
Rous'd by the flames, the blast, with rushing sound,
Both fed and fann'd the ruin that it found;

H 2

Long

Long stood each stately tower, and column high,
 And saw the molten gulph beneath them lie;
 Long rear'd their heads th' aspiring flames above,
 As stood the giants when they warr'd with Jove:
 Conquer'd at length, with hideous crash they fall,
 And one o'erwhelming havoc covers all.
 Nor Ætna, nor Vesuvius, though combin'd
 In horrid league, and chaf'd by every wind,
 That from the hoarse Æolian cave is driv'n,
 Could with such wreck astound both earth and heav'n.
 Rage elements! wreck, ravage all ye can,
 Ye are not half so fierce as man to man!
 Wide and more wide, self-warn'd, without command,
 Gaul's awe-struck files their circling wings expand;
 High o'er their head the bickering radiance towers,
 Or falls from clouds of smoke in scorching showers:
 Beneath their crimson canopy they stood
 Like bordering pines, when lightning fires the wood,
 And as they hemm'd that grim horizon in,
 Each read in each the horrors of the scene.
 Some fear'd, — accusing Conscience wak'd the fear, —
 The Day of wrath and retribution near,
 Deem'd that they heard that dreaded Voice proclaim,
 "Thou moon to blood be turn'd, thou earth to flame!"

The poet then assures the 'tyrant' that the city shall not burn unavenged, and, invoking Death, thus finishes:

'But, king of terrors! ere thou seize thy prey,
 Point with a *ling'ring* dart to Moscow's fatal day;
 Shake with *that scene* his agonizing frame,
 And on the wreck of nations write his name.'

The line in p. 9., 'a *rising scaffold* and a *falling throne*,' exhibits an antithesis not in very good taste.

NAVAL AFFAIRS.

Art. 19. *The Naval Monitor*; containing many useful Hints for both the public and private Conduct of the young Gentlemen in, or entering, that Profession, in all its Branches, &c. &c. By an Officer in the Navy. 12mo. pp. 225. 6s. Boards. Law and Whittaker.

We have seldom perused so small a tract as this is with more satisfaction than we have received on the present occasion. The subject is of great national importance; and whatever contributes to improve the system of our naval establishment, or to open the minds and correct the morals of the youths destined to command the strong arm of our power, has a valid claim to our approbation. The author before us has evinced a perfect knowledge of his topic, and a thorough acquaintance with the manners, habits, peculiarities, and vices, occasionally existing in the seminary of a cockpit; whence our Hawkes, Boscawens, Howes, and Nelsons have emerged to protect their country and immortalize their own names. He is sensible of the
 immoral

immoral habits and contracted mode of thinking which often pervade this youthful assemblage; and he very properly deprecates the practice of sending out these young adventurers at too early a period, before their minds are fortified with wholesome lessons of virtue and honour, from those whose love and regard are most likely to make a deep impression on them. We have no hesitation, then, in earnestly advising the parents and friends of youths who are designed for the navy to furnish them with this little work; in which the admonitions are forcibly conveyed, and at the same time with such evident marks of a benevolent intention that they cannot fail of their object, except with the most depraved. We would even go farther, and say that we consider this book as worthy of the notice of the Admiralty; and that it would be well if each Captain were supplied with a number of copies, to be given to his midshipmen when they join the ship.

On a point on which the friends of these young gentlemen are very liable to form a mistaken judgment, the writer remarks:

'Some of you may send your son with fathers, brothers, &c. then you feel certain he will be attended to. All you that are about to do so, revoke the sentence; send him rather to the greatest stranger than to his nearest relation, under whom he is always looked upon with the eye of suspicion by all his messmates. He is frequently branded with the name of tell-tale (which on board a man of war is properly the most disgraceful and detested appellation) whether he deserves it or not. His spirit is cowed, if it is not broken, and he is at any rate made wretched and miserable.'

In speaking of education, it is stated that 'Navigation and Geography are the two simple attainments absolutely necessary. To those who can act liberally, I strongly recommend drawing and mathematics, charting, and a knowledge of taking plans of coasts, harbours, headlands, &c. French is a language so universally spoken, and of such essential use to every officer in the navy; as by it he may render himself of conspicuous service to his country by obtaining information or otherwise; that I would strongly recommend all those who design their sons for the profession, always, if possible, to give them the advantage of a French master.' With regard to equipment, the writer advises an ample stock of clothes, to the amount of at least 100l.; and not less than 40l. a-year for current expences.—'For the information of those most ignorant of naval matters, it is proper to remark that the pay a young gentleman receives on first coming on board a man of war does not amount to more than 8l. per annum, until he obtains a rating as midshipman, when his pay in a first-rate is about 36l.—Chap. 2. treats impressively on Idleness; and in chap. 3. on Obedience, the author very properly observes, 'whoever cannot obey a commanding officer ought never to become one himself. It is not sufficient simply to obey an order; but to do it right it should be done with spirit and with pleasure: this will bring you into notice and establish your merit.'—Chap. 4. On Attention to Duty. 'It will be of the utmost importance to your future prospects in life, to entertain an

early idea of the consequence of paying particular attention to the duties of your profession in all its branches; with a steady resolution to adhere to it, and a little practice in the beginning, you will easily acquire the habit, which you will ever after retain.— To make you feel more readily the extreme happiness arising from a cheerful attention to duty, I recommend you to take the first opportunity that may occur, from any particular service you may be ordered on; and try how far you can give satisfaction to your senior officers by entering into it with spirit and alacrity; strive to astonish them by doing it particularly quick, and particularly well.—

Replies always aggravate and never mend matters between junior and senior officers. I advise you then never to reply to reproofs which, on cooler reflection, you will generally find not to be so undeserved as in the heat of the moment they might have appeared to be.— Act with the confidence and firmness authorised by your consciousness of innocence, and at the same time with the respect due to difference of rank, and the becoming humility expected from your youth.

Chapter 5., on volunteering on Service against an Enemy, is replete with good sense and energy; and the writer's observations on the spirit of jealousy which is occasionally found in the navy, with his admonitions on that subject, are very just: but we trust that, as the young men become more enlightened, and their minds more enlarged, this meanest of all feelings will disappear from the service.

In Chap. 6., 'on learning the Profession,' the author very properly recommends practice in all its branches, as preferable to theory, which indeed can be of no use without the former: but Darcy Lever's book on seamanship, as he justly remarks, is the best aid to practical exertions.— Chapters 7. and 8., on Navigation, and Gunnery, with the candid inquiry into the cause of our late failure in our attacks on the Americans, (which are deduced partly from our ignorance of gunnery,) are marked by that coolness which is manifest throughout the work.

Chap. 9. On keeping a Journal; 10. 'On your Conduct to your Equals;' and 11. 'On your Conduct to your Superiors.' The next and last chapter, 'On your Conduct to your Inferiors,' which breathes a spirit of mercy untainted by weakness, is followed by some observations on the practicability of an improved system for the education of youth, by establishing an academy at each of the naval arsenals; where every boy on admission should pay 40*l.* or 50*l.* a-year, to diminish the expence to Government. If those boys who are educated at the academy at Portsmouth enter the service with qualifications superior to others, there can be no doubt that an extension of that limited number to 300, considering such an increased navy as we possess, must be attended with great benefit to the service: but we must beg leave to differ with the author on the subject of exclusion. He conceives that the regulation for each youth to pay 40*l.* or 50*l.* on admission would exclude low birth, and consequently boys of inferior education,
8* minds,

minds, and manners. Though this objection has its weight, does it not close the door also against officers' sons of all ranks? while, with such an extent of numbers, none should be excluded but by a deficiency in the necessary qualifications on examination. It also militates against the spirit of our constitution, which leaves the avenues open to honours in all professions, from the highest to the lowest. We perfectly accord with the author on the necessity of preserving the mind untainted by vice or meanness: but it would be the duty of the Governor to exclude any boy of an objectionable description, when found to be an unfit associate for gentlemen. The same power existed with the Captain of every ship in the navy; and we are inclined to think that the late regulations, depriving them of the privilege of selecting the officers of their own quarter-decks, will be neither pleasing nor beneficial to the navy. If the Captain has not wisdom enough to choose those officers who are best suited to his habits, who are most known to him on service, and whose qualifications intitle them to his approbation, he is not fit for his situation in a command of such responsibility; and the more these discretionary powers are abridged, the more the service will suffer. The effect of the new rule is to transfer the patronage from experienced and practical men to those who, with the exception of a few naval members, have little knowledge of the subject; and these latter are as likely to be injudicious in their selection as the Captain, who is more interested in the management of his ship, and equally concerned for the welfare of his country and the dignity of his profession.

POLITICS.

Art. 20. *The Question of the Necessity of the existing Corn Laws, considered*, in their relation to the Agricultural Labourer, the Tenantry, the Landholder, and the Country. By Charles Henry Parry, M.D. F.R.S. &c. 8vo. pp. 237. 8s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1816.

The work of Dr. Parry must, we fear, be classed in the same list with the lately noticed publications of Mr. Cuninghame on Government and Mr. Craig on Political Science. Like them, it contains a great accumulation of fact and argument without much attention to method, and with scarcely any conception of the pains which are necessary to render a book attractive. This closely printed volume will consequently be interesting only to those who will be contented to sit down and pass several days in studying the subject, working over the writer's arguments in their own minds, and forming for themselves a new and approved classification of his ideas.

The inquiry is divided into six chapters; 1. On Rent; 2. On real Price; 3. The Case of the Farmer; 4. The Labourer's Case; 5. The Landholder's Case; 6. On an independent Supply of Corn. Each of these, particularly the last, is discussed at great length: but the author must not expect that the merchant, the landholder, or the member of parliament, will be induced to travel over this uninviting ground with him, though well satisfied of the candour and, in several cases, of the justice of his course of reasoning. How often

often shall we have occasion to recommend to candidates for literary repute an unsparing retrenchment of the ideas that crowd on the mind on the first preparation of a MS.; and, above all, the consideration that many points of great interest to them possess very little attraction with the bulk of readers! All these animadversions are applicable to the publication of Dr. Parry. Occasionally, however, he enlivens a wearisome passage with anecdotes, of which the following may be taken as a specimen:

Mr. A. Young has favoured us with a story in order to exhibit the effects which the restoration of Bonaparte last year is reported to have had upon the labourers in several parts of the kingdom. It appears that they received the news with unequivocal expressions of approbation. By way of companion, I offer him the following particulars. A gentleman, calling, at a somewhat late hour, upon a friend, in a well-known inn in a large city of the west of England, was surprised at hearing much noise and riot in an adjoining room. On enquiring of the waiter as to its cause, he was answered, "It is only the farmers rejoicing at Bonaparte's return, and drinking his health in an additional bottle."

This publication discovers, both in the text and the notes, the marks of very extensive reading, as well as (p. 168, &c.) various proofs of liberal and judicious views: but the minuteness of detail and the verbosity of the author's illustrations seem almost infinite.

Art. 21. *On the State of Europe in January 1816.* By George Ensor, Esq. 8vo. pp. 133. Hunter.

We were lately required to notice, (see our number for June,) with very slender approbation, a tract by this author on the state of Ireland; and we find him unluckily just as unsuccessful in discussing the wider range of European politics. Though fundamentally right in some of his positions, such as the severe measures of the Congress of Vienna with regard to Saxony and Genoa, or (p. 132.) with respect to the enormous expences to this country of the last two wars, such a tissue of error pervades his reasonings, and such a strange mixture of heterogeneous views occurs in almost every page, that we cannot be uncharitable in pronouncing him to be "right in the wrongest way possible." A French critic remarked lately of a countryman of his own, that to aim at a variety of objects was the sure way to be *médiocre en tous*. Why will not Mr. E. take a gentle hint from our brother abroad, or from equally unceremonious critics at home; and abstain from grasping at a monopoly of literary discussion by writing at one time on law, at another on education, afterward on government and the Catholic question, crowning all by undertaking a work on the 'development of the faculties which constitute moral and intellectual excellence,' with as much *sang froid* as if it were a subject to be analyzed by the lucubrations of a few weeks, or settled by a few flourishes of the pen!

TRAVELS.

Art. 22. *Travels through the Interior of the Provinces of Provence and Languedoc, in the Years 1807 and 1808.* By Lieutenant-Col.

Col. Pinkney, of the North American Rangers. 2d Edition. 8vo. 14s. Boards. Purdy and Son.

The first edition of this work was noticed by us with considerable minuteness in our lxvith Vol., at a time when travels in France were a matter of much greater rarity than they are at present; and we expressed our suspicions, towards the end of our report, of the accuracy and even the fidelity of certain passages, having detected the author in the stale trick of borrowing from his predecessors, and of seeking to entrap the attention of the public by a specious, we might almost say a fallacious, title-page. We are now to add that farther information, obtained since France has become open to the personal observation of ourselves and our countrymen, confirms the unfavourable part of our remarks, and makes it incumbent on us to apprise our readers that Col. P. is very erroneous in many of his statements. Among other things, he dwelt with great ardour on the advantages of Tours as a family-residence, and the place is certainly superior to the generality of provincial towns in France: but the prices of every thing are double, or very nearly double, those which he stated; and the same remark applies to Angers, Saumur, and the banks of the Loire generally: where, we understand, many of our countrymen are at present, and loud in their invectives against this traveller. Still, from the fairness of his observations in other respects, we are inclined to ascribe his mis-statements rather to inaccuracy and vanity than to deliberate intention: but, whatever may be the cause, it is important that the reader should be apprized of their erroneous nature. The saving of house-keeping expence in France, compared with this country, may be set down, not at one-half, as Col. P. and others assert, but at something more than one-third; 100l. in the one country going about as far as 160l. in the other. In applying this rule to particular spots, we must not put the capital in the one against a retired district in the other, but establish our comparison between towns of similar size, or between counties at a corresponding distance from the metropolis; the latter being in either country the great focus of expence.

MEDICINE, &c.

Art. 23. *A Treatise on the Medicinal Leech; including its Medical and Natural History, with a Description of its Anatomical Structure; also, Remarks upon the Diseases, Preservation, and Management of Leeches.* By James Rawlins Johnson, M.D. F.L.S. &c. &c. Illustrated with two Engravings. 8vo. pp. 147. Longman and Co. 1816.

We are told in the preface that the basis of this essay was an inaugural dissertation, which the author wrote previously to his graduation in the University of Edinburgh; and that its superior merit having induced some of his friends to wish that it might have a wider circulation than is generally allotted to works of that description, he translated it into English, made some additions and corrections, and published it under its present form. He has thus produced

produced a very interesting and valuable monogram, which well deserves to occupy some portion of our attention. It is divided into four sections, devoted to the following subjects; 1st, the Medical History of the Leech; 2d, its Natural History; 3d, its Anatomical Structure; and lastly, an Account of its Diseases, Preservation, and Management.

In tracing the History of the Leech, we are informed that it is first mentioned as an agent in medical practice by Themison, who flourished about the commencement of the Christian æra, and it appears to have been very generally employed by his successors. Dr. J. follows it through the writings of Pliny, Aretæus, Oribasius, Æginetus, Actuarius, Mercurialis, as well as others of less celebrity, down to comparatively modern times; and it seems that, notwithstanding some erroneous notions and some prejudices, the ancients were well aware of its value, and even acquainted with many of its characteristic properties.

Dr. Johnson begins the 2d section by some scientific observations on the genus *hirudo*; about which, he says, 'much confusion at present prevails, solely attributable to the placing and retaining in that genus several animals in no respect corresponding to the generic character as given by Linnæus.' Having taken notice of what has been done on this subject by Dr. Shaw, Mr. Kirby, and others, the author proposes his own classification. In the first place, two animals, which had been included among the *hirudines*, under the specific names of *complanita* and *stagnalis*, are formed into a new genus denominated *Glossiphonia*. They are said to possess 'a character dissimilar to the Leech; 1st, in being furnished with a retractile tubular tongue; 2dly, in having a flattened body; 3dly, in attaching themselves, not by any expansion, but by an adhesive property of the head and tail.' The name of the genus is derived from the peculiar shape of the tongue. The generic character of the *hirudo* is thus given: '*Corpus oblongum subrotundum, anterius et posterius truncatum, muticum, cartilagineum, os caudamque dilatando progrediens*;' and the genus is divided into such as live in rivers and ponds, and such as live in the ocean. In the first division are ten species; *medicinalis*, *sanguisuga*, *troctina*, *nigra*, *vulgaris*, *tessulata*, *lineata*, *heteroclyta*, *geometra*, and *marginata*. The different species are then defined and characterized with scientific accuracy; the *medicinalis* being thus described: '*Hirudo depressa nigricans, supra lineis flavis sex, intermediis nigro arcuatis, subtus cinerea nigro maculata.*

' *Oculi decem, more delineato,*

' *Long. Pollices Tres.*

' *In Stagnis — Paludibus.*

' *Caput — quiescens subrotundum, progrediens acuminatum.*

' *Os — quoad figuram mutabile, rimam triangularem plerumque exhibens.*

' *Cauda — circularis, complanata, fibris carnosæ e puncto centrali divaricatis.*

LINNÆUS, *Syst. Nat. XII. 2. p. 1079. n. 2.*

Faun. Succ. 2079.

HILL,

HILL,	<i>Hist. Anim.</i> p.16. <i>Hirudo nigrescens flavo variegata.</i>
GESNER,	<i>Pisc.</i> 425. tab. 425. <i>Hirudo major et varia.</i>
MULLER,	<i>Hist. Vermium</i> , 2. n. 167. p. 37.
BARBUT,	<i>Genera Vermium</i> , p. 19. tab. 2. fig. 5.
WESER,	<i>Amoenitates Academicae</i> , tom. vii. p. 42.
BERGMANN,	<i>Act. Stockh.</i> 1757, p. 308. n. 4. tab. 6. fig. 1, 2.
GISLER,	<i>Ibid.</i> 1758, p. 95.
SALOMAN,	<i>Ibid.</i> 1760, p. 35.
SHAW,	<i>Naturalist's Miscellany</i> , tab. 218.
PENNANT,	<i>British Zoology</i> , vol. iv. p. 36.

The *troctina*, although recognized by the vulgar as distinct from the Medicinal Leech, and named from its coloured rings or spots, which resemble those of the trout, has never before been admitted into a scientific arrangement; and the *nigra* is brought forwards as a new species. In the 2d class, are placed the *Indica*, *grossa*, *hyppoglossi*, *branchiata*, *muricata*, and *verrucosa*.

After this synoptical view of the whole genus, the author chiefly confines his observations to the *medicinalis*, and presents us with an amusing and (we presume) correct account of its habits, its anatomy, and its physiology. He details some experiments on the food of the Medicinal Leech, as well as on that of the Horse-Leech, and from them we arrive at the following conclusions:

1st, That the Medicinal Leech takes no kind of solid food.

2dly, That in its native abode, it lives by adhering to and sucking the fluids of fish, frogs, &c.

3dly, That its desire for food is not marked by that voracity which distinguishes the Horse-Leech.

4thly, That it does not display the same propensity to destroy its own or any other species of the genus to which it belongs.

In regard to the Horse-Leech, we must remark,

1st, That it destroys for food, the *H. medicinalis*, the *H. vulgaris*, and shews as little mercy to the weaker of its own species.

2dly, That this *unsocial* propensity appears to be put in force in the absence of other food.

3dly, That it will swallow almost any thing presented to it.

4thly, That the name of *H. vorax* is more expressive of its real character, than that of *H. sanguisuga*.

Some naturalists of celebrity had announced that the Leech possesses the power of reproduction in almost an equal degree with the Polype, but Dr. Johnson's experiments do not sanction this conclusion. Another very singular property, which has been assigned to the Leech, seems to rest on a better foundation; viz. that it is, according to circumstances, at one time oviparous and at another time viviparous; and a few other animals possess this power of either laying eggs or producing young, according to the season of the year or the temperature of the atmosphere. It is supposed, with some probability, that the Leech is a long-lived animal; and that its age may extend even to twenty years.

We have reason for believing that the account of the anatomical structure of the Leech, given in the 3d section, is accurate; it is also sufficiently minute, and is accompanied by good engravings which

which well illustrate the text. It is, however, necessarily composed of matter less adapted for our purpose of abstract or quotation; and, with respect to the 4th part, we shall refer those who are interested in the subject to the work itself, where they will find all that is known with certainty concerning the preservation and management of this useful animal.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Art. 24. *Hieroglyphics*, and other Antiquities. In treating of which, many favourite Pieces of Butler, Shakspeare, and other great Writers, in Prose and Verse, are put in a Light now entirely new, by Notes, Occasional Dissertations, and upwards of 200 Engravings in Wood and Copper. By Robert Deverell, Esq. 2d Edition. Six Vols. 8vo. 3l. 12s. Boards. Allman, Clarke, &c. 1816.

Some years ago, a Prussian physician chose to leave a quire of paper in each of the mad-houses of which he was the official inspector, and to request from the several patients an account in writing of their case and treatment: he then published in one volume, at Berlin, the more remarkable of these letters of lunatics. The German reviewers, in their Kantian jargon, observed that this correspondence exhibited rather an objective than a subjective value; that the collection had a benevolent purpose, and did not disappoint expectation; and that the physician might infer from it the expediency of gentleness, and the psychologist detect in it the laws of hallucination. We very much suspect the volumes now before us, on Hieroglyphics, to have had a similar origin, and to deserve a similar commendation. The author begins with a map of the moon; and he then, by the help of little additional traits, manages to copy from the map of the moon various figures of men, which he conceives to be adapted to represent hieroglyphically the characters in Hudibras, in Shakspeare, in Terence, in Sophocles, and in Homer. We recollect a gentleman who, on a chimney-piece of Italian marble, would by slight touches of the pencil turn the gray veins into portraits, or rather caricatures, or make them indicate a rocky landscape; and it is in this way that Mr. Deverell exerts his graphic skill, and accomplishes his animated selenography: but, if the first figure or two amused, we were soon made to see too many men in the moon. These ludicrous caricatures, nearly two hundred in number, are here engraved at a great expense, and discussed with abundant verbiage, interlarded with Greek and Latin quotations. The author seems to have learned his method of commentary in the Hutchinsonian school, and finds great mysteries in simple passages, where other people find none.

A foreign writer on medical science characterizes an endangered state of mind by the aptness to confound ideas of composition with ideas of imitation; and he advises persons in this condition to renew their acquaintance with the archetypes of nature, and to occupy their senses instead of their thoughts. It has often appeared to us, in the course of reading this work, that internal

combinations of ideas are confounded by the writer with exterior realities; and that a fantastic imagery, composed of broken reminiscences of learning, is usurping the place of evidence and attaining the undue confidence of fact.

Art. 25. *Paris, during the interesting Month of July 1815.* A Series of Letters addressed to a Friend in London. By W. D. Fellowes, Esq. 8vo. pp. 170. 7s. 6d. Boards. Gale and Fenner.

Like Mr. J. Scott, Mr. Fellowes has paid a double visit to the French capital, having been there after the entrance of the allies in April 1814, as well as in the month mentioned in the title-page of the present publication. He writes with little attention to composition, and is not sufficiently careful to exclude the description of public buildings, such as the Louvre, which are of too general notoriety to possess the attraction of novelty for perhaps any class of readers. We remark in him also an almost indiscriminate credulity, which receives (pp. 33, 34. 66. 70.) all the idle tales of Parisian gossip as if they deserved to be recorded in the page of the historian. When to these objections we add sundry specimens of bad French, (as p. 92.) there will remain little to praise in the production, except the author's brevity, and a few scattered passages which redeem in some degree the general want of interest. *Ex. gr.*

'In the evening of 15th July we dined at Riche's, on the Italian Boulevard, and went to the Opera, where we witnessed the gratifying reception which Louis the XVIIIth met with on his entrance. The royal box, lined with blue velvet, on which were embroidered the Bourbon arms, was placed opposite to the stage, in front of the house. His Majesty was attended by the Count d'Artois and the Duc de Berri. He wore a blue coat with gold epaulets, and looked remarkably well. The King put his hand repeatedly to his heart, in the most impressive manner, and bowed frequently to the audience when they cheered him. The house was crowded to an excess not to be described; hundreds of beautiful women in white dresses, having their heads ornamented with lilies, added to the interest and splendour of the whole *coup d'œil*. The opera was *Iphigénie in Taurida*; and the ballet *La Dansomanie*. The music and dancing, as usual, very fine. Mademoiselle Goslin, Madame Gardin, and Monsieur Albert, performed a beautiful *pas de trois*. Lords Castlereagh, Clancarty, Clive, and Stewart, with several other distinguished Englishmen, sat in the box near to Prince Frederick of Prussia, which was next to the King's. A considerable number of the allied officers and foreigners of distinction were in the other boxes; and this concourse of persons produced a most striking effect.'

'We visited afterwards the Bibliothèque Nationale, now called the Royal Library; in the Rue de Richelieu.

'The manuscripts and valuable collection of books in all languages, in this splendid library, are supposed to be the finest and most extensive in Europe. The building, which is of vast extent, was formerly the Hotel Mazarine. In the centre of the great court-yard is a beautiful statue, representing a naked female, resting on one foot, in bronze.

'The

'The first floor of this palace is entirely appropriated to printed books; and in all the apartments there are tables and chairs, with pens and ink, for the use of visitors. The different rooms are said to contain —

350,000 Printed volumes.

100,000 Manuscripts.

5,000 Genealogies of noble families.

5,000 Engravings.

50,000 Prints and other engravings.

And there are two globes, thirty feet in diameter, supposed to be the largest in the world.

'Among the manuscripts are several letters of our Henry the VIIIth, Henry the IVth of France, Louis the XIVth, Voltaire, Racine, La Fontaine, and Boileau, in high preservation. The greatest attention is paid to strangers by the librarians. On my application to look at Henry the VIIIth's letters, they were shewn to me immediately, and I might have made extracts from any of them, if my time had permitted. — This library is well worthy the attention of all strangers and literary men.

'As I was returning to dress for dinner, I met one of the Mamelukes, the first I had seen. I have been told that nearly the whole of them perished in the battle of the 18th. Rostan, their chief, and Bonaparte's favourite, refused to follow him to Elba, and is still in Paris, where he is married. Buonaparte asked him to accompany him: Rostan made excuses. The other said — "You are an ungrateful scoundrel. I took you from the desert — you are as much my property as the clothes I wear; but I will not be followed by one so ungrateful." — After Napoleon's return to Paris, he would never see Rostan.'

The rest of the book is occupied with an account of places in Paris and the neighbourhood that are familiar to the readers of travels; or with the current news of the day, which, however interesting at the time, has now been completely superseded by subsequent events. If Mr. F. has the ambition to come again before the public, we hope that he will pay more attention to French orthography and accentuation, (see p. 25.) as well as to the correction of such phrases in English as 'having wrote,' (preface, p. 5.) A few coloured engravings accompany the volume.

Art. 26. *A plain Statement of Facts relative to Sir Eyre Coote:* containing the official Correspondence and Documents connected with his Case; and the Proceedings of the Military Board appointed for its Investigation. 8vo. pp. 84. Sherwood and Co.

In no point of view is this pamphlet a fit subject for either detail or comment, in our pages. We need only state that it proceeds from the friends of Sir E. C.; and that the object of it is to prove, in the words of the concluding certificate of Drs. Monro and Bain, "that the conduct and conversation of the said Sir Eyre Coote are occasionally influenced by a morbid state of mind, to which we can assign no other name than mental derangement."

Art.

Art. 27. *Letters to a Nobleman*, proving a late Prime Minister to have been Junius; and developing the secret Motives which induced him to write under that and other Signatures. With an Appendix containing a celebrated Case, published by Almon in 1768. 8vo. pp. 268. Longman and Co. 1816.

Here is an additional attempt to discover the mysterious Junius; in which the writer expatiates, with an air of candour, on topics of general interest, and adds argument to argument to prove that the late Duke of Portland, of good-natured memory, was the writer of the bitter sarcasms which were thus subscribed. We cannot help regarding the design as much on a par with the conduct of Mrs. Serres, who claims that honour for her uncle Dr. Wilmot; or with the assurance of those who have imputed them to the sprightly and facetious Sir Philip Francis; or with the effort to prove that Leonidas Glover was the man, because he "wore his hair in a bag, and walked about in his latter years with a small cocked hat under his arm."

These letters, twenty-nine in number, are addressed by an anonymous writer to an anonymous nobleman, but are dated at different times as if written in close succession; recapitulating, with a great appearance of minuteness and accuracy, the leading circumstances in the public career of the late Duke of Portland. The main object is to establish a coincidence between the situation of his Grace and that of the political champion; while, by way of swelling the size of the volume, above fifty pages are occupied with a reprint of "the Case of the Duke of Portland respecting the disputed leases, granted for election purpose by Government to Sir James Lowther in 1767." It is needless to enlarge farther on the subject; and we shall merely add that the only useful part of the book is a tabular statement of the successive and too frequent changes of ministry in the first ten years of the present reign.

Art. 28. *A Guide to Burghley House, Northamptonshire*, the Seat of the Marquis of Exeter; containing a Catalogue of all the Paintings, Antiquities, &c. with Biographical Notices of the Artists. 8vo. pp. 300. With Plates. 12s. Boards. Baldwin and Co.

Few travellers pass through Northamptonshire and Lincolnshire, without turning aside to view the Marquis of Exeter's palace near Stamford; a magnificent Gothic structure, not wholly of one date, but supposed principally to have been erected by Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, who was High-Treasurer to Queen Elizabeth. The volume before us, which is divided into many chapters, treats successively of the origin and foundation of the house, of the pedigree of the family, of the park and its ornaments, and of the principal apartments, in their order. A critical catalogue is given of the pictures individually; and the work is ornamented with engravings of the prominent objects of notice. It will be found convenient to the traveller, and is adapted to awaken the curiosity of the absentee.

An Appendix, chiefly extracted from Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painters*, largely and needlessly augments the size of the book.

Art.

Art. 29. *Narrative of the Imprisonment and Escape of Peter Gordon, Second Mate in the Barque Joseph, of Limerick, Captain Conolly. Comprising a Journal of the Author's Adventures in his Flight through the French Territory, from Cambrai to Rotterdam, and thence to the English Coast.* 8vo. pp. 285. 7s. Boards. Conder, 1816.

Several narratives of the escape of our soldiers and sailors from French "durance vile" have reached the public eye, and have displayed equally the severe treatment which the writers had experienced from their jailors, and the hardships encountered in their flight. In some instances, indeed, the latter have been truly surprising, and have been surmounted with an endurance, an ingenuity, and a perseverance, that have been most characteristically honourable to the individuals. Mr. Gordon had his share of all these "grinning honours," if we may so call them; and his present narrative, though rather prolix, and not of high literary merit, will amuse as a series of adventures. It abounds, however, with deceptions and falsifications, which, though necessary to the accomplishment of the writer's object of escaping, might have been better kept within his own bosom, or less broadly detailed; and he is right in expressing unqualified regret (in his preliminary advertisement) 'for the innumerable lies told on his journey.' The profits of the publication, if any should be derived, are benevolently devoted by Mr. G. to the Patriotic Fund.

CORRESPONDENCE.

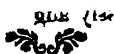
Mr. Greatheed's letter has reached us, but we are obliged to defer any farther notice of it to our next Number.

We are indebted to O. O., and will take care of the work in question, but perhaps shall not be able to attend to it immediately, on account of the absence of a coadjutor.

A packet for B. was left with our publisher, as desired.

The letter from a *Constant Reader*, dated Bridgewater, will receive all the respect and consideration to which it is eminently intitled by its subject and its manner.

* * The APPENDIX to Vol. LXXX. of the M. R. is published with this Number, and contains (as usual) a variety of Articles in FOREIGN LITERATURE; with the *General Title, Table of Contents, and Index*, for the Volume.



THE MONTHLY REVIEW,

For OCTOBER, 1816.

ART. I. *A Course of Lectures on Dramatic Art and Literature*, by Augustus William Schlegel: translated from the original German by John Black. 8vo. 2 Vols. 1l. 4s. Boards. Baldwin and Co. 1815.

A COURSE of Lectures on the Dramatic Art having been announced by M. Schlegel at Vienna, in the spring of 1808, the Emperor of Germany transmitted to him in his own hand-writing the permission which had been solicited for the delivery of them; and a brilliant audience of nearly three hundred persons, including courtiers, artists, ladies distinguished for accomplishment, men of letters, and celebrated actors, assembled with eager curiosity. Madame de Stael, who was one of the hearers, has recorded the strong impression which was made on all by the lecturer's judicious selection of instruction and the splendid interventions of his eloquence; and the public admiration excited by the delivery has not been in any degree disappointed, now that the discourses are collected and revised, and exposed by distant publication to the severer ordeal of literary examiners. Yet, in all lectures, something must be sacrificed to immediate and obvious effect; and, whatever be the topic, the public speaker must exaggerate in good or bad, in order that his audience may feel electrified. The oral critic, therefore, cannot afford a justice so impartial as the writer.

We shall run over the lectures, one by one: but, trusting to public perusal for a general dissemination of their contents, we shall not attempt a minute analysis, or a complete epitome; rather endeavouring to dwell on the questionable sentences of award, or portions of theory. Disposed to rationality more than to mysticism, we are apt to doubt when we do not understand; and some Platonic flights of style, or system, in M. Schlegel, not being easily reduced to perspicuous definition, these we mistrust. We are not fond, moreover, of *a priori* criticism, which makes the gauge first, and then tries the work by it. We think that it is possible to admire Shakspeare without deifying Calderon, although M. Schlegel's

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plan of panegyric applies equally to both; and our feelings allot a higher value to Euripides, to Diderot, and to Kotzebue, than these writers can be permitted to claim under a scheme of appreciation, which assigns to domestic tragedy and sentimental drama the lowest rank in art. "*Tous les genres sont bons, hors le genre ennuyeux*," said Voltaire, liberally and justly; and, of course, we should praise or blame by the head, and not by the class. Greater power may be displayed by one artist in a secondary line of art, than by another in the first.

The introductory lecture treats of the spirit of true criticism, and here a good passage occurs:

"Before I proceed farther, I wish to say a few words respecting the spirit of my criticism, a study to which I have devoted a great part of my life. We see numbers of men, and even whole nations, so much fettered by the habits of their education, and modes of living, that they cannot shake themselves free from them, even in the enjoyment of the fine arts. Nothing to them appears natural, proper, or beautiful, which is foreign to their language, their manners, or their social relations. In this exclusive mode of seeing and feeling, it is no doubt possible, by means of cultivation to attain a great nicety of discrimination in the narrow circle within which they are limited and circumscribed. But no man can be a true critic or connoisseur who does not possess an universality of mind, who does not possess the flexibility, which, throwing aside all personal predilections and blind habits, enables him to transport himself into the peculiarities of other ages and nations, to feel them as it were from their proper central point, and, what ennobles human nature, to recognize and respect whatever is beautiful and grand under those external modifications which are necessary to their existence, and which sometimes even seem to disguise them."

M. Schlegel then proceeds to point out the characteristic difference of taste between the antients and the moderns; which is traced principally to the diversity of religious persuasion that prevailed in the old and in the new world. The same idea was maintained by us in M. Rev. Vol. xviii. N. S. p. 129. The lecturer would apply the epithet *classical* to those forms, or moulds, in which antient works of art are shaped; and the term *romantic* to those forms, or moulds, in which modern works of art are shaped. In reviewing the late Mr. Pye's *Commentary on Aristotle's Poetics*, we opposed the Gothic drama to the Greek drama in a similar spirit of classification. If M. Schlegel be correct in supposing that the Gothic nations borrowed from Spain those early specimens of dramatic art which became their favourite domestic idols, the denomination *romantic drama* may be the more exact.

The antients, and their imitators the Italians and French, are described as constituting the *classical* school of art, while the Spaniards, the English, and the Germans, belong to the *romantic*. The latter school appears to be the more natural of the two, and to include less of the local and conventional in its manner: since the "Sakontala," a Hindoo drama, composed in complete disconnection with either the antient or the modern literature of Europe, approaches much nearer in structure to a play of Shakspeare than to a play of Sophocles; and so does "The Orphan of China," in its native form. If we remember rightly, it was Herder who, by his rhapsody on Shakspeare, first gave to the German critics the luminous idea, that the Gothic or romantic drama should be considered as a peculiar form of art, having laws and conditions of its own; and that it is not less beautiful, and is far more convenient and comprehensive, than the Greek plan of drama, which could not have included in one whole the representation of any great event, such as the usurpation of Macbeth, the conspiracy of Venice, or the revolution of Switzerland under William Tell. With a chorus of furies, Æschylus could leap over the bounds of space and time in his Orestes, and yet observe sufficient probability: but, in general, the supposed presence of an unchanged chorus, during the entire action, confined nearly to one spot and to one day the incidents that were introduced into a Greek tragedy. Hence a scene of family-distress is commonly the utmost attainment of the classical poet; and a cluster of independent plays, a trilogy, was requisite to exhibit on the Athenian stage the events of a single Gothic drama.

'The phenomena of nature,' says M. Schlegel in his second lecture, 'flow into one another, and do not possess an independent existence; a work of art, on the contrary, must be a connected whole, and complete within itself.' Certainly, great skill is requisite, in the dramatic poet, neatly to detach an historic incident from its causes and effects, so as to give it a beginning, a middle, and an end; and to round it gracefully into a plot separate and entire, and progressively interesting. The historical plays of Shakspeare do not always attain this perfection; sometimes the action wants unity, as in Henry IV., from the admixture of extraneous characters and incidents; sometimes it wants wholeness, as in the second part of Henry IV., there being no proper catastrophe, or termination of the story; and sometimes it wants progressive interest, as in Henry VIII., and is prolonged beyond the period which demands the fate of the principal personages. Too close an imitation

imitation of nature, or adherence to fact, has occasioned these faults.

We have also an explanation of the division of dramatic art into tragic and comic pieces, and the greater severity of the antients is asserted in keeping each kind unmixed. It may be suspected, however, that we possess castrated Alexandrian editions of the antient dramatists. Aristarchus is known to have struck out many idle passages from Homer; the managers of an Alexandrian theatre may have rejected many from Æschylus; and we perhaps inherit only what the pruning knife of the critic has spared. In the *Prometheus*, the entrance of the crazy old maid Io must have been intended for comic effect: clad in a cow-hide, with horns, and in avowed search of a sublime husband, she must, with her mops and moes, have excited derision; and the chorus satirically tell her, that it would have been better to marry an artisan than to speculate on climbing the bed of a divinity. In the *Persians*, the ironic character of the whole dialogue is a thoroughly comic emotion; and the return of Xerxes, a fugitive, with nothing left but a quiver of unshot arrows, his unmanly grief, and the chorus of old noble men, parodying the manner in which women were wont to beat their breasts and howl at funerals, must have convulsed an Athenian audience with loud laughter. Potter, in his translation of Æschylus, has missed the true tone of this piece: his dialogue imitates the sedate style of Thomson's *Agamemnon*, instead of the false tragic of Tom Thumb; and his choral odes affect the elegant diction of Gray, instead of the overcharged manner of the Probationary Odes, which were before him. The *Persians* of Æschylus are throughout written in the mock-heroic spirit of Chrononhotonthologos. We are mortified to see critic after critic, and even M. Schlegel himself, mistaking comedy for tragedy. He professes to treat with contempt the translation of Father Brumoy, but he slips into the same blunder.

Lecture iii. is an excellent composition; describing the structure of the Greek stage with luminous clearness and learned research. This account would exceed our limits as a quotation: but it deserves the attentive consultation of every classical scholar. Barthélémy is censured for comparing the antient tragedy with the modern opera: since the delivery of the Greek actors resembled chant rather than recitative, and had principally for its object to render audible to vast crowds the words of the poet; while the chorus sang in unison, accompanied with simple instruments, rather intended to indicate and regulate the rhythm than to overpower the voices.

The use of masks is ingeniously but not satisfactorily defended by M. Schlegel; it occasions a loss of pathetic expression and change of feeling, for which no physiognomical adaptation can be an indemnity: but for impassive beings, such as ghosts, gods, and the witches in *Macbeth*, masks might still perhaps be used with good effect.

M. Schlegel observes that the conception of the Greek tragedy was ideal; and that it aimed at heroic delineation, at a colossal majesty, and a grace beyond nature. This is true of *Æschylus*, less true of *Sophocles*, and not at all of *Euripides*; — it is true of French tragedy generally, of Young among the English, and of Schiller among the Germans. What is the proper inference? Merely that the heroic is a praiseworthy branch of art; and that to excel in it has in all civilized ages and countries founded permanent reputation. M. Schlegel, however, seems inclined to place the essence of art in this elevation more than human; on which principle, *Euripides*, *Shakspeare*, and *Goethe*, the poets who are truest to nature and most various in their delineations, must be pushed back into the inferior ranks. Grandeur of manner, in the arts of design as in the dramatic art, is accomplished by the omission of detail, but truth of nature by the insertion of it: hence some incompatibility must always subsist between the ideal and the true; between the beautiful and the characteristic; between the heroic and the natural. Why not award equal degrees of praise to equal degrees of excellence in either department?

Something is said concerning the object and purpose of tragedy; and it is remarked that commentators are not agreed about the meaning of Aristotle, who maintains that by the operation of dramatic fear and pity the passions are to be epurated. — Let us attempt the same thought in modern phraseology, and surely its justice will be admitted. Every stage-hero pleads eloquently the cause of the passion which agitates him; and hence a higher degree of fellow-feeling is aroused among the spectators, than similar passions would awaken in real life: — but the fear of impending evil and vindictive retribution, and pity for suffering to be inflicted or incurred, are also carried farther on the theatre than in real life. Thus the consequences of strong passions are made artificially visible during their very prevalence. The rival-sympathies are called into lively action, pending a wilder degree of fury than such as is usually compatible with any foresight or circumspection; and the dramatic spectator learns, in consequence, to bear the simultaneous presence of contending strong emotions. This exercise of fear and pity, during

the very whirlwind of our feelings, progressively enables us to overcome that tendency to an exclusive partial *one-sided* view of a case, which commonly attends the orgasm of excitement. Hence self-control is acquired at the theatre; and the frequenter of plays will insensibly attain a power of contemplating the different probable consequences of conduct, under a degree of internal passion which would operate on untutored persons like a blind impulse, like an over-ruling necessity. Æschylus paints every passion in the state in which it would exist among men untaught by the theatre. The earliest dramatist had observed mankind in that condition: but, already, in the characters of Sophocles, the emotions painted have lost something of their native unity and vehemence; they betray a mixture of extrinsic regards; they have been purged of their excesses by fear and pity.

A little unintelligible mysticism occurs in this lecture, chiefly derived from studying the writings of Kant; a philosopher who is valuable to the metaphysician for his originality, but is extensively subversive of good taste in writing by the neoteric jargon of scholastic terms which he introduced.

Lecture iv. disserts well on Æschylus; and the author's remarks on the trilogy deserve selection:

Among the remaining pieces of Æschylus, we have what is highly deserving of our attention, a complete trilogy. The antiquarian account of trilogies is this, that in the more early times the poet did not contend for the prize with a single piece, but with three, which however were not always connected together by their contents, and that a fourth satirical drama was also attached to them. All these were successively represented in one day. The idea which we must form of the trilogy in relation to the tragic art is this: a tragedy cannot be indefinitely lengthened and continued, like the Homeric epic poem for example, to which whole rhapsodies have been appended; for this is too independent and complete within itself. Notwithstanding this circumstance, however, several tragedies may be connected together by means of a common destiny running throughout all their actions in one great cycle. Hence the fixing on the number three admits of a satisfactory explanation. It is the thesis, the antithesis, and the connection. The advantage of this conjunction was that, in the consideration of the connected fables, a more ample degree of gratification was derived than could possibly be obtained from a single action. The objects of the three tragedies might be separated by a wide interval of time, or follow close upon one another.

The three pieces of the trilogy of Æschylus are *Agamemnon*, the *Choephore* or *Electra*, and the *Eumenides* or *Furies*. The object of the first is the murder of Agamemnon by Clytemnestra, on his return from Troy. In the second, Orestes avenges his father, by killing his mother: *facto pius et sceleratus eodem*. This deed, although

although perpetrated from the most powerful motives, is repugnant however to natural and moral order. Orestes as a prince was, it is true, entitled to exercise justice even on the members of his own family; but he was under the necessity of stealing in disguise into the dwelling of the tyrannical usurper of his throne, and of going to work like an assassin. The memory of his father pleads his excuse; but, although Clytemnestra has deserved death, the blood of his mother still rises up in judgment against him. This is represented in the *Eumenides* in the form of a contention among the gods, some of whom approve of the deed of Orestes, while others persecute him, till at last the divine wisdom, under the figure of Minerva, reconciles the opposite claims, establishes a peace, and puts an end to the long series of crimes and punishments which desolated the royal house of Atreus. A considerable interval takes place between the period of the first and second pieces, during which Orestes grows up to manhood. The second and third are connected together immediately in the order of time. Orestes takes flight after the murder of his mother to Delphi, where we find him at the commencement of the *Eumenides*.

In each of the two first pieces, there is a visible reference to the one which follows. In *Agamemnon*, Cassandra and the chorus prophesy, at the close, to the arrogant Clytemnestra and her paramour Ægisthus, the punishment which awaits them at the hands of Orestes. In the *Choephoræ*, Orestes, immediately after the execution of the deed, finds no longer any repose; the furies of his mother begin to persecute him, and he announces his resolution of taking refuge in Delphi.

The connection is therefore evident throughout, and we may consider the three pieces, which were connected together even in the representation, as so many acts of one great and entire drama. I mention this as a preliminary justification of Shakspeare and other modern poets, in connecting together in one representation a larger circle of human destinies, as we can produce to the critics who object to this the supposed example of the ancients.

Shakspeare's *Macbeth* bears a close resemblance to this trilogy of Æschylus, which gives, in three distinct acts, a history of the house of Agamemnon. In *Macbeth*, also, are three acts, or deeds, distinct from each other, and separated by long intervals of time; namely, the regicide of Duncan, the murder of Banquo, and the fall of Macbeth; the first serving to shew how he attained his elevation, the second how he abused it, and the third how he lost it. A chorus of supernatural beings, (the witches of Shakspeare operate like the furies of Æschylus,) in both these tragic poems, hovers over the fate of the hero; and, by impressing on the spectator the consciousness of an irresistible necessity, all the extenuation which the storiatics could admit is introduced. Criticism, in comparing the master-pieces of these master-poets, may be permitted to hesitate, but not to draw stakes. To the plot or fable

fable of Shakspeare must be allowed the merit of possessing, in the higher degree, wholeness, connection, and ascending interest. The character of Clytemnestra may be weighed without disparagement against that of Lady Macbeth: but all the other delineations are superior in our Shakspeare; his characters are more various, more marked, more consistent, more natural, more intuitive. The style of Æschylus, if distinguished for a majestic energetic simplicity, greatly preferable to the mixt metaphors and puns of Shakspeare, has still neither the richness of thought nor the versatility of diction which we find displayed in the English tragedy.

M. Schlegel's extensive commentary on this trilogy of Æschylus is an admirable critical diatribe; original, classical, and just. The *Suppliants* are stated to form one act of a trilogy, of which the two others, intitled the *Ægyptians* and the *Danaids*, are lost. The *Seven before Thebes* ought to have been censured for the needless superfluity of narration; the dramatist should bring every possible incident into action before the spectator: but here every pretence is seized (as on the French stage) to transform action into epic poetry. *Prometheus chained*, as we have already observed, is a tragi-comedy, the entrance of Io being obviously intended for ludicrous effect; the *fire-bringing Prometheus*, a portion of the same trilogy, was always classed by the antients among the satyric or comic dramas; and the catastrophe of the *freed Prometheus* was happy, which in pure tragedy never occurs among the Greeks. M. Schlegel's assertion is more than questionable, that the antients did not mix tragedy and comedy.

The panegyric of Sophocles, which is pronounced in this lecture, is truly beautiful, and more strictly just than that of Æschylus. Among modern works of art, the *Iphigenia in Tauris* of Goethe approaches nearest to a poem of Sophocles. It is strange that, of so many pieces as he wrote, (the number is stated at one hundred and twenty,) so few have been handed down to us; viz. only seven, and one of these, the *Trachinians*, being of doubtful authority. Perhaps the *Rhesus*, printed commonly among the works of Euripides, might with greater probability be assigned to Sophocles. At least, we have the external evidence of a preface by some antient scholiast, which so attributes it; and we have the internal evidence of a sweet, polished, and supported style, so different from the versatile and unequal manner of the all-intuitive (πανσοφος) Euripides. Here again is tragi-comedy; ridiculous emotions being excited in this play, when Dolon offers to disguise himself as a wolf; and, when Hector promises to him the horses of Achilles, the spectator, who expects those of *Rhesus* to be successfully

cessfully waylaid, must experience an ironical smile. From this piece, it is evident that the Greeks brought horses on their stage to increase the pageantry: "*tutto il mondo è fatto come la nostra famiglia.*"

The grounds of internal evidence are still stronger for assigning to Sophocles the *Trojan Dames*. The *Hecuba*, a tragedy on the same theme, is certainly a work of Euripides; the heroine, tottering on a crutch and rolling in the dust, has that ignoble raggedness with which Aristophanes reproaches this tragedian; and critics notice the piece as his composition, praising his description of the death of Polyxena, still in her last moments attentive to every decorum, and gathering the robes over her person so as to fall with decency. In the *Hecuba*, this sacrifice takes place on the Thracian Chersonesus; but, in the *Trojan Dames*, Polyxena is sacrificed under the walls of Troy. Now if these two plays had the same poet for their author, a consistent, uniform, undeviating legend would be adopted in both. The *Trojan Dames*, therefore, appears to be taken from Euripides; and, as the character of Hecuba in this tragedy is a noble and beautiful delineation, worthy of the taste of Sophocles, — as the monotonous prolongation of the same emotion is peculiar to his manner, — as the perpetual climax of feminine woe is worthy of his art and ingenuity, — as the appropriate tone of the choral odes is so studiously preserved, — and as the mythological passages have none of that contemptuous impiety which marks the theology of Euripides, — it seems more rational and probable to attribute this tragedy to his cotemporary and rival. Among the lost plays of Sophocles, are enumerated *Athamas*, *Thamyris*, *Phryxus*, *Erechtheus*, *Nausicaa*, or the Wash-women (*Πλυντρίαι*), according to Lessing a comic or satiric piece, and *Thyestes*, of which some idea may be formed from the Latin imitation preserved in the dramatic anthology of Seneca.

The fifth lecture treats of Euripides, the favourite poet of Socrates and of Milton. Yet his dramas are valued low by M. Schlegel, who considers them as indicating the decline of art. Certainly, they have not the uniform loftiness of those of Æschylus, nor the uniform beauty of those of Sophocles; but they include greater variety of character, of situation, and of emotion; they have more of nature, if they have less of stage-trick; and they abound with sentiments of a penetrating wisdom. Æschylus imprints his own heroic and unbending disposition on every one of his personages; — the poet himself speaks through each mask. His Clytemnestra is but Prometheus in petticoats; his Electra is cast in her mother's mould; and ~~Eteocles~~ and Antigone have the same proud courageous soul.

soal. As in *Alcestis's* tragedy, the author sits to *himself* for the principal figures in every fresh delineation. Sophocles has less energy than his predecessor. In the character of *Oedipus*, he has scarcely imprinted traces of that wild intemperance of feeling, which was destined to tear out his own eyes in the catastrophe. It is not by sudden sparks of passion that Sophocles touches, but by repeatedly and persistently harping on the same string; he excels in patient feminine tenderness, in refinement of feeling, and in moral beauty, but not in fluctuations of emotion. Though his range of characters is wider than that of *Æschylus*, and is made conspicuous by contrasts, yet the outlines of his personages are vague, and the marks of individuality faint; they have the average compassed features of an unappropriated bust, which the artist has shapen beautifully, but has not yet chipped and channeled into a specific portrait. He is at home only in virtuous nature, in *Neoptolemos*, *Antigone*, and *Chrysothemis*; his criminals have not the spirit of crime. Nor is he inventive, being obliged often to borrow from himself; *Electra*, for instance, when she clasps the supposed urn of *Orestes*, employing nearly the same sentiments which *Antigone* advances before *Creon*. On the contrary, *Euripides* neither casts his characters in one mould nor transplants his sentiments from play to play, but is ever various, creative, and original. His heroes may be deficient in majesty, and his plots in taste, but all his personages have the distinct individuality of nature. We trace no resemblance between his *Hecuba*, *Andromache*, *Médeia*, *Phædra*, *Iphigenia*, *Alcestes*, and *Electra*; no repetition of the common-places of sorrow, but a deeply pathetic and strictly appropriate display of emotion at the trying instant. Characters which border on each other are still discriminated; such as *Ion* and *Hippolytus*, or the insane *Hercules* and the insane *Orestes*. Emotions almost incompatible are also made to succeed each other in a breath: thus *Hercules* indulges his joviality when *Alcestes* is dying; without spoiling the pathetic scenes; and this, though not a mark of taste, is an indication of power. If *Æschylus* be the *Schiller*, and *Sophocles* be the *Racine*, *Euripides* is the *Shakspeare*, of the Greeks; and it is inconsistent in *M. Schlegel* to assign to *Euripides* so low and to *Shakspeare* so high a rank. Neither of these writers pursues an ideal beauty, but both are distinguished for truth of nature. They do not aim like *Æschylus* and *Schiller*, at a grandeur beyond reality, at a majesty more than human; they are not to be classed among the heroic or ennobling poets: they do not, like *Sophocles* and *Racine*, subdue within the limits of grace and beauty every

every expression of feeling or passion; nor are they to be classed among the idealizing or embellishing poets; but it is for copying the impressive phenomena of human kind with fidelity, for catching a striking likeness of men and events in a narrow compass, for giving an inherent vitality to their personages, and animating each with a soul of its own, that Euripides and Shakspeare must be applauded. If they too often sink into vulgarity, their bursts of feeling and of passion gush into the heart and thrill to the marrow; and they are omnipotent over the present impression, whether it be grave or gay.

In the sixth lecture, the author treats of comedy, which seems to have begun in the parody of tragedy. A high and (we think) a well-founded panegyric of Aristophanes is here undertaken; whose resources of fancy gave a variety to Greek comedy, of which the modern stage is in want of the return. In the appendix to this lecture, a scene is translated from Aristophanes, in which Euripides is happily ridiculed.

The seventh lecture relates to the middle comedy of the Greeks, which more nearly resembles that of the modern world than the early comedy of Aristophanes. We here meet with an ingenious application of Xenophon's doctrine of two souls to criticism:

There are other moral defects, which are beheld by their possessor with a certain degree of satisfaction, and which he has even resolved not to remedy, but to cherish and preserve. Of this kind is all that, without reference to selfish pretensions, or hostile inclinations, merely originates in the preponderance of sensuality. This may, without doubt, be united to a high degree of intellect, and when such a person applies his mental powers to the consideration of his own character, laughs at himself, confesses his failings to others, or endeavours to reconcile them to them, by the droll manner in which they are mentioned, we have then an instance of the self-conscious comic. This kind always supposes a certain inward duality of character, and the superior half, which rallies and laughs at the other, has from its tone and its employment a near affinity to the comic poet himself. He occasionally delivers over his functions entirely to this representative, while he allows him studiously to overcharge the picture which he draws of himself, and to enter into a sort of understanding with the spectators, to throw ridicule on the other characters. We have in this way the *arbitrary comic*, which generally produces a very powerful effect, however much the critics may affect to under-rate it. In the instance in question, the spirit of the old comedy prevails; the privileged fool or buffoon, who has appeared on almost all stages under different names, and whose character is at one time a display of shrewdness and wit, and at another of absurdity and stupidity, has inherited something of the extravagant inspiration, and the rights

rights and privileges of the free and unrestrained old comic writer; and this is the strongest proof that the old comedy, which we have described as the original species, was not founded alone in the peculiar circumstances of the Greeks, but is essentially rooted in the nature of things.

We do not, however, feel convinced that the critic can so easily teach a comic as a tragic poet. There is an instantaneous contagiousness in skilful ridicule, which must be learnt by practice, not from precept. In life, he who reasons about conduct before he acts is commonly a loser of opportunities; and he who must be jogged for a repartee will invent it too late for effect. The *painful* have not the rapidity of the *cheerful* emotions.

Lecture viii. gives an account of the Roman theatre, which had little original merit. Its tragedies are imitated from the Greek; and some of its comedies are referred to an Etrurian origin. A tragedy intitled *Medea*, and ascribed to Ovid, is probably the piece included in Seneca's collection. — From the declension of Roman art, M. Schlegel proceeds to the commencement of modern or Italian art; notices the pastoral drama as a peculiarity which had no classical model; and describes the masked comedy conducted by *improvisator* actors. Alfieri is criticized with severity: but we would assign to his *Conspiracy of the Pazzi* a more elevated station than M. Schlegel allots.

The ninth lecture treats of the antiquities of the French stage; and of the influence of Aristotle and his supposed rules on the forms of French plays. The three unities are discussed; and the unity of action is alone defended.

Lecture the tenth criticizes the principal dramatic works of the French. To the *Cid* of Corneille a high rank is granted: but, though it has the merit of neglecting unity of place, and the earlier scenes are spirited, the interest is in anti-climax; and the love of Chimene almost acquires a comic character in the latter acts. — Of Racine's tragedies, *Athalie* and *Britannicus* are especially praised: but his Greek and Turkish plays violate all costume of manners. Among Voltaire's tragedies, *Alzire* is here preferred. We do not think, however, that the philosophic dialogues, which it includes, are placed with probability in the mouths of Peruvians: here is surely as gross a violation of the costume of manners as we find in the *Achilles* of Racine. In *Zaire*, the discovery of her relation to *Lusignan*, which occurs early in the play, is perhaps more interesting than the catastrophe, so that the anxiety of the spectator is in an inverted order; and the character of Orosman is not Sultanic, but French: — still we consider this tragedy as the
most

most masterly and original of all those of Voltaire. The *Père de Famille* of Diderot is grievously under-rated. Its fable, or plot, is perhaps the completest of any dramatic poem extant: the action is intricate, progressively interesting, and the solution or catastrophe is rapid and complete: the characters are various and well-discriminated; and, though the style is perhaps too declamatory, this poetic prose is the French substitute for metrical diction even in epic writing, and must be taken, like recitative at the opera, as the condition of the appropriate frame of mind in the spectator. The situations are critical, picturesque, and ethically harassing, yet admirably probable; and all the unities are conquered without constraint. It is perhaps the only French play in which the exposition is accomplished without any narration: generally speaking, the French dramatist is as awkward as Euripides in his opening; but, in the *Père de Famille*, the necessary preliminary information is all communicated by implication, and wrought into the action.

With the tenth lecture, the Second Volume opens. It continues in greater detail a survey of the French theatre, and the *Horatii*, the *Death of Pompey*, *Cinna*, and *Polyeucte*, pass in review. On the whole, the best tragedies of the French are those which treat of Roman subjects: Voltaire, in his *Brutus*, his *Cæsar*, and his *Triumvirate*, enters more into the spirit of the times than in *Edipus* or *Semiramis*; and the *Britannicus* of Racine is his master-piece.

The eleventh lecture includes a survey of French comedy, which is under-valued by M. Schlegel. In delicate embarrassment, and in teasing situation, which gratifies the grinning passion of our nature, the French comic writers excel. Something of malice and something of ridicule are mixed up in this passion; yet it is too good-natured not to sympathize with its object, and too polite to make a laughing-stock of it: no apt name exists for this state of mind, of which irony is an ebullition. An excellent piece of criticism is the comparison between the *Aulularia* of Plautus, and the *Avaro* of Moliere.

Diderot's essay on *Dramatic Poetry*, which Lessing considered as the best specimen of criticism extant in French, is here placed unjustly low. It was perhaps too carefully directed to the defence of domestic tragedy and sentimental drama, in which line the author aspired to reputation: but surely it contains delicate, original, feeling, and profound remarks on art, and has the merit of trampling under foot every national prejudice. Such tragedies as *Othello*, the *Fatal Curiosity*, and the *Gamester*, must remain admirable works of poetry,

poetry, whatever arguments be accumulated in favour of personages more heroic.

In the twelfth lecture, Mr. Schlegel compares and contrasts the English and the Spanish theatre. Shakspeare is highly praised: perhaps excessively in some particulars. *Hamlet*, for instance, of which the first act excites high expectation, and of which the latter acts sink into romantic farce, is treated as a profound and complete work of art. Probably we possess in it an old play, of which Shakspeare re-wrote the first act at leisure, and then rashly hurried the whole before the public, with little re-touching of the rest. The shipwreck on the coast of Bohemia, in the *Winter's Tale*, is here defended on wrong grounds: the sea-ports of Aquileia and Trieste were appendages of the crown of Bohemia at the time at which the scene is laid; and it is common to speak of dependent territory by the name of the metropolitan country. — An appendix to this critical survey of the works of Shakspeare declares for ascribing to him all the contested pieces, such as *Titus Andronicus*; and, with a rashness that is excusable only in a foreigner, it attributes to him Lillo's *Arden of Feversham*, which was written in 1736, and first acted in 1762. In the *Two Noble Kinsmen* of Fletcher, M. Schlegel would detect extensive aid from Shakspeare. — A short life of our great bard is also introduced; and his sonnets are justly stated to contain several auto-biographical particulars which have escaped his historians. — This whole lecture will be read with great interest in England, and will supply future editors of Shakspeare with welcome additions to the critical estimates of Dr. Johnson, which usually accompany the several plays.

The thirteenth lecture continues the history of the English stage, and deservedly praises Marlow, whose works ought to be collected and regularly edited. If the plays of Beaumont and Fletcher were thrown out of the collection by Beaumont and Fletcher, the remainder would form a richer ore. Dryden's *Dominion* is under-rated. Rowe is justly characterized. *George Barnwell* is properly cried down, and is far inferior to the *Arden of Feversham* and to the *Fatal Curiosity* of the same author.

Lecture xiv. treats of the Spanish theatre, which well deserves the study of dramatic authors as a mine of fable rather than of dialogue. To Calderon the palm is assigned over all the play-writers of his country. Catholic Germany may perhaps import his religious tragedies and pageants, but they would not succeed in London.

The fifteenth and concluding lecture, which relates to the German theatre, gives but a concise, cursory, and somewhat deficient

deficient view of its merits. Perhaps, for the very reason, that the audience were familiar with the German masterpieces, it was deemed needless to press about them; and perhaps even that which was said has undergone some abridgement, from an urban regard to the feelings of living merit.

In Schiller, the Germans possess more than an *Aeschylus*; since he has all the energy and majesty of the Greek, with more plasticity and variety. His *Atræa*, his *Mary Stuart*, and his *Wilhelm Tell*, affect on the theatre as much as in the closet.

Of Lessing's plays, *Minna von Barnhelm*, an elegant sentimental comedy, and *Nathan the Wise*, a serious didactic drama, are especially extolled: the latter is peculiarly original, and unites the merit of painting character and emotion with delicate and discriminate precision.

Kotzebue is, in our judgment, unfairly depreciated by M. Schlegel. His slightest pieces, comic or tragic, have succeeded on every European stage, from Moscow to Paris; and in theatrical effect, in rapidity of power over the feelings, he is without a living rival. Some of his plays may justly be accused of flattering dangerous inclinations: thus the *Stranger* seems to palliate adultery, *La Peyrouse* to extenuate bigamy, and *Brother Moritz* to excuse impure marriage with the concubine of another: but these dramas are nevertheless in a high degree impressive; and many of his tragedies superadd to a vehement interest a patriotic, sublime, moral, and liberal aim. Such is *Gustavus Vasa*; which, for every requisite of fable, of character, and of emotion, surpasses any Gothic drama of Goethe, and is inferior only to the *Wilhelm Tell* or the *Mary Stuart* of Schiller. Kotzebue's *Count of Burgundy* will bear a comparison with the classical *Merope*, of which it transplants the fable to chivalrous times. His *Octavia*, which repeats the old story of Antony and Cleopatra, has the merit of delineating the hero with ethic probability, and of arranging the incidents with felicitous impression:—but the character of Cleopatra is too depraved for her to have overpoised the heroic and disinterested Octavia, in the mind even of an Antony.

Goethe, a living poet, and of all dramatists the most various, has produced several acknowledged master-pieces, and may be called the Euripides of Germany, or the Shakspeare; since he excels, like those poets, in distinct characterization, in variety and truth of nature, in reliance on internal resources, and in a rich versatility of diction. His feminine characters are perhaps more nicely discriminated than his men; and he may betray some want of rapidity or energy in his manner, which intercepts popularity of effect. Excellent in portraying the delicate feelings, and more akin by nature to Sophocles,

Rowe,

Rowe, and Racine, than to the writers whom he has chosen for his models, he has expended in the delineation of energy much inadequate toil. His *Godfried of Berlichingen*, and even his *Egmont*, fall short of expectation: but not so his *Clavigo*, or his *Iphigenia in Tauris*.

On the whole, M. Schlegel's lectures deserve to be considered as forming an epoch in the history of criticism. With an eloquence worthy of Plato, and with a command of facts worthy of Aristotle, he has for the first time shaped into a system those new principles of decision respecting dramatic art, which Sulzer, Herder, and Lessing, had partially and severally evulgated in Germany; and which must naturally arise from that more extensive and comprehensive comparison of models, which this age of translation has placed within the power of all Europe. If any thing be wanting to the taste of M. Schlegel, it is some portion of tolerance and liberality towards those who have written domestic dramas, and have brought on the stage the polished men and women of modern life. — The translation is executed with elegance, and displays an intimate conversancy both with the English and the German tongue.

ART. II. *A Descriptive Catalogue of the British Specimens deposited in the Geological Collection of the Royal Institution.* 8vo. pp. 230. 9s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1816.

FOR this useful and interesting tract, the public is principally indebted to Mr. Brande, whose scientific attainments recommended him as a fit successor to Sir Humphrey Davy in the chair of chemistry attached to the Royal Institution. In forming and arranging the collection to which this volume refers, and also in preparing the catalogue, the author uniformly availed himself of the co-operation of his friend, Mr. J. F. Daniell.

The professed objects of the selection and distribution of the specimens are, to exhibit some of the more remarkable phenomena of stratification, to elucidate the leading controversies of theorists, to indicate the appropriate mineral products of particular districts, and to present a tangible outline of the geology of our own country. These views, reasonable and practicable as they undoubtedly are, have hitherto been but partially realized; and their complete accomplishment must necessarily be the result of future observation, diligence, and enlightened patriotism. Enough, however, has been already effected to excite the attention and to stimulate the exertions of the inquisitive. The present
essay

essay alone, considered merely as a sketch of the leading geological features of our native island, is highly creditable to its author, and calls for a more lengthened examination than its limited number of pages might seem to justify.

The first division, which comprizes the country situated to the south of a line drawn from London to Gloucester, has already supplied two hundred and sixty-three specimens of granite, mica-slate, green-stone, topaz-rock, clay-slate, serpentine, porphyry, grauwacke, carbonate of lime, schorl, tin, opal, jasper, various modifications of copper and lead-ores, petrified wood, chalk, marl, various fossilized animal remains, &c. &c.

In Cornwall, the predominant rocks are granite and clay-slate; and in them the mines of tin and copper are principally situated. In some cases, a metallic vein occupies the space between the two rocks, so that one of its walls is of granite and the other of slate. The most productive veins run east and west; and the deepest workings are rather more than thirteen hundred feet below the surface.

Very few veins have been hitherto traced through a greater distance than three miles, either on account of the interception of cross courses, or of their depth, or of vanishing into thin strings, which however have often been known to re-unite into a good vein. Though veins generally follow a straight direction, they sometimes elbow out of this regular track; they vary in width from a few inches to thirty feet. A vein of three or four feet in width is usually most productive, the larger almost always containing a more than proportional increase of useless matter. Among the substances met with in the early workings of veins, regarded as indicating their produce, an ochrey earth, or *Gossan*, and compact iron pyrites, are most promising for copper, and green earth or soft chlorite for tin. Abundance of quartz is rather an ill omen. In consequence of the ores of copper not having been sufficiently examined, and partly also from their occurring at greater depths than the tin, they were long neglected, until in 1735 their value was discovered by a merchant of Bristol, and shortly afterwards by the Cornish miners themselves. The difficulty of draining deep shafts was once a great obstacle to raising the copper ores, but the improvements in the steam-engine have obviated this impediment, and have enabled the miner to penetrate to a depth of more than 200 fathoms. The upper part of veins generally contains little else than rubble, composed of the debris of the country; the metal appearing at a depth of between 15 and 30 fathoms.

Among the most remarkable phenomena in geology are the cross courses or veins, not metalliferous, and running north and south. They contain various substances, such as quartz, ochrey sand, a kind of clay or marl, &c.; and where they cut the vein of metal, (shewing them of posterior formation,) they commonly throw it more or less out of its old course, generally a few inches

only east and west, but many fathoms north and south. The richness of the veins usually suffers by these dislocations. A cross course, when of solid materials, is sometimes productive of good in keeping out the waters of the neighbourhood.*

Several of the specimens belonging to this division have excited a peculiar interest, because they seem to prove that the granite has been forcibly injected from beneath, agreeably to the doctrine of the Huttonians. Others, again, solicit notice because they shew the principal accompaniments of the metallic veins; and others, because they convey satisfactory notions of the junction of different rocks. Here we are presented with fragments of curiously contorted slate; and there, with samples of rocks, in different stages of decomposition.

Granite, clay-slate, secondary marble, and red sand-stone, constitute the principal geological features of the county of Devon: but it also contains shell-limestone, siliceous slate, and breccia. At the junction of the secondary marble with the slate, the latter is sometimes observed shooting into the former, in cuneiform veins.

Somersetshire and Gloucestershire are characterized by a great diversity of soils and strata: but some of the prominent rocks are secondary marble, freestone, oolite, shell-limestone, and red sand-stone. Sulphate of strontites is occasionally found at the junction of the red sandstone with the bituminous marble, on the banks of the Avon; and brush iron-ore occurs in the caverns of the lime-stone, in the coal-formation of the forest of Dean.

Dorsetshire offers extensive exhibitions of chalk, flint, lias, and other clays, lime-stone, &c. 'In the Isle of Portland, the superior stratum consists of a calcareous free-stone, extremely abundant in shells in the upper part, and less so in the lower. Below this is the Portland stone, extensively quarried for the purposes of architecture; and between these strata is a bed of rubble, containing fine specimens of petrified wood, some of which is beautifully studded with quartz crystals. The lowest visible stratum of this island is composed of an argillaceous lias.'

Wilts chiefly abounds in sand-stone and chalk. In some places, large blocks of a granular siliceous sand-stone lie scattered over the surface of the chalk. The celebrated Stonehenge is mostly constructed of this material: but some of the blocks are of green-stone, a substance not found in the county, and which is supposed to have been conveyed from a considerable

* See an Account of the Veins of Cornwall, by William Phillips, Esq. Geol. Trans. vol. i.

distance. — The chalk-formation prevails in Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent; and its super-incumbent strata of clay, sand, and marl, with their contained fossils, indicate former alternate depositions of salt and fresh water. At Alum Bay, the agency of some powerful disturbing cause appears to have elevated these strata from their original horizontal position.

‘The chalk hills, proceeding from Wiltshire to the southern part of the Kentish coast in one direction, and to the northern point of the Norfolk coast in another, include a low district which has been termed the London Basin, and which in many essential particulars resembles the Isle of Wight basin already described. This basin is open to the ocean upon the Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk coasts, which exhibit sections of its contents.

‘The whole of the county of Essex lies in this district, and the strata contain a variety of fossil-substances of vegetable and animal origin, more particularly noticed in the description of Middlesex.

‘Near Harwich, some remarkable fossil-shells are found in the strata over the clay, especially the *murex contrarius* or reversed whelk; it is curious that this shell, twisted in the usual direction, is also met with in the same beds.’

These and other details naturally lead to the consideration of the London Basin, and of the Brentford fossils, of which an account was given in the Philosophical Transactions for 1813. — To this part of the catalogue is annexed a short appendix, relative to specimens from the Parisian Basin, which has been described with such minuteness and ability by Messrs. Cuvier and Brongniart.

The second division includes England on the *north* side of a line drawn from London to Gloucester. Here the geological series ascends, in a north-western course, from the alluvial depositions of London to the granitic district of the Cumberland fells. An upper alluvial tract of clay, sand, and gravel, stretches northwards, along the coasts of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk; including fossil-bones of animals, and shells of the more recent genera, and having their exterior edge sustained by the outskirts of a range of chalk-hills. A plain, of calcareous marl, commences at Dunstable, and continues to the neighbourhood of Woburn; where we find a range of sandstone hills, intersected by veins of iron-stone, and containing imbedded portions of fuller's earth. The summit of Shotover hill consists of a thick bed of marl, including fossil oyster-shells, and numerous balls of pyrites; from the decomposition of which last are derived the crystals of selenite for which this hill is so much celebrated.

From Woburn to Newport-Pagnel, stretches an alluvial tract of gravel, clay, and loosely adhering blue slate.

Peat is dug in many parts of the tract, and an immense subterraneous forest has been discovered, consisting of roots, trunks, branches, and leaves of trees, and shrubs intermixed with aquatic plants. It was first noticed at some small islets upon the Lincolnshire coast, near the parish of Sutton. These spots of moor are only visible at the lowest ebb-tides, but a similar stratum has been found for many miles inland, by boring or cutting down to the same level, through the clays and sand which cover it. This moor extends over all the Lincolnshire fens, and has been traced as far as Peterborough, more than sixty miles to the south of Sutton. The varieties of wood which are distinguishable are birch, fir, and oak, and amongst these the people of the country often find pieces of timber fit to be employed for economical purposes. In general, the remains of those trees which are decayed are remarkably flattened, which is the case with most of the strata of fossil-wood found in different parts of the world. *

At Newport-Pagnel, we traverse the lime-stone-series which from Bath extends to Stamford, and thence by Lincoln to the Humber; exhibiting members of different characters and texture. — An extensive red sand-stone tract commences at Leicester; forming the basis of most of the surrounding country, and comprehending several coal basins, and patches of inferior rocks. The coal-repository of greatest extent and importance, in the middling districts, is that of Staffordshire, which is traversed by the road from Birmingham to Wolverhampton. The main bed of this repository is thirty feet in thickness: but the upper, middle, and lower parts of the bed differ much in respect of quality.

The granite of Mount Sorel, and the green-stone and argillaceous schistus of Charnwood Forest, occur next in progress, as we travel northwards from Leicester. — The red sand-stone hillocks continue from Mount Sorel to the vicinity of Kegworth. Immense accumulations of gravel are found between the latter and the well-known mineral productions of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire. — The Ecton copper-mine, in this tract of country, is one of the deepest in Europe, being worked at more than two hundred and twenty fathoms beneath the surface: but it is now nearly exhausted. — The lead-mines, we need scarcely say, are both numerous and important.

In Derbyshire, the metalliferous lime-stone is bounded on the east by coal-fields, which extend from Nottingham to Sheffield; and on the west by similar deposits, stretching from Newcastle-under-Line, Congleton, and Macclesfield, and uniting with the former, to the north of Castleton.

* See an account of a Sub-marine Forest on the East Coast of England, by J. Correa de Serra, Philos. Trans. 1799.

The red sand-stone of Cheshire is remarkable for its extensive deposits of rock-salt, one stratum of which has been worked to the depth of 120 feet, without finding its termination. The longitudinal direction of these beds is from north-east to south-west. They have been traced to the distance of a mile and a half; and we have no proof that they do not stretch still farther, in the same direction: but their lateral extent does not reach beyond 1400 yards. Brine-springs also occur in different parts of the district, some of them containing more than 25 per cent. of salt.

Shropshire. The coal-field in this county is on the same parallel with that of Staffordshire, and separated from it by a tract of the red sand-stone.

On resuming the course at Macclesfield, we find the red sand-stone reaching to Manchester; near which are several small coal-fields, situated in the extensive grit-stone district of the western division of Yorkshire. On the opposite side of this tract, are the collieries to the north of Sheffield, of Wakefield, Huddersfield, Halifax, and Leeds. They consist of the usual members: but the balls of argillaceous iron-stone at Huddersfield are deserving of particular notice. 'These oblate spheroids vary from 3 to 12 inches in diameter; they are marked with lines upon the surface parallel to their largest diameter, from which many of them have a projecting stalk, which proves that they were not formed by attrition: they were discovered in a stratum of shale at Perle Moss, in excavating a tunnel for a canal.'

Mr. Brande next adverts to the cannel-coal of Wigan, and the rich hæmatitic iron-ores of Ulverston and Lancaster.

At Kendal, the red sand-stone is succeeded by lime-stone, and that, again, rests on the grauwacke rocks which are connected with the slate-district of the north of England. This grauwacke and slate country comprehends some insulated groupings of granite and syenitic rocks, and some scanty mines of lead and copper: but its most valuable product is black-lead, or plumbago.

Towards the north-west, lime-stone, grit, slate, and coal, including the Whitehaven workings, lie on the primary strata.

Chalk, flint, gravel, magnesian lime-stone, and aluminous shale, occur on the east side of the island, along the coasts of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. These are succeeded by the great coal-deposits of Durham and Northumberland, the stratification of which is here particularized.—The number of specimens, selected for the illustration of this second division, amounts to a hundred and sixty-nine.

In the third division, is comprehended Wales, of which the southern portion includes a coal-formation, or basin, of nearly a hundred miles in length, and about eighteen or twenty miles of average breadth. Between Swansea and Neath, great quantities of this coal are raised for smelting the copper-ores of Cornwall: but the largest works carried on in this extensive coal-district relate to the manufacture of iron.

On the north of the Welsh coal-measures are lime-stone and red sand-stone. The latter borders on the eastern side of the country, and is succeeded by a very ample clay-slate formation, which pervades a great part of North Wales; occasionally interrupted, however, by green-stone ridges. The lead and zinc-mines are found in a slaty lime-stone, near its junction with shale.

The Anglesea copper-mine has now been worked upwards of sixty years, and was originally tunnelled in the usual way, by shafts and adits, of which there are now few remaining, the whole being excavated, and presenting a vast abyss, in many places from 50 to 70 fathoms deep, and open to the day. Its walls are ragged and irregular in the extreme; and upon projecting points of the rocks are stages and windlasses for raising the ore, which is broken and dressed chiefly by women, whose mouths are secured by handkerchiefs, and who wear a kind of iron glove consisting of tubes adapted to the fingers, to protect them from the inhalation of the dust, and the blows of the hammer. Some of the ore, especially that which abounds in iron pyrites, is roasted upon the spot, with a view to procure sulphur. An immense pile is made of the ore, previously mixed with small quantities of wood and coal; it is covered with rubbish of different kinds, excepting in one part, whence arises a flue, communicating with an oblong chamber of brick-work placed upon higher ground, which has two or three small openings. When the wind is in a favourable quarter, fire is thrown into several holes made at the bottom of the pile. Its combustion continues for about four months, during which large quantities of sulphur collect in the chamber. It is occasionally removed, purified by fusion, and cast into moulds. The whole district is contaminated by sulphureous fumes, resulting from this noxious operation, and not a blade of grass nor even a lichen is to be found for a considerable distance. For the same reason no steam-engine can be employed on the works. One was erected a few years ago, but it soon was rendered useless by corrosion.

The fourth division embraces Scotland and the Hebrides: but, as the great outlines of their geology may now be said to be *terra cognita*, we purposely forbear from touching on them.

Ireland, which forms the subject of the fifth division, has been less diligently explored; and Mr. Brande chiefly confines his observations to the majestic scene of the Giants'

Causeway, and the basaltic formations of Antrim. He alludes, however, to some interesting facts which have been observed within the range of the Wicklow mountains, such as appearances of the granitic formation analogous to those in Cornwall; the conical exhibitions of granular quartz, corresponding to those in Caithness and in the island of Jura; and the discovery of gold, tin, and copper, though hitherto in no very encouraging quantities. He remarks, too, that, within ten miles of Dublin, an uninterrupted space of upwards of 120 square miles is absolutely without inhabitants.

We regard this descriptive catalogue as a happy example of the application of science to the purposes of practical utility: but it might be rendered still more valuable by the addition of a geological map. It is accompanied by some pertinent general remarks on the soils of Great Britain, principally with reference to their subjacent rocks; and by a table of the heights of the more remarkable mountains in England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland.

ART. III. *The Substance of some Letters written by an Englishman resident at Paris, during the last Reign of the Emperor Napoleon. With an Appendix of official Documents.* 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 893. 1l. 4s. Boards. Ridgways. 1816.

It is generally understood and asserted that these letters proceed from the pen of Mr. Hobhouse, the son of Sir Benjamin Hobhouse, and already known (see M.R. Vol. lxxiv.) by his *Journey in Greece*. Like his former publication, but perhaps more excusably, the present bears many marks of haste, and not a few of inconsistency; the impression produced on us, after a perusal of the whole, being much more favourable to the feelings than to the judgment of the writer. Yet we can scarcely hope to be joined by many persons even in this limited encomium, when we give the unexpected notice that the object of almost incessant panegyric in these volumes is the man who was so long the main-spring of war and dissension in Europe. Our readers, however, will soon see that we exercise no undue charity towards Mr. H., and that we are perfectly aware of the extent of his mis-apprehensions. In rendering a report of his book, we shall take up the leading events in the order of their occurrence; and, after having exposed the absurd extremes into which he has so often fallen, we shall place in the opposite balance the considerations which serve to extenuate the error, and to afford a hope of his pursuing a more judicious course when he next ventures before the public.

The narrative opens in the early part of April 1815, a few weeks after Bonaparte had made his successful entry into Paris on arriving from Elba, the writer being then at Brussels : but the news of this extraordinary event induced him to repair, with all expedition, to the French capital, and to gratify his eyes with the sight of the restored Emperor. He had soon a very good opportunity of accomplishing this point, by attending at a review of the national guard or embodied citizens of Paris in the square of the Tuileries, on the 16th of April; and, after some preliminary observations, Mr. H. bursts out into the following effusion :

‘ The vast palace of kings ; the moving array before me ; the deep mass of flashing arms in the distance ; the crowd around, the apparatus of war and empire, all disappeared, and, in the first gaze of admiration, I saw nothing but Napoleon—the single individual, to destroy whom the earth was rising in arms from the Tanais to the Thames. I know that I never should have beheld him with delight in the days of his despotism, and that the principal charm of the spectacle arose from the contemplation of the great peril to be encountered by the one undaunted mortal before my eyes. Let me say also that the persuasion, that the right of a powerful and great nation to choose their own sovereign was to be tried in his person, and the remembrance of the wonderful achievement by which he had given an opportunity to decide that choice, contributed in no small degree to augment my satisfaction. He has been of late often seen and described by those who visited him at Elba. I can only say, that he did not appear to me like any of his portraits, except that one in the saloon of the palace of the legislative body, nor did I ever see any man just like him. His face was of a deadly pale; his jaws overhung, but not so much as I had heard; his lips thin, but partially curled, so as to give to his mouth an inexpressible sweetness. He had the habit of retracting the lips, and apparently chewing, in the manner observed and objected to in our great actor, Mr. Kean. His hair was of a dark dusky brown, scattered thinly over his temples : the crown of his head was bald. One of the names of affection given him of late by his soldiers is “*notre petit tondu*.” He was not fat in the upper part of his body, but projected considerably in the abdomen, so much so, that his linen appeared beneath his waistcoat. He generally stood with his hands knit behind or folded before him, but sometimes unfolded them : played with his nose ; took snuff three or four times, and looked at his watch. He very seldom spoke, but when he did, smiled, in some sort, agreeably. He looked about him, not knitting but joining his eye-brows as if to see more minutely, and went through the whole tedious ceremony with an air of sedate impatience. As the front columns of each regiment passed him, he lifted the first finger of his left hand quickly to his hat, to return the salute, but did not move either his hat or his head. As the regiments advanced, they shouted, some loudly, some feebly, “*Vive l’Empereur !*” and many soldiers ran

ran out of their ranks with petitions, which were taken by a grenadier on the Emperor's left hand.' —

'The reception given to Napoleon on this dreaded day was certainly of a mixed kind. The national guards, all of them shopkeepers, and who have been great gainers by the short peace, consider the return of Napoleon as the signal of war; they did not, therefore, hail him universally nor very loudly. Some regiments, however, shouted loud and long, and raised their caps on their bayonets; and this enthusiasm I have no doubt would be expressed by all these armed citizens, if they had as good a chance of a state of peace under the Emperor as under another government.'

These passages may be taken as a fair specimen of the greater part of the work: but what will the reader say on finding, a few pages afterward, this singular allegation?

'The royal vice of ingratitude finds no place in the bosom of an usurper; this baseness belongs to such as are born kings. There is something magical in that power of personal attachment which is proved by a thousand notorious facts to belong to this extraordinary man; and never had one who wore a crown so many friends, nor retained them so long.'

Mr. H. was one of the happy few who saw no danger to the future peace of Europe from the resumption of power by Bonaparte:

'That a due guarantee would be given to the allies against the absolute power of Napoleon, the formation of a representative government, and every evidence of the ascendant gained by the people in this country, are sufficient to make more than probable. The constitution which he himself has proposed, by putting the purse of the state into the hands of the house of representatives, makes the declaration of war as dependant upon that house, as it is upon the English House of Commons; but in the alterations which the chamber, when met, will propose, it is doubted whether the declaration of war will be left to the crown; for I see that a pamphlet, addressed to the representatives, earnestly recommends taking away this prerogative from the sovereign, as well as putting the army into the hands of responsible and national officers*. Those who aver, that Napoleon, seconded by the army, would find means to crush the rising spirit of liberty, and to resume his former power in all its plentitude, know nothing of France, as you have by this time seen, nor of the army, which would second not such project.'

The political sentiments of the *Monthly Review* have been too frequently declared, to make us incur the suspicion of an undue opposition to the advocates of freedom whenever we see

* The sovereign was never to take the field, by the constitution made during the siege of Paris.'

a chance of good resulting from their arguments: but, from our personal knowledge of the French army, we can declare that to expect the support of rational liberty at their hands would have been a complete delusion. Like other military bodies, they saw things only through the medium of their Commander; and how could it be expected to be otherwise when that commander possessed imperial power, and opened to them an almost unbounded field of promotion? Nothing, we are aware, can be more exaggerated than the vulgar charges against the probity and humanity of the French army: but, even in the early part of the Revolution, when liberty was so often in their mouths, they had no just conception of its nature, or of the manner of maintaining it against a despot. Their habits disqualify them for such speculations; they pass their time in the routine of professional duty, in the recital of individual anecdote, and above all in the calculation of future advancement. Their feeling towards a leader, at least towards one who knows how to flatter them, is almost unqualified admiration; which is not likely to be lessened by any infringement on the rights of the civil part of the community, of whom they either think not at all or think with contempt.

Mr. Hobhouse repaired with great alacrity to Bonaparte's grand ceremony of the *Champ de Mai*, of which we have here a very copious account, now no longer interesting.—The next public scene that called for his attendance was the meeting of the legislative Chambers. The first act of the Chamber of Deputies was to ballot for a president, which was done by each member putting his paper into an urn successively, so as to give the spectators an opportunity of recognizing most of the men of note who had survived the Revolution.

‘There was no little tumult in determining whether the votes given to Lafayette, without the designation of Lafayette the father, should be permitted to pass in favour of the elder or the younger, his son, of that name. There seemed considerable eagerness in some members that Lafayette should not be chosen; and, after the election, when a member of the chamber informed me on the steps of the palace that Lanjuinais had been elected, and not Lafayette, he took me by the hand, though I knew him not, saying, “Wish us joy, Sir; we have not got that man, but one of the right sort; a bold decisive man, no trimmer.” One of the door-keepers, who overheard him, rejoined, “Yes, Mr. Lanjuinais is an honest and a bold man, as I can tell; for I was the man who brought him the first news, in 1793, of his being proscribed. I concealed him, and shall never forget the intrepidity of his conduct.” Mr. Lanjuinais voted against the imperial title, and was one of the opposition in the late chamber of peers. He has been always distinguished as a true patriot, firm, but moderate, a supporter of all the first principles, but

but stained with none of the excesses, of the Revolution. Four hundred and seventy-two members voted at the first balloting: 189 were for Mr. Lanjuinais; 74 for Mr. Flauguergues, (an eloquent person, and celebrated for his boldness in the legislative assembly in 1813, and his speech upon the court of cassation in the chamber of deputies); 51 for Lafayette the father; 17 for Lafayette, without any designation; 41 for Count Merlin; 29 for Mr. Dupont.—Both Mr. Merlin and Mr. Bedoch would have had more supporters had not one been a counsellor of state and solicitor-general of the court of cassation, and the other imperial solicitor and ex-counsellor extraordinary of the Emperor in several departments. Any connection with the court would be fatal to greater favourites than either of those two gentlemen in being candidates for the president's chair; but Mr. Bedoch is elected a secretary. You have already seen that the support which the representatives may give to the government may be entirely independent of all considerations but those of duty to their constituents. You are, perhaps, not aware that the presidency of the French chamber does not answer exactly to the chair of the House of Commons, at least, not in our times; and that it is not only the organ, but, in some measure, the mirror of the assembly, whose general complexion may be judged from, and is also a little dependant upon, the character of the man of their choice. Mr. Lanjuinais could not be chosen for that dignity of manner or person so useful in our Speaker; but for the known firmness and honesty which would render him a faithful and fit channel of communication between the representatives of the people and the monarch. The assembly has the same object in view in the selection of the four Vice-presidents, of whom Mr. Flauguergues was the first chosen, Mr. Dupont the second, Mr. Lafayette the third, and General Grenier the fourth; all of them men notorious for that independence of either court, of Louis or Napoleon, which recommended them to the representatives.

We have very little military calculation in these volumes: but the following anecdote, of a conversation that took place a month before the opening of the campaign, is curious from its coincidence with the course actually adopted by Bonaparte:

‘ Visiting an aide-de-camp of the Emperor, I found him employed mapping in detail the country on the Belgian frontier, and was asked by him whether a separation of the Prussian and English armies, and a rapid march upon Brussels, would not surprize our politicians in England. “We can beat Blucher first, and then,” added he, smiling, “we shall try your Wellington.” ’

Living at Paris, and in the way of hearing daily rumours on the subject of the most private and important transactions, Mr. Hobhouse has in many cases made his book a mere vehicle for those unauthorized and almost always fallacious statements. How are we to believe that Bonaparte, who for many

many years past has consulted no one, returned from Waterloo to Paris in consequence (Vol. ii. p. 67.) of having been 'over-persuaded by his staff-officers?' Is it not much more likely, according to the downright statement of his rustic guide Lacoste, that he rode off from the field saying scarcely a word to any one; and that he hastened to Paris for personal safety, as well as to prevent, if possible, his deposition by the Chambers? There is no truth, we are fully persuaded, in the allegations so confidently repeated that his brother Lucien urged him to dissolve the legislature by main force, and to invest himself at once with dictatorial power; a story which can have arisen only from the impression excited by an event that is now remote, we mean the conspicuous part performed by Lucien on the 18th of Brumaire 1799; and even this part, when it is attentively examined, will be found to indicate much more the character of a subordinate than of a leading actor.

Among other encomiums on Bonaparte, we find (Vol. i. p. 243.) the praise of generosity conferred on him because he did not inflict a severe chastisement on Augereau; who, in his proclamation to his soldiers in April 1814, had said that Bonaparte "had not the courage to die like a soldier." The only punishment imposed on the Marshal was an order to live at his country-seat, and even this was ostensibly grounded on a public motive.

The Emperor told his friends, that the reason of Augereau's disgrace was to be attributed to the following fact. Napoleon travelling to Elba met the Marshal; got out of his carriage, had a long conversation with him, and embraced him at parting. When they stopped for the night, the Austrian commissary said to Bertrand, that he wondered at the manner in which the Marshal had been received by the Emperor, as he had for some time been in good understanding with the allies. This conversation was related to the Emperor, who learnt also that it was believed at Lyons that the Marshal had delivered up the town for a sum of money. This last persuasion may not be well founded, but it was believed at Lyons, where when the Marshal appeared at the theatre, some one shouted out, "Are there any more towns on sale?" The Emperor was convinced of the fact, and said "he would forgive the injury personal to himself, but not that which had been so fatal to France."

The truth is that Bonaparte inflicted very little punishment on any of those who had written or even acted against him after his first abdication: but we may doubt whether this was the result of mildness or magnanimity when we consider that he felt that his situation was precarious, that he could not afford to swell the number of his enemies, and that his true plan was to

to exercise no severity except where it could be productive of some political advantage. It suited this *disinterested* course to accuse Augereau, in the face of the army, of having betrayed the city of Lyons to the enemy: but to have gone farther, and to have inflicted a vindictive chastisement, would have had no other result than that of exciting the regret of those who had for so many years shared the dangers of the field with the Marshal. In point of fact, indeed, Bonaparte was always convinced that Augereau was as guiltless of the loss of Lyons as Marmont of the loss of Paris, although Mr. H.'s perspicacity does not enable him to discover the innocence of either. He seems equally slow of comprehension when he relates (Vol. i. p. 394.) the affected familiarity of Bonaparte, for the purpose of ingratiating himself with the French soldiers. If, however, our countryman be altogether inflexible in his admiration, the Parisians soon shewed a very different disposition; and no sooner had Napoleon sent in his abdication (22d June) than they gave over all concern about him. It is a curious fact that, during the succeeding days, (Vol. ii. p. 12.) they never thought of inquiring whether he was at Malmaison or not; and that they eventually learned his surrender to a British ship of war with the greatest indifference. (Vol. ii. p. 203.)

On hearing that Bonaparte's letter to the Prince Regent had not been received, but had been sent unopened to Vienna, we are told that the author undertook the part of a political adviser, and recommended it to one of Bonaparte's aides-de-camp to make another application to his Royal Highness, "on the pretext of the entire pacification of the empire." This occurrence took place in the month of April; and in the succeeding July we find Mr. Hobhouse (Vol. ii. p. 154.) sitting down to enlighten Lord Castlereagh on the state of France, by an epistle proving that the great mass of the inhabitants were republicans, when a loud acclamation called him into the street, and presented him with another revolution of public sentiment in a display of white handkerchiefs:

'A battalion of the national guards were passing with white flags, to the shouts of *Vive le Roi*. The streets were lined with the same troops, in white cockades; not a national colour was to be seen; the white flag was floating on the column of the grand army, and the windows glittered with women and white linen.'—

'If I may depend upon the assertion of one of the members of the intermediate government, what did actually happen was as follows: Lord Castlereagh, on his arrival at head-quarters, imparted to the commission his surprise, indeed his indignation, that Louis was not yet in Paris, and added that he *must come in to-morrow, or the next day at furthest*. The president of the government replied that he understood from the allied sovereigns that there was

was no intention, on their part, to interfere with the inclinations of the French nation, in the election of its monarch; for answer to which remonstrance, his Lordship only introduced Mr. Pozzo di Borgo, and the ministers of the other two principal powers, each of whom drew a note from his pocket, stating their respective sovereigns' agreement with the English minister, and their resolution to replace Louis on the throne of France. This was decisive, but the government was still sitting in the Tuileries, when a squadron of cavalry, and two battalions of Westphalian infantry, and several pieces of cannon, marched into the Place du Carousel, and occupied the inner court of the palace; and an officer, entering the council chamber, told the commissioners that he was ordered to evacuate the apartments, and at the same time presented a paper, which contained a demand of a contribution of a hundred millions, signed by Marshal Blucher. The government remonstrated; they contrasted this demand and conduct with the articles of the convention, which secured the public and private property; and which left the service of the interior of the capital to the national guard; but in vain. The officer did not understand the nicety of the distinction, and the government had no other resource than to resolve upon communicating their *forced dissolution* to the chambers, and upon retiring each to his own home. As to the contribution, they deposited the paper upon the council table, where, said the Duke of Otranto, "we will leave it as a legacy for the king." The government did *not* dissolve itself. It was dissolved by Lord Castlereagh.'

In turning over the pages of this work, our attention was repeatedly attracted by a typographical irregularity altogether unusual in a book printed in the metropolis; we mean an inequality, in a variety of places, in the number of lines in a page. This is curiously exemplified in Vol. i. pp. 94, 95, 106, 107, 295. to 299. 332., &c. and we can account for it only by supposing that a number of alterations and retrenchments were found necessary after the MS. had actually been printed; so that, in addition to other discoveries, Mr. Hobhouse seems to have hit on the very *economical* one of amending his book by making it first pass through the hands of the compositor.

Some critics, we are told, have chosen to consider Mr. H. as writing ironically, and have quoted the more *outré* passages of his volumes in support of that view of his doctrines: but we prefer the plain course of stating them as we really believe them to be meant, and have only to regret that so much good disposition should be so materially perverted. If any persons regard us as carrying our strictures too far, and under-rating the value of the work, we have merely to request them to turn to particular passages, such as Vol. i. pp. 4. *et seqq.* 293, 383. 448.; and, for a specimen of the author's credulity, they may refer

refer to the rumours which (Vol. i. p. 466.) he retails respecting the numbers of the French army in May 1815. If he could not bring himself to suspect Bonaparte of exaggeration when he spoke of having 375,000 regulars under arms, the result of the battle of Waterloo certainly shewed that no second army was at the disposal of the executive government. What shall we say, also, of the judgment of the writer who terms Caulaincourt (Vol. i. p. 246. Vol. ii. p. 43.) 'the ornament of the court,' and 'a man of strict principle,' or who can gravely assert, (Vol. ii. p. 75.) that a 'fondness for children is one of Bonaparte's peculiarities?' Has Mr. H. not had occasion to observe that a finished hypocrite can assume the semblance of humanity on little as on great occasions? and is it possible that he can seriously believe that Bonaparte refrained from suicide because (Vol. ii. p. 77.) 'he thought it wrong to make any change in his destiny?' — 'An extreme carelessness and generosity in pecuniary matters,' says Mr. Hobhouse, 'is one of the characteristics of Napoleon.' How was this exemplified by his stipulating in April 1814 for an income of 100,000*l.* a-year; and by his securing, through the medium of a mercantile house in Paris, a very comfortable sum for his private use, on the very day after he reached the capital from the field of Waterloo. This transaction was lately the subject of a judicial process at Paris, which ended in the merchants making good their claim for the validity of the public securities lodged with them by their disinterested ruler.

Yet, after all these animadversions on Mr. H. and his never-ending panegyrics, we do not say that his book is devoid of merit. On the contrary, it affords, in more instances than one, a proof that the author, whatever may be the extent of his misapprehensions, does not pervert facts nor wilfully misrepresent the state of things. Respecting the successful entrance of Bonaparte into Paris on the 20th of March 1815, we have these observations:

'I must now declare a truth, which my respect for the cause with which he is at present identified makes me unwilling to own. Napoleon is *not popular*, except with the actual army, and with the inhabitants of certain departments; and, perhaps, even with them, his popularity is only relative. At no place is there so great a portion of the population decidedly averse to him as at Paris. The nobles of St. Germain are his declared foes — they have seceded: the shopkeepers, whose interest is connected with peace, wish him no good, as long as they see in him a promise of perpetual war. Hence, Paris, on the entry of Napoleon, presented but a mournful spectacle. The crowd, which went out to meet the Emperor, remained in the outskirts of the city; the shops were shut — no one appeared at the windows — the boulevards were lined with

with a multitude collected about the many mountebanks, turnbells, &c.; which for the two last days had been placed there in greater numbers than usual by the police, in order to divert the populace. There was no noise nor any acclamations; a few low murmurs and whispers were alone heard, when the spectators of these open shows turned round to look at the string of six or eight carriages, which preceded the imperial troops. The regiments then passed along, and cried out *Vive l'Empereur!* — not a word from any one. They tried the more popular and ancient exclamation, *Vive Bonaparte!* — all still silent. The patience of the dragoons was exhausted; some brandished their swords; others drew their pistols, and rode into the alleys amidst the people, exclaiming, "*Crie, donc, Vive l'Empereur!*" but the crowd only gave way, and retreated without uttering a word. Lady ——— was present, — I have the account from her. You may wish me to reconcile this with my former statements: but I beg you to recollect, that it is my purpose only to tell you what I know and believe to be true.

Another point of a different nature, and in which we apprehend that Mr. H. is too correct, relates to the inefficiency of several of our ambassadors at foreign courts:

Those who are acquainted with the composition of our diplomatic body cannot be surprised at the Cimmerian darkness of our reigning English politicians. It cannot be denied that any English cabinet must be exceedingly embarrassed in the selection of their foreign agents, and that, from the necessity of silencing the importunity, and satisfying the demands of those possessed of parliamentary influence, they may run an even chance of excluding whatsoever things are honest, just, true, and of good report from many of our embassies, missions, and correspondencies. Restricted to a choice not amongst the most serviceable, but the best allied of their fellow-countrymen; they ought not to be surprised at occasionally discovering, when too late, that some of their *peregrè missi* have dropped the mode of lying, (allow me the literal translation of Sir Henry Wotton's Latin,) comprehended the old definition, and have deceived only their employers.

Among these better parts of the work, we class the observations (Vol. i. p. 48. Vol. ii. p. 248.) on the non-existence of a conspiracy in Paris to favour the return of Bonaparte from Elba:

Having taken considerable pains to ascertain the fact, I am come into that persuasion which prevails most generally amongst those who have the reputation of being the best informed; which is, that there was no corresponding scheme laid at Paris for this restoration, and that the whole project and execution are to be attributed solely to the daring determination of Napoleon himself to recover his crown, most happily coinciding with the actual condition and general feeling of France. What was that condition and that general feeling it is likely that the exile at Elba well

knew. He might be informed of this even by the public papers, had he not been possessed of correspondents at Paris and agents at Naples. But what I mean to assert is, that there was no conspiracy in France corresponding with the disembarkation at Cannes. The Grand Marshal Bertrand, the *preux chevalier* of Europe, gave his word and honour to an English gentleman only yesterday, that no such conspiracy existed; and that three weeks before their quitting Elba not the least idea was entertained of the design. The Emperor himself, whose assurance you may receive with suspicion, told Mr. S—— as much, in a conversation he had with him in the garden of the Elysée, and, on being complimented on the performance of this, the greatest of all his actions, he said, "No, it was easier than you think; my only merit was making a good guess as to the actual situation of France."—

The treason of Marshal Ney was not in consequence of any preconcerted scheme. The Marshal, when he left Louis, had not any intention of betraying him; nor did he adopt the line of conduct so justly condemned, until he found the troops at Lons le Saulnier had determined upon joining the Emperor. He was weak enough not to do the only thing left for an honourable man: instead of returning to Paris with the news, he marched with the revolted army, and has branded his name with an infamy that even the success of his cause has failed to obliterate. He has no ostensible employ at the Emperor's court, excepting a military command; and although he is known to be a very brave man, and has the character of a very weak one, is regarded by all parties as a disreputable acquaintance. In London language "he is cut," and his name and crime have furnished a pun for the Parisian wits, who say of his treachery, "*il faut être né pour ça.*" Colonel Henry Labedoyere went over with his regiment to Napoleon from the impulse of the moment, and, as I know from the officer of Napoleon's suite who received the first intelligence of his coming, without the least previous intimation being conveyed to the Emperor.—The refusal of the garrison of Antibes to join him is a sufficient proof that the defection of the other troops, afterwards, was not preconcerted, but merely the effect of a spontaneous preference of their ancient chief to their new master.

In a subsequent part of this publication, (Vol. i. p. 345.) Mr. H. reasons with considerable moderation on the impropriety of interfering in the domestic concerns of another country. Had France been actually in the hands of the better part of the *liberalistes*, (or, as they are improperly termed, revolutionists,) the interference of foreigners might have been unnecessary, and have been called unfair or oppressive: but what prospect could be seen either of freedom at home or quiet abroad under a military despot? It is to be feared that Bonaparte would have acted a pacific part only as long as it was necessary to enable him to combine measures for a second conquest of the Netherlands; and, had he succeeded in this

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object,

object, what indulgence could reasonably be expected by Holland or Germany? The great error of Mr. H. consists in seeing things on one side only, and in waiving all censure on one prominent character; while he heaps accusations, with an unsparing hand, on almost all those who have stood in the way of that individual's progress.

One of the few points, in which Mr. Hobhouse and the advocates of his side of the question have an advantage, is that which regards the more than doubtful letters attributed to Bonaparte and Murat by the Bourbon-ministry in December 1814; when they laboured to prevail on England and Austria to sanction the invasion of Naples. The short note of the Duke of Wellington, declaring that the papers in question proved nothing against Murat, is a very gratifying specimen of the frankness of our commander; and it forms a curious contrast with the diplomatic craft of Count Metternich, who had persuaded Murat to take part against Napoleon, by assuring him (Vol. i. p. 382.) that Austria was the only one of the allied powers "*qui luttois pour la dynastie Napoleon.*" "By joining Austria," said this wily negociator, "you will preserve yourself, and afterward be able to make terms for Bonaparte."

' The Duke of Bassano was sufficiently polite to acquit our Secretary of State of partaking in the fraud of M. de Blacas, but could not help hinting, that he wondered his Lordship should have allowed himself to be the dupe of so apparent and gross an imposture. And well may he wonder: for it must be past all comprehension, even of those who know our cabinet, to account for the blindness and facility with which they fell into the snare of a government who they knew were interested to deceive them, and whose efforts to produce a decision against Murat they had before so repeatedly witnessed both at the congress and at Paris. The minutes of the three letters, as presented by M. de Blacas to Lord Castlereagh, were all of them supposed to be written in 1814, after Napoleon had quitted Paris for the last time; but M. de Blacas told Lord C. he had found these minutes at Paris. Now how came his Lordship not to ask by what means these minutes came to Paris, to which the Emperor never returned after the alleged writing of them, instead of being carried with the other state-papers immediately composed, or received, to Elba? Was it likely that they should be sent to the archives, and that they should be the only documents of that date transferred thither? The fact is, that no private cabinet papers, especially such compositions as private letters from the Emperor to his brother-in-law, were, or were likely to be sent to Paris, after Napoleon had quitted it for the campaign of 1814;—and it was unpardonable in Lord Castlereagh not to suggest to himself the extreme improbability of such a supposition, and the consequent chance of forgery in the case of the alleged correspondence. Lord Castlereagh may have had other grounds for

going to war with Murat; but this minister in his speech certainly lays the greatest stress on this correspondence, and has the extreme assurance to open his account of the notable discovery by stating, that the *Prince Talleyrand had told him, &c. &c.* that long time after the negotiation between Murat and the allies, the former had entered into negotiations with Napoleon to occupy Italy up to the Po, and of this he had the *most certain proofs*. What these certain proofs were Lord C. does not say; but proceeds to read and comment upon the letter of the Princess Borghese, which the Duke of Wellington pronounced, amongst others, to be inconsequential; and upon the three letters which we now see, and which he ought at once to have guessed, to have been fabrications.'

The most entertaining part of these letters is the detail of the circumstances of Bonaparte's passage from Elba, and his subsequent progress through France in March 1815. Mr. H. received these particulars from a Polish Colonel named Jermanouski, who had accompanied the Ex-Emperor to Elba, and whose plain and unexaggerated recital affords a voucher for its authenticity. We can spare room for only some small portions of the detail. — It appears that Bonaparte began his preparations for leaving Elba about a week before his actual departure, by collecting provisions for the voyage, and desiring his officers to stop the sailing of merchantmen and boats. Col. Jermanouski, commanding at the small harbour of Porto Longone, with a garrison of three or four hundred men, had acted during some days on these instructions: but

'He had almost forgotten the embargo, when, on the 26th of February, whilst he was working in his little garden, an aide-de-camp from the Emperor directed him to embark all his men by six o'clock in the evening, and repair to the flotilla off Porto Ferrajo, at a given time the same night. It was so late, that he could not put his soldiers on board before half past seven, at which time he got into a boat, and rowing to the station, arrived at the Imperial brig the *Inconstant*, which was under sail. On mounting the deck, the Emperor accosted him with "*Comment ça va-t-il? où est votre monde?*" and, on receiving the answer, said no more. The Colonel learned that the little garrison of Porto Ferrajo had not received orders to embark until one o'clock the same day, that they had got on board at four, and that the Emperor, with Bertrand, Drouot, and his staff, arrived at eight, when a single gun gave the signal, and they set sail. The flotilla consisted of the *Inconstant* of twenty-six guns, *L'Etoile*, and *La Caroline*, bombarded, and four feluccas. The soldiers on board the *Inconstant* were four hundred of the old guard. The Colonel knew not, and no one appeared to know, whither they were going, but the guard, when drawn out on the beach, had shouted "*Paris ou la mort!*" as if by a presentiment of their destination.' —

'During the latter part of the voyage, the officers, soldiers, and sailors surrounded Napoleon, who took very little sleep, and was

generally on deck. Lying down, sitting, standing, and strolling about him, familiarly, they asked him unceasing questions, to which he as unreservedly and without one sign of anger or impatience replied, although some were not a little indiscreet, for they required his opinions on many living characters, kings, marshals, and ministers, and discussed notorious passages of his own campaigns, and even of his domestic policy.—He talked without disguise of his present attempt, of its difficulties, of his means, and of his hopes. He said, “In a case like this, one must think slowly, but act promptly. I have long weighed and most maturely considered the project. The glory, the advantages we shall gain, if we succeed, I need not enlarge upon. If we fail—to military men, who have from their infancy faced death in so many shapes, the fate which awaits us is not terrific: we know, and we despise, for we have a thousand times faced the worst which a reverse can bring.” These were nearly the last words which he spoke before his little fleet came to an anchor in the gulf of Juan, and they were delivered with a more set phrase, as a sort of final address to the companions of his great enterprise.—The troops were disembarked by five in the evening of March 1. on the beach at Cannes; the Emperor was the last to leave the brig. Napoleon took some refreshment and repose in a bivouac, which was prepared for him in a meadow surrounded by olive trees near the shore, where there is now a small column raised to commemorate the event, and where they show the table on which he was served.

The invaders marched unopposed, and with little observation, till they arrived at Digne; which, being a town of some size, afforded Bonaparte the means of printing his proclamations, and he now endeavoured to circulate them by every possible means. The only place of strength in this part of the country was Sisteron, a town small in itself though of some importance as possessing a bridge over the river Durance: but, being without troops, it was easily occupied by Napoleon's vanguard of forty grenadiers, and the march was continued northwards in the direction of Grenoble. That city, formerly a considerable fortress, was defended by a force of nearly six thousand men, and the time was now approaching at which Bonaparte's calculations of success were to be put to the test. In fact, it was only on one occasion during the whole of his progress to Paris, viz. on the 7th of March, at a place called Vizille, that his life was exposed to any hazard:

Colonel Jermanouski being on the advance, saw a body of troops with a white flag drawn up in a defile near Vizille. He attempted to parley, but an officer advancing towards him, cried out, “Retire, I can have no communication with you: keep your distance; my men will fire.” The Colonel tried to pacify him, telling him, it was with the Emperor Napoleon that he would have to speak, not with himself. But the officer still threatened, and gave the same answer to Raoul, an aid-de-camp of the staff, so that the

Colonel

Goldnet returned to the Emperor, and reported his failure. Napoleon said to Jermanouski, smiling, "If that is the case, I must try what I can do myself." He dismounted; and ordering about fifty of his grenadiers to advance, with arms reversed, walked quietly towards the defile, where he found a battalion of the 5th of the line, a company of sappers, and another of miners, amounting in all to seven or eight hundred men, drawn up to oppose him. The officer commanding continued to vociferate, sometimes against the Emperor, calling out, *It is an impostor, it is not he*; and sometimes against his troops, ordering them to fire. The troops were silent and motionless; for an instant it appeared they were about to raise their muskets, when Napoleon, halting his grenadiers, walked calmly up to the battalion, and, when close to the line, stopped short in the front, looked steadfastly at them, and throwing open his outer coat, exclaimed, "*It is I, recognise me!* If there be amongst you one soldier who would kill his Emperor! now is his time." They were vanquished at once; and with repeated shouts of "*Long live the Emperor!*" rushed forward to embrace the guard.

Another informant assured me, that immediately after his speech, Napoleon walked to a grenadier who had his musket presented, and taking hold of one of his mustachios, said, *Et toi, vieille mustache, tu a été avec nous à Marengo!* — Napoleon remained two days at Lyons, and dated from that town those decrees, by which it was clear, that he considered himself as again in possession of the Imperial throne. His reception in the second town of France justified this presumption. He mixed with the people in the streets, and at the ball which was given to him at the town-house, with the same unsuspecting confidence which had marked his former progress, and which was no less apparent during his advance upon the capital. This advance was continued under the same circumstances as had distinguished his approach to Lyons. He travelled often alone, or only escorted by a few Polish lancers, accompanied by the peasants on the roads, and surrounded by the citizens of the towns. Macon, according to Colonel Jermanouski, was the only town at which he was obliged to ask for the residence of the Emperor; in every other place it was sufficiently known by a concourse shouting before the imperial quarters. At Autun, where he slept on the 15th, and at Avalon, where he passed the next night almost unattended, he was received with transport. He arrived at Auxerre on the 17th; there he was joined by Ney, whose troops had declared for him on the 13th, and also by the 14th regiment, who marched from Orleans, and continued their route to Paris, at which they arrived in six days and a half. He received also the news that the 6th lancers had hoisted the tri-coloured cockade, and had occupied Montereau. Here he embarked the Elbese, and the principal part of his army, which now amounted to four divisions, on the Yonne, and travelled in his carriage towards Fontainebleau: he generally changed his horses on the outside of the town, that he might not be impeded by the crowd. He did this at Sens, where he was followed, however,

and harangued by the mayor and municipality without the walls. He arrived at Fontainebleau at four in the morning of the 20th of March. There he reviewed a regiment of lancers in that courtyard, in which, eleven months ago, he had bid adieu to his army and to France. At seven, he learnt that Louis had fled from Paris; and at twelve, his army having arrived from Auxerre, he departed for the capital. — He entered Paris by the Boulevards neufs. The royal army, that had marched to oppose him in the morning, joined him near the gates of Paris; but the brilliant imposing scene, described in the journals as occurring at Melun, did not take place. — Napoleon came through the gate of the Tuileries opposite the Pont Royal, and alighted at the palace at eleven o'clock.

The letter that follows this detail is succeeded by the insertion of the most improbable charges and even calumnies (pp. 109. 143. 144. 158.) against the Bourbons. The author, however, does not accuse them of conniving at the shameful disorders committed in the last autumn with respect to the Protestants in the south of France; although it is a remarkable fact that the great majority of the latter are attached to the cause of the Revolution, as far as that cause involved the maintenance of religious toleration, and the free admission of Dissenters to public offices civil and military. — When treating of the feeling of the people a few weeks after the successful entrance of Bonaparte into Paris, Mr. H. observes: 'The most decisive *national* spirit is on the other hand shewn in other quarters, and especially in the Protestant departments. Some alarms in Gard, of an insurrection of the Bourbonists, immediately assembled 10,000 of the national guards, and General Gilly easily collected 25,000 peasants from the mountains for the immediate suppression of another royalist movement.'

We are now to take leave of this singular writer, whose great error lies in not discriminating between the cause of the Revolution and the cause of Napoleon; and who consequently blends, in almost every part of his book, the defence of a man who has shewn himself capable of the greatest atrocity, with the support of a cause which, however it may have been mismanaged and abused, had its foundation in justice, and ranked among its advocates many of the most illustrious characters of the age. — The style of these letters is often negligent, and they are replete with Gallicisms to a degree that might make some readers suspect Mr. H. of an ambition to introduce the idiom as well as the politics of our southern neighbours, on this side of the Channel. We have in one part (Vol. i. p. 409.) *acceptation* for *acceptance*; in another, (p. 488.) *pleasant* for *witty*; and in a third, the phrase (Vol. ii. p. 19.) *le materiel*
de

de l'armée is translated *the materials of the army*. We have to object likewise to the total want of an index or table of contents; yet never was such aid more required, since the book possesses certainly very little arrangement in itself, and the immeasurable length of the details demanded every possible assistance that could tend to simplify or render them conspicuous. — The Appendix contains several useful documents, partly military, but more political, all connected with the last short administration of Bonaparte.

ART. IV. *Remains of the late John Tweddell, &c. &c.*

[*Art. concluded from the last Number, p. 16.*]

ON the day of Mr. Tweddell's death, seals were placed on his effects in the house of Mr. Spiridion Logotheti, where he had lodged, in the presence of Mr. Macri the British consul, and other official persons. They were contained in *four trunks*, a *small box*, an *escritoire*, a *portfolio*, and a *port-manteau*; and on three subsequent visits, made within three days, the above seals were broken, and an inventory was taken of the several articles, in the presence of and attested by the same witnesses. Much of these literary remains has been cursorily mentioned to exist, in former parts of this article; and in addition to all such journals, books of inscriptions and annotations, drawings, &c., were eighteen antient vases, lamps of earthen-ware, &c., eighty-seven brass medals, labelled "Macedonia," and one hundred and fifteen ditto intitled "Medals of Greece." — The fate of this property, as also of some portions of that which the reader will recollect was still at Constantinople under Mr. Thornton's care, forms the chief subject of discussion in the Appendix, at which we are now arrived.

By order of Mr. Spencer Smythe, when he heard of Mr. T.'s death, the property at Athens was embarked on board a vessel for Constantinople, to be there placed under his custody as the minister of England. The ship was unfortunately wrecked on the Asiatic coast of the sea of Marmora: but this portion of the cargo was recovered, and, on its arrival at the destined port, was taken into the possession of the Earl of Elgin, without any previous delivery to Mr. Smythe, the noble Earl having arrived in the interval since Mr. T.'s death as Ambassador from the court of London. The packages had apparently suffered from sea-water, but were permitted to remain for eight weeks in the cellars of the English palace, unopened. At length, Mr. Thornton,

anxious for the fate of so much valuable property, called Lord Elgin's attention to the state of these consignments; and on the 26th of January 1800 an English artist then at Constantinople was desired to attend at the Ambassador's hôtel, to view the articles in question, and to exercise his skill in rescuing them from the injuries of the sea-water. The drawings were then spread on chairs and tables, and the artist succeeded in separating and drying several of them.

Having shewn the fate of *this portion* of Mr. Tweddell's effects so far, it is necessary to revert to the other, which had been throughout under the care of Mr. Thornton, and had sustained no damage. We have already stated that the journals of the tours in Switzerland and the Crimea, which the author clearly valued more than the generality of his labours, constituted a part of this deposit. Mr. Thornton states that he was *commanded* by Lord Elgin to forward the trunks in his possession to the palace, on the day on which the packages damaged by the sea were opened; that this uninjured property was examined at the same time and place; that he was present at this examination, and particularly noticed the tour in Switzerland, as forming a portion of what had been under his custody; and that, when the parties withdrew, Lord E. locked the door, and took the key into his own possession. Several weeks afterward, he proceeds to state, on going to his warehouse in Galata, he found that the trunks had been sent back to him, with some of their former contents, but none of the drawings or manuscripts whatever; nor were these returned at any subsequent time. The whole of this literary property being thus traced by the Editor into the hands of the Earl of Elgin, a communication was in consequence made to that nobleman by the family of the deceased, requesting the transmission of it, and adding instructions for its direction. To this application, the Editor says, no reply was given to his family: but they were satisfied with Lord E.'s good intentions from expressions which he used on the subject in other quarters. Time passed away, and nothing appeared. At last, Dr. Raine, Dr. Parr, Mr. Losh, and some other friends of the deceased, undertook to investigate the causes of this delay: letters were sent out to Dr. Clarke, then on his travels, who as well as others made representations to the noble Ambassador; and the substance of the answers returned was, that the property had been sent home, pursuant to the instructions of Mr. Tweddell's family. Here, then, is the point at issue. The Editor clearly does not give credit either to his Lordship's declarations, or to the testimony (to which we will presently refer) by which they are supported. His

Lordship, however, does not vary from his original statement, and adds such farther information as his recollections have successively supplied. Some of our brother-critics (the first, we believe, who noticed the work before us,) having professed a strong participation in the sentiments of the Editor, Lord Elgin has published a Letter in reply to their remarks, and subsequently a postscript; and the Reverend Dr. Hunt of Bedford, who was chaplain to the embassy at Constantinople at the time to which these facts belong, has likewise written a pamphlet in corroboration of Lord Elgin's statements: in favour of whose testimony it should be added that, from private disagreements, all communication has for many years ceased between him and his former patron. The reader may remember that Lord Elgin, on his return to England from his mission, was detained in France, with many of our countrymen, at the rupture of the peace of Amiens; which detention, and other circumstances, the Editor states, prevented the renewal of any application for some years; and the hope of the recovery of any of his brother's property had almost subsided, when, in 1810, he saw in "The Naval Chronicle" an allusion to these lost papers, which asserted, but from an anonymous source, that copies had been taken of the journals and sketches by certain persons in Lord Elgin's retinue, more particularly by two of the clerical order. Soon after this circumstance, Mr. R. Tweddell renewed his correspondence with Lord E.; who, in answer, pleaded distance of time, and failure of memory, as excuses for not giving more particulars respecting the transmission of the property in question, but added that some *impressions* remained, by which he ventured to state as follows:

'That certain effects of Mr. Tweddell, sent from Greece by sea, were brought to the residence of the English mission at Péra, after having first suffered shipwreck; that among them were several drawings executed by a French artist, some memoranda of inscriptions, and a few "trifling notes" on his tour in Greece; and that the whole had been so much damaged by salt water as to warrant the description (for so it is expressed) of being "in a very deplorable state." His Lordship's "impression" further is, that some of the gentlemen attached to the embassy did charge themselves with the more immediate care of the property in question; and he believes that it was sent home, either under the personal care of the late Professor Carlyle, or, by his direction, in a merchant-ship, called the *Duncan*, along with several boxes of presents to Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville.'

In reply to an additional question, whether copies of journals, &c. had been made, his Lordship said, "that he had no guess or belief that any such thing took place, but that it

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was possible that some of the notes or inscriptions might have been copied by gentlemen of the embassy engaged in similar researches, but that he had none in his possession, and did not know of any." Mr. R. Tweddell ascertained that the ship *Duncan*, mentioned in Lord E.'s reply, did depart from Constantinople on the 5th of October 1800; that at Smyrna she was taken up as a transport; that in consequence the greater part of her cargo was removed to the *Princessa*, Captain W. Lee, who asserts that he never had in his vessel a consignment for Mr. Tweddell or Mr. Losh; that the remaining part of the *Duncan's* cargo was subsequently transferred to the *Flora*, Captain Merrylees, which arrived safely, but, according to the custom-house-reports, brought no consignment addressed as above. Lord Grenville's presents arrived in safety. From these documents, the Editor infers that his brother's property "could never have been shipped in the *Duncan*." Having come to this conclusion in his own mind, Mr. R. Tweddell drew up a memorial to the Levant-Company, requesting that a search might be made in places under their jurisdiction: the request was granted, but proved as unsuccessful as all former attempts at recovery.

So far we have given the outline of the Editor's case as it is detailed by himself: but we omit points which appear to us of a minor consideration; such as the question, how far Lord Elgin was justified in taking the property originally into his custody, particularly that which had been left with Mr. Thornton: since in this and some other cases, if his Lordship did not act according to propriety, (a point on which we do not profess ourselves competent to judge,) still his error may surely be attributed with as much reason and justice to a wrong view of his duty as to any sinister motives.

We have now to attend to the defence which the Earl has made against these charges; and which he regards as an answer to Mr. R. Tweddell, as well as to the critics who had sided with Mr. T. against him, since he had found that their observations on him were in fact a condensed repetition of what the Editor of this volume had previously brought forwards. We will consider Lord Elgin, therefore, as replying to Mr. Tweddell.

Lord E. allows that both portions of the late Mr. Tweddell's property came into his hands in or nearly in the manner already specified, but he intimates doubts whether the cases and trunks had not been *previously* despoiled of some of the articles in them; because, on opening the packages saved from shipwreck, their contents, he states, were found in great confusion, much appeared to have been purloined,
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and the whole were soaked with sea-water. Dr. Hunt says that the medals had been plundered, and that several little gold articles were gone, which robbery had probably taken place after the recovery from shipwreck. The trunks also, which had been under Mr. Thornton's care, had been without locks for a considerable time; it having been deemed necessary to open them after the fire at Péra, in order to ascertain whether their contents had been damaged, as the exterior had been scorched. We do not see any improbability in the supposition that some depredations might have been committed; and it seems tolerably clear that much of the literary property was in a very damaged state. This is a source of regret on many accounts: but, as all parties allow that much was saved, we have still the question to solve, what has become of that relic? The following is Lord Elgin's account of the transmission of it:

'It is, therefore, exclusively to Mr. Tweddell's manuscripts and drawings, that I am now to direct my attention. It will readily be believed, that, at the period in question, neither literary pursuits, nor private business of any kind, could occupy much of my time. The circumstances under which I engaged in the arduous duties of this mission, and particularly the incessant and anxious correspondence connected with the presence of the French army in Egypt, left me little leisure to attend to affairs of a more private kind. Dr. Hunt states accordingly, that, in the absence of the other official members of the embassy, employed on distant missions, much public business devolved upon him; and that the late Professor Carlyle, who had accompanied the embassy, was the person whom I was accustomed to consult on matters of a literary or private nature. He thence infers the probability, that that gentleman assisted me in transmitting Mr. Tweddell's papers to England; and he positively states, *of his own knowledge*, that Mr. Carlyle recommended that they should be consigned to a Mr. Losh, a friend of Mr. Tweddell's family.

'Various circumstances concur to render this extremely probable. Mr. Carlyle had known Mr. Tweddell at Cambridge; he was connected, both by birth and by his church preferments*, with the district in which Mr. Tweddell's family resided; and, in fact, was himself acquainted with the family.

'Considering, therefore, on the one hand, the circumstances of my situation, and, on the other, the relative situations of Mr. Carlyle and Mr. Tweddell, nothing can be more probable than that the manuscripts and drawings of Mr. Tweddell were transmitted to his family, under the immediate directions of Mr. Carlyle.' — (Lord ELGIN'S Letter.)

In corroboration of this statement, his Lordship quotes a passage of a letter from Mr. R. Tweddell addressed to him,

* He was Dean of Carlisle, and was afterwards Vicar of Newcastle.

determining this sentence: "Since I had the honour of receiving your Lordship's favour of the 9th of February last, I have taken occasion, so far as a tedious indisposition would allow me, to look over, with particular care, my father's papers and records of correspondence, and I find it mentioned in a very circumstantial manner, that you had complied with Mr. Tweddell's directions, in transmitting the papers and other effects of his late son." From these words, Lord E. draws the inference that the property must have been transmitted, and that the Tweddell-family knew that it was so. Here we differ with his Lordship. The word "*compliance*," used by the elder Mr. Tweddell, does not convey to us the meaning which Lord Elgin attaches to it. The act of transmission is not of necessity contemporaneous with a verbal or a written *compliance* with a request of such a nature, and we see no reason for supposing that the "*compliance*" here mentioned was of any other description than a verbal or an epistolary communication. The property in question may be at the bottom of the ocean, may have been lost in re-shipment of cargoes, or in any other way, but we do not believe that any of Mr. Tweddell's connections ever received it, or had authentic advices of its embarkation. Of those parts of Lord Elgin's pamphlet, which argue the improbability of his committing so base an action, and the little advantage that it could have given him, we shall make no other remark than that, his character, as far as we know, having always stood unimpeached as a man of honour, in this light such an action is very improbable indeed; and doubtless any person, who wishes to form a decision on this subject, will take this as no weak evidence in his Lordship's favour. — In the Earl's second pamphlet, or "Postscript to his Letter," several pages are employed in proving that the extent and value of the property saved, and ever in the Ambassador's custody, were much less than the Tweddell-family imagined: but this is a portion of the argument which we have already dismissed, as not relevant to the main object of discussion. Mr. Carlyle, the Professor at Cambridge, parted with Lord Elgin (as did Dr. Hunt) with feelings of hostility; and Mr. Losh describes the former as having said to him, "he thought his Lordship would not take the property in question, because he did not see how he could convert it into money," which Lord Elgin quotes to prove that it was the opinion of an open enemy "*that he would not take the property in question*." We think that his Lordship had better have omitted such a reference: it proves nothing any way, and only shews, what few would wish to publish, that much freedom of language has been used respecting him. Dr. Hunt, on the contrary,

trary, in his pamphlet *, concurs with the most material of Lord Elgin's statements; and he expresses his conviction, from sundry circumstances occurring to his memory, that the property was transmitted. The greater part of his narrative is occupied with an explanation of the intimation given by Mr. R. Tweddell, about copies having been taken from his brother's works: a point on which we scarcely touched, and which we shall also pass over here, only adding that Dr. Hunt's account of the business seems by no means unsatisfactory.

Here we beg permission to withdraw from this much-agitated question, having placed the heads of the case, impartially we trust, before our readers: — at least we can conscientiously declare that on neither side have we purposely omitted the points which we deemed most relevant to the cause of the respective parties.

From all that we have said, it will not surprise the reader to be told, that 'The Remains of John Tweddell' contain very little to repay the expectation raised by such a title. His letters were never intended by him for the public eye, though, as a series of private correspondence, they evince that elegance of mind, and that purity of heart, for which their author was remarkable: nor, though written while he was abroad, must they be considered as the journal of a traveller under the form of letters; this being so far from the writer's view of them, that we know his journals were kept with wonderful accuracy, while his letters are allowed to flow in an easy, desultory stream, natural to the effusions of private intercourse. — 106 the only remaining portion of the work, the "*Prolauden Juveniles*," our opinions, or rather our eulogies, are already on record †; with our fond anticipations that the then juvenile author would live "to mellow the eloquent fervour of youthful feeling by the more dignified energy of maturity." Nothing, therefore, is left for us but to add a few words on Mr. Robert Tweddell's merits as editor of the pages before us. His biographical memoir, then, the only portion of the volume which has the recommendation of brevity, is confused and unsatisfactory: — it is left to the reader's own judgment to assign what portions of his brother's education he pleases to Mr. Raime, and what to Dr. Parr; — no date is given of his removal to the University, the time of which can be ascertained

* "Narrative of what is known respecting the literary Remains of the late John Tweddell, by Philip Hunt, LL.D." &c. &c. London, Rodwell and Martin. 8vo. pp. 47.
 † See M. M. New Series. Vol. xii. p. 327, &c.
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only by a rude guess, from the date of his election to his fellowship; — a view of his character is abruptly introduced in the narration of the life, which might with effect have been reserved for the close of it; — and fragments of letters interrupt the continuity of the whole. With regard to the correspondence, selection and annotation were the only points in which the Editor could exercise his judgment, and we cannot compliment him on his success in either of these branches of his duty. What he may have omitted, we know not: but he undoubtedly has published much which had better have been suppressed. We allude especially to some letters purely domestic, and a few passages in others, written probably under the influence of accidental petulance of temper, from which the very best of us are not at all times free, and calculated by their publication to wound the feelings of the individuals who may apply them, for which purpose an easy clue is afforded by their author. — As to the notes, many are superfluous, and some absolutely ludicrous, from the importance with which an unnecessary explanation of common things is obtruded on the reader. They shew, however, an industry in the collection of what the Editor deemed necessary illustration, although this necessity is a point on which we are at variance with him. The voluminous appendix betrays a want of compression and arrangement which renders it perplexing to any reader, and nearly fatal to a reviewer. Why the writer should have thrown the statement of his case against Lord Elgin into a prolix and heavy epistolary form, we are at a loss to conceive: but this is a trifling inconvenience, compared to the mode in which he has printed his *Appendix to his Appendix*, for we actually find such a division, although not gazetted by that title on the top of the pages. In this portion of the volume, we are referred backwards to the corresponding passages, instead of having a forward catch-letter, while those passages are under our eye; so that in fact the main work is quoted from the Appendix, instead of the Appendix from the main work. — Of the intemperate language, into which the editor has been betrayed by his disappointments in the attempt to recover his brother's property, we have little doubt that he has himself repented; and we merely observe that it forms a rather strong contrast with the remarkably obsequious tone, (to say the least of it,) with which he addressed Lord Elgin in his correspondence previously to his publication of the volume.

Since the above article was written, an additional publication on the subject of dispute between Lord Elgin and the Editor

Editor of Tweddell's Remains has come to our hands*. The title of it we have given at length in our note; and it is necessary to observe, *in limine*, that this title by no means fairly represents the contents of the work, since the 'Addenda to the Remains' supply no one additional remains of John Tweddell whatever. We have also very strong objections to the mode and form in which this production has appeared. It seems to have been the author's intention to make the present work a necessary appendage to his larger volume; and, with this view, he has not only printed it in quarto to correspond with the former, but has added an index to *the whole work* at the end of this *auctarium*. — It is far from our wish to circumscribe Mr. Robert Tweddell's undoubted right to publish any defence of his own conduct when attacked, or any arraignment of that of others on points in which he is individually concerned: but we really do not see why all present and future purchasers of "Tweddell's Remains" are to be in possession of only an incomplete work, unless they purchase also this *fasciculus* of criminations and re-criminations; which will necessarily have lost all their interest, when the persons principally concerned in them have disappeared from the stage of worldly controversies.

Yet, however we may object to the method to which Mr. R. Tweddell has resorted on the present occasion, we by no means wish that he had rested altogether silent when attacked either by unfair mis-representation or by unjust imputation. A man cannot always escape from a pamphlet-war by an obstinacy of silence which may be mis-interpreted and distorted by prejudice or design. — The object of the present publication will be most easily ascertained from the author's own summary.

'The following heads comprize the chief points which, in contradiction to the misrepresentations of the parties alluded to, I hope to explain and establish satisfactorily; viz. —

'The quotation from a letter of mine which has been so ingeniously perverted, and ostentatiously paraded by his Lordship: "that he had transmitted to England the papers, &c. &c." is in no shape or sense attributable to my father, but is actually the declaration of the noble Lord himself. — The charge of disingenuousness in withholding his Lordship's letters, of suppressing, falsifying, mis-stating others, &c. is disproved by fact, and by Lord Elgin's own

* The title-page expresses it to be 'Addenda to the Remains of John Tweddell, &c. &c. comprising a Vindication of the Editor against certain Publications of the Earl of Elgin and others, accompanied by an Index to the whole Work, by the Rev. Robert Tweddell, A.M.' 4to. pp. 120.

correspondence, now annexed.—Professor Carlyle never had a particle of Mr. Tweddell's property entrusted to him—never assisted at the opening, examining, drying, or packing of it.—Mr. J. S. Smythe did not “decline the custody of the effects on a point of mere official etiquette;” but the reason why he did so was, because Lord E. took immediate possession by affixing his own seal to the packages: this gentleman was not “negligent of Mr. Tweddell's affairs:” is not in any degree the cause of the loss of his effects—is not chargeable with authorship of the “Remains:” but Mr. S. was an eye-witness, and his testimony is competent and credible.—Mr. Nisbet, who was entrusted by Lord E. with a portion of Mr. T.'s costume-drawings, brought them to England, and placed them amongst his Lordship's effects; because he had no instructions to forward them to the Tweddell-family.—As to the Athenian-property, no plunder thereof took place at Athens by the Greek servant or by others—no access to the MSS. was had by Fauvel or by any travellers—no loss of any thing was sustained at the scene of shipwreck, so far at least as appears in evidence.—As to the Thornton-property, it was not damaged by fire or otherwise when delivered to Lord Elgin—this delivery was “in consequence of his Excellency's orders;” and the testimony of Mr. Thornton is that of an honest and unprejudiced man.—The effects of Mr. J. Tweddell in Lord Elgin's hands were really and substantially the *whole* of his effects; they are exceedingly depreciated both in quantity and quality by his Lordship in contradiction to authentic records.—This property, as has been already shewn, and as his Lordship since has allowed, was not shipped in the “*Lord Duncan*,” and a more recent theory, which consigns it to the *New Adventure*, is disproved by existing documents and circumstantial facts.—Dr. Hunt's complaints of my conduct, and other declarations contained in his “*Narrative*,” are futile and unfounded; and the conjoint though differing testimony of himself and Mr. Hamilton prove the transcription of some at least of the MSS.—Definitively, therefore, I re-assert the substance of my former statements; namely, that Lord Elgin did authoritatively and irregularly attach the *whole* of my brother's property—that he suffered a portion of it to be injured for want of timely examination; and afterwards exposed it to the eyes of strangers and the fingers of copyists—that having constituted himself a trustee, he then was negligent of the obligation—that his Lordship never answered any of my father's representations on the subject; notwithstanding repeated enquiries by him or others at his request, during the years 1800, 1801, and part of 1802—and in a word, that Lord E. has never to this day rendered any account which can be deemed satisfactory.

* To many of the points included in this summary we have already adverted. Of the others introduced, the statement relative to Mr. Nisbet is one of the most important; since, although that gentleman left Greece in company with Professor Carlyle, they did not set out on their return together,

ther, and consequently could have had no joint agency in the transmission of the Tweddell-property. Some of the drawings were, however, brought home by Mr. Nisbet, but none by Mr. Carlyle as originally stated by Lord Elgin.

We decline to enter any farther into the question: excepting that on one point, unconnected with the more serious charges, it is our duty to give an opinion. It appears to us that Mr. Robert Tweddell, on a review of this last publication, stands fairly acquitted from those accusations which have been preferred against his candour and veracity: since the mode which he has here adopted, though it may weary the patience of his readers, must absolve him from all imputation of giving garbled extracts of correspondence; and, as to the interpretation of any passages in that correspondence, every person has the full liberty of consulting the dictionary of his own understanding. — In taking our leave of this subject, we regret to see that the anticipations, in which we indulged on the commencement of it, are very little likely to be realized.

Ann. V. *Medical Transactions, published by the College of Physicians in London.* Vol. V. 8vo. pp. 485. 12s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1815.

IN our review of the fourth volume of these Transactions, we were led to remark on the long time which this learned body seemed to require to collect sufficient materials for the employment of the press: but the publication of the present volume has agreeably surprized us not only by its proof of an increased celerity in their proceedings, (this set of papers being the result of the labours of somewhat more than a year and a half,) but also by the increased importance of its communications: activity and value having here equally and unusually gone hand in hand.

The volume commences with *Cases of Diabetes*, by Dr. Satterley; in which he reports that a patient, who was much emaciated and debilitated, having been ill for six months, had passed 16 quarts of highly saccharine urine in the 24 hours. He was bled seven times in three weeks and lost in the whole 130 ounces of blood: his general state of health seemed to be improved by each successive bleeding; and the fluid, which was at first in a very unusual condition, gradually became more natural in its appearance. The complaint was apparently cured, and the patient had remained without a relapse for two years, when the memoir was written.

The principal object of the next paper, on *Leucorrhœa*, by Dr. Latham, is to recommend the *liquor plumbi acetatis dilutus*

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as an injection, to be used twice or thrice in a day; and in the following communication, by Dr. Heberden, we have an account of a *Contrivance for preventing the Excoriation consequent on continued Pressure in Bed*, which essentially consists in a moveable frame that may be placed on a common bed, provided with a mattress, having in the centre a circular opening for the discharges from the body, which are received in a drawer placed below. — In an essay on *Colica Pictorum*, by Dr. Roberts, *argentum nitratum* is strongly recommended in this complaint; to be given in doses of two, or even occasionally, of five grains, three times in a day. In these large doses it is generally found to be purgative, in which case opium should be added to it. — Dr. Latham contributes the two next papers, the first intitled ‘*Some Observations respecting the Medicines usually given in Worm Cases, with Remarks upon the collateral Advantages sometimes derived from them in Cases of Epilepsy*,’ in which the benefit obtained from the *Ol. Tereb.* is confirmed; the second is on *Cachexia Aphthosa*, a disease which seems to be produced by a residence in warm climates, and which is thus described: ‘Its nature is well enough denoted by its name, for aphthous ulceration occupying the mouth, tongue, and fauces, and pervading also the œsophagus, stomach, and intestinal canal, characterizes the truly cachectic state of the whole system.’ It is attended with diarrhoea, and stomach-complaints; and indeed the state of the mouth, although perhaps the most obvious and prominent symptom, seems not by any means the most essential feature of the disease: so that we may justly object to the name which has been assigned to it. The following passage comprizes some of the most important points in the treatment:

‘I have already said, that the early stage of the disease may be considered as dyspeptic; and I have no doubt but the remedies then usually employed almost always prevent it from becoming a very formidable complaint in this country. A few doses of *hydrargyrus submuriatus*, with any bitter infusion, rendered purgative with a little rhubarb or magnesia, will generally cure it in this part of the world, and the patient will soon return to his usual occupations.’

Dr. Powell relates some cases of topical *Paralytic Affection*, as, for example, of one side of the face, or perhaps even of one or two muscles only, which seemed to be brought on by the action of cold to the part, and which was removed by the external application of warmth and moisture, with sudorifics. — Dr. Clarke next describes ‘*the Effects of certain Articles of Food, especially Oysters, on Women after Child-birth*,’ which appear to be somewhat resembling the apoplectic seizure, and which

which are supposed to depend on the oppressed state of the stomach, acting on the circulation, and preventing the free passage of the blood through the vessels of the brain.

We have then an account, by Dr. Baillie, of a peculiar kind of *Stricture of the Rectum*, which occasionally takes place, 'not attended with any diseased structure of the coats of the rectum, but depending upon a contraction, more or less permanent, of the sphincters of the anus.' The prognosis was obviously much more favourable than in the more common kind of stricture; and, by merely preventing costiveness, and living temperately, the disease gradually disappeared. — Next occur, by the same author, *Observations on what he calls the Green Jaundice*, so named from the shade of colour which it communicates to the skin. The diagnostic remarks are important:

'In the green jaundice, the liver is often enlarged, hard, and tuberculated throughout its whole substance, and this morbid change of structure is also often confined to some one part of the liver, occasionally, but, I believe, rarely: no induration is discoverable in any part of this viscus. Little pain is generally felt in the green jaundice, but there is often some sense of tenderness upon pressure of the region of the liver. The green jaundice is, I think, less frequently attended with dropsy of the abdomen, than the yellow jaundice, when the latter depends upon an induration of the liver.'

The progress of the disease is slow, but the event is ultimately unfavourable: mercury seems not to be beneficial, and its treatment is confessedly unknown.

Dr. Maton gives an account of a *Rash, liable to be mistaken for Scarlatina*, which attacked in succession the different members of a family, eight in number. In many respects, it resembled a mild scarlatina, but differed from it in some essential particulars; and Dr. M. is not able to refer it to any of the genera hitherto recognized, unless it may be regarded as *scarlatina* modified by some unknown cause. — In *Observations on a particular Species of Purging*, by Dr. Baillie, the evacuations appeared like a mixture of water and lime, covered with froth; and the complaint is stated to be 'hardly ever radically removed, although it may for some time be occasionally suspended.' Its cause is not well ascertained: but it seems to have some connection with a diseased liver, and is benefited, if not cured, by all those medicines which may be supposed to act on that organ, and to improve the quality of the bile. — Dr. Heberden makes a report of a case of *Water in the Head*. The patient was an old man, who died rather suddenly, and in whose brain a considerable quantity of water was discovered, but in whom the symptoms usually attendant

on hydrocephalus had not been observed; an occurrence which is attributed to the gradual manner in which the fluid was accumulated, and to the power which the brain as well as every other part of the body possesses, of accommodating itself to unusual circumstances. — A *Case of Chorea* succeeds, by Dr. Maton. This convulsive disease resembled chorea, except that it existed in an old lady, and was cured by musk. — Mr. Millington follows with a *Case of natural Small Pox*, occurring some years after variolous inoculation, in consequence of the progress of the inoculated pustule having been interrupted by an accidental injury.

Dr. Powell, in the next paper, relates a number of *Cases illustrative of the Pathology of the Brain*, in which he had an opportunity of comparing the appearances on dissection with the symptoms before death. We shall quote the summary with which the essay concludes.

‘ I shall shortly recapitulate the appearances recorded, with a reference to the cases. 1. A healthy state of brain, after stupor, insensibility, and convulsion. 2. Effusion of blood, with an instantaneous extinction of life. 3. A loaded state of the blood-vessels of the membranes, and an effusion of coloured fluid into the ventricles. 4. A strong and distinct adventitious membrane, covering the right hemisphere of the brain. 5. Caries of the temporal bone, with an effusion of pus and coagulable lymph under the dura mater of the right side. 6. Ulceration in the anterior lobe of each hemisphere of the brain, with aqueous effusion into the ventricles. 12. Ulceration in the brain. 7, 8, 9, 10, 11. 13. Tumours in the brain, of various structures, and in different situations. 14. A state of apoplexy, speedily removed by arteriotomy.’

Dr. Young offers some *Remarks on Palpitations*, in which he illustrates ‘ the effect of a fluid in transmitting an agitation of any kind to a more or less remote part of the body.’ The action of a fluid, contained in a cavity, in causing fluctuations, is well known; and Dr. Y. endeavours to shew that the same kind of sensation may be excited by a fluid surrounding the cavity. On this principle, it is supposed that water in the pericardium may have been mistaken for an aneurism. — We have next some *Extracts from a Paper on Phthisis*, by the late Mr. Orban, surgeon to the French navy. These refer to a new method of treating the disease, which the author is said to have learned at Tunis; and which essentially consisted in abstinence from fluids, in taking pills containing the sulphate of iron, and, which is supposed to be the most important point, in the use of acetic acid. Nine cases are detailed, in which the treatment was adopted with success, at least as far as the employment of the acid is concerned; and, which will probably be deemed

deemed a more decisive testimony in its favour, Dr. Roberts gives, in the latter part of the volume, an account of some cases in which he found benefit from it. His observations may deserve to be quoted :

‘ That this acid, or any substance in nature, will enable the constitution to fill up or even heal the surface of large cavities formed in the lungs by ulceration, I have failed to prove, having been of late satisfied with endeavouring to prevent this hitherto mortal termination of the complaint ; and whether in the various instances of relief which have occurred to me, the disease was rather tracheal than tubercular, resembling the fatal case related in my paper on Phthisis, in Vol. IV. of the *Med. Trans.*, I cannot strictly determine ; but can only add, that from no remedy in the treatment of consumptive cases, have I experienced such marked and often indeed unexpected success.’

Dr. Roberts also relates a *Case of Elephantiasis*, which took place in a voyage from the Bahama islands ; no remedies appeared to have any effect on it : but it was at length partially relieved by the use of ‘ a full and invigorating diet.’ To this succeeds a long and not very interesting paper on *Puerperal Fever*, by Dr. Ley ; in which he states that a woman died with the usual symptoms of this complaint, and, on dissection, the inside of the uterus was found to be in a gangrenous state, and the spleen to consist of a series of cells, filled with pus and grumous blood.

In *Observations on the Safety and Efficacy of the internal Use of the Superacetate of Lead in pulmonary Consumption*, we were surprized to observe Dr. Latham attempting to prove that lead is incapable of producing any obnoxious effects on the body, in opposition to the well known facts that were brought forwards by Sir George Baker. His only argument is that the superacetate of lead may be safely employed as a medicine, even in considerable doses : but, by the same mode of reasoning, we might assert that almost every substance, which has always been considered as poisonous, is really innoxious. — A *Case of Fever* next appears, by Dr. Satterley, the only peculiarity of which was the occurrence of an excessive appetite, which came on at the height of the disease, and gradually declined as the symptoms abated. — Our readers will recollect the commendation which Dr. Powell bestowed on the nitrate of silver, as a remedy in *Convulsive Affections*, in the last volume of these Transactions : but he now candidly comes forwards with three additional cases in which this remedy was not successful, in order, as he says, ‘ to check by them the account I formerly gave.’ In the first of these cases, camphor appeared useful ; in the second, purgatives ; and in

the last, the oil of turpentine.—This paper is followed by an account, similar to others that have been laid before the public, of ‘*the Efficacy of the Cow-Pox, in preventing and mitigating the malignancy of the natural Small-Pox,*’ by Dr. Sandeman.

The two succeeding communications refer to the same topic, viz. the fatal *Fever which prevailed at Cambridge during the Spring of 1815*; the first by Mr. Haviland, the professor of anatomy in the University, who gives a general account of the epidemic; and the second by Dr. Harrison, who describes the particulars of two cases which fell under his inspection. These papers occupy a considerable space, and might afford much ground for discussion: but all that we can do is to give the general impression which they made on our minds. It appears evident that some difference of opinion existed respecting the nature of this complaint, the Cambridge practitioners regarding it as essentially consisting in debility, and requiring such means as are necessary to counteract this state; while Dr. Harrison and his friends were more in favour of the depleting system, conceiving the symptoms to be such as depend on an increased action of the vessels, especially those about the head. This, we confess, is the side of the question to which we are inclined; and which, indeed, seems to be countenanced by the dissection related by the Professor himself, although it appears to be given with an opposite intention.

Dr. Yeats details *the History of a Case of Purpura Hemorrhagica*, and *the History of a Case of Somnambulism*:—to these succeeds a *Case of Tetanus*, by Dr. Vaughan;—and the volume concludes with a communication from Dr. Romer, of Gothland, on a certain sign of death in those who have died suddenly. The sign is thus stated: ‘*Si ex odoratu benè concentrati allali volatilis plumaceolis eo madidis in nares insinuat, paucis momentis ab eorum applicatione transactis, prægressâ expiratione solitâ longiori, spuma levis in ore appareat, en mortis pathognomonicum signum! Explicationem hujus phænomeni ignoro.*’

ART. VI. *A Tour through some Parts of France, Switzerland, Savoy, Germany, and Belgium, during the Summer and Autumn of 1814.* By the Honourable Richard Boyle Bernard, M.P. 8vo. pp. 356. 9s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1815.

WE have here another candidate for public attention in a tourist who traversed almost the same ground, and nearly at the same period, with the anonymous author of the work noticed

noticed in our last Number under the title of "Alpine Sketches." A considerable discrepancy, however, exists in the style and manner of the writers; Mr. Bernard being a most sedate and composed narrator, apt chiefly to displease by falling into common-place, while his brother-traveller seemed to relish nothing that was not singular or excentric: The only difference of consequence in their route was in the beginning of the journey; Mr. B. having delayed his departure until July 1814, and having thus been enabled to proceed straight by Calais to Paris, instead of taking the circuitous road of Holland and the Netherlands which was adopted by his precursor: but, after having arrived at Paris, both proceeded across the Jura mountains to Geneva, both made a tour into the Alpine region along the course of the Aar, and both returned northwards by Berne, Schaffhausen, Manheim, Cologne, and the Netherlands.

Passing over the observations on the well-known route from Calais to Paris, and on the various attractions of the French metropolis, we shall make our first extracts from a chapter descriptive of Mr. Bernard's Alpine peregrinations. Having set out from Geneva in a carriage somewhat like an English sociable, and travelled above twenty miles into the territory of Savoy, he arrived at an hotel, or inn, beautifully situated about a quarter of a league from the little town of Salenche.

' The windows of our hotel commanded a most astonishing extent of mountain-scenery diversified by the windings of the Arve through a well cultivated valley. The hotel was sufficiently comfortable, but the bill was extravagant beyond any precedent in the annals of extortion. We had occasion to remonstrate with our host on the subject, and our French companion exerted himself so much on the occasion, that at last we succeeded in persuading the landlord to make a considerable reduction in his charges, which were out of all reason, making every allowance that his house was so situated, as not to be accessible during the whole year. We were afterwards told that he would have considered himself amply paid by receiving the half of his first demand, and I found it is often the practice to ask of the English at least double of what is charged to travellers of any other nation. Appearances were so much against our landlord, that one might say to him in the words of the epigram, "*If thou art honest thou'rt a wondrous cheat.*"

' The carriage-road ends at Salenche; and we, therefore, made the necessary arrangements to proceed on mules, and sent back our carriage to Geneva. It was the first time I had travelled in a country only accessible on foot or by mules, and I cannot but add my testimony to that of all those who have ever made excursions into these mountains, respecting the very extraordinary and almost incredible safety with which the mule conveys his rider over

tracks, which were any one to see suddenly, coming out of a civilized country, he would think it the height of folly to attempt to pass even on foot. There are however places where it is expedient to climb for one's self, but as long as one remains on the back of the mule, it is advisable not to attempt to direct his course, but to submit one's reason for the time to the instinct of the animal. Our guides assured me that they had never known a single instance of any one's having had reason to regret having placed this confidence in them; and, indeed, it is by having the command of his head that the mule is enabled to carry his rider in safety over passes, which one is often afraid to recall to one's memory.'

Mr. B. then describes the vale of Chamouni, and the beautiful prospect from the summit of Mont Anvert, with its *mêr de glace* extending before the traveller, and presenting as solid a mass of ice in August as in December. Proceeding by the romantic villages of Valorsine and Trient, he reached the town of Martigny, situated in a valley on the banks of the Rhône.

'We were here amused with an account of two English gentlemen, who attempted to ascend Mont Blanc, notwithstanding the assurances they received of the impracticability of the attempt under present circumstances, as a chasm had lately been made by the thaw on one side of the mountain; but they were not to be intimidated either by the advice of the inhabitants, or by the accounts of the hardships suffered by M. de Saussure, and judging with Hannibal,

"Nil actum reputans si quid superesset agendum,"

"Think nothing gained while aught remains,"

they set out on this difficult enterprise, attended by eighteen guides, but were at length obliged to desist, after running many hazards, and after having expended at least 50*l*. If they failed in accomplishing their undertaking, they had at least the satisfaction of exciting much wonder amongst the surrounding peasants, at the curiosity and rashness of the English. Our party were more easily satisfied; and having seen as much as could be accomplished without very great difficulty, we were contented to judge of the rest from the ample descriptions that have been published respecting them.

'I could have wished, however, that time and the consent of the majority of the party, would have permitted my ascending to the convent on the great St. Bernard; but being left in the minority, I did not feel disposed to make the excursion by myself, and I therefore prepared to accompany my friends back to Geneva.'—

'The Rhone is here of astonishing rapidity, and its waters have quite a milky hue, from the vast quantities of melted snow with which they are supplied. On quitting the lake at Geneva, the river is of a transparent blue colour, which is attributed partly
to

to its having deposited its sediment in the lake; and partly to the nature of the soil over which it there passes.'

Returning to the borders of the lake of Geneva, Mr. B. and his companions travelled along the whole of its northern shore; passing successively Vevay, Lausanne, Rolle, Noyon, the temporary abode of Joseph Bonaparte, and Copet, better known as the residence of M. Neckar. Having gratified the eagerness of his curiosity by a view of mountain-scenery, he now felt himself disposed to remain quietly for some weeks at Geneva :

' The higher circles are remarkable for that freedom, blended with politeness, which places society on its most natural basis, as I had frequent occasion to remark during my stay at Geneva.' —

' The college of Geneva and its library are generally pointed out to strangers as worthy of a visit; for the Genevese are no less celebrated for their proficiency in literature, than for their commercial industry. The college consists of nine classes, and owes its foundation to the celebrated Calvin, who was born at Noyon, where his father was a cooper. He first arrived at Geneva in 1536, was exiled in 1538, and recalled finally in 1541; he became the legislator as well as the religious reformer of the state. — His writings, in 44 volumes, containing 2023 sermons, and his portrait, are preserved in the college-library, which contains about 50,000 volumes, besides 200 manuscripts, some of which are of great value. This library was originally founded by Bonnival, prior of St. Victor, and is open from one till three o'clock every Tuesday. Two secretaries are then engaged, under the inspection of the librarian, in taking lists of the books which are borrowed or returned. — The hydraulic machine on the Rhone, which supplies the city with water, although it is less complicated than that at Marli, is not less ingenious, and is certainly of greater utility. The wheel is twenty-four feet in diameter, and raises about 500 pints a minute at all seasons (being preserved from the effects of frost) to two reservoirs, one seventy, the other 126 feet above the level of the river. The first supplies the fountains and houses in the lower part of the town, and the second those in the more elevated situations. The water of the Rhone, although transparently clear, is hard and unpleasant to drink.

' In enumerating the public establishments of Geneva, I must not omit to mention the Society for the Advancement of the Arts, which was originally projected by M. Faizan, an eminent watch-maker; its first meetings were held at M. de Saussure's house. This society is now so considerable as to be under the direction of government, and its meetings are held in the town-hall, where subjects connected with agriculture and the useful arts are discussed, and prizes distributed, as well to the school of drawing (which is on a most respectable footing) as to all who distinguish themselves, either by inventions of utility, or by noble or humane actions.'

' The *Perte du Rhone*, or the spot where the Rhone suddenly sinks into the ground, forms one of the objects usually visited from
Geneva,

Geneva, and I accepted a proposal to join a party in making an excursion thither. —

‘ We set out at an early hour, and arrived at Vanchy about noon, from whence we proceeded on foot to the spot where the vast waters of the Rhone, in approaching a ridge of rocks, with inconceivable rapidity, *sink into the earth*. The cavern is covered with foam, from the agitation of so great a body of water being forced into so small an aperture; and the sight is at once magnificent and solemn. The *emersion* of the Rhone is not far distant from the place of its ingulphation, but presents a very different spectacle, as the river ascends so gradually as to be completely smooth, which is attributed to the depth of the caverns from which it issues. It seems probable that these caverns have some undiscovered outlet, as the Rhone, after its rise from them, is but inconsiderable, compared with what it is before its disappearance.’ —

‘ The elevation of Geneva (187 toises above the Mediterranean) together with the proximity of the Alps, and of the mountains of Jura, cause winters to be long, and often severe. The summers are often extremely hot, but the air is refreshed by the gales from the mountains, which sometimes occasion very sudden changes in the atmosphere.’ —

‘ Often, during the summer-months, the lake is ruffled by the *Bise*, or regular north-east wind; but the east and west winds occasion the most destructive tempests. The climate of Switzerland is in general much colder than in the countries by which it is surrounded. Its numerous lakes, mostly very elevated, add greatly to the freshness of the air, and the frequent rains from the Alps bring with them the temperature of those mountains. But, although the climate is so variable, being often changed in a few hours, from the great heat which the reflection of the sun occasions in the valleys, to the cold rains which proceed from the surrounding mountains, yet these sudden transitions do not appear to have an ill effect on the health of the inhabitants. On the contrary, the celebrated physician *Haller* attributes the salubrity of the air of Switzerland to the currents from the Alps, which preserve it continually pure, and prevent its stagnation in the valleys.’ —

‘ The great occupation of the inhabitants of Geneva consists in the manufacture of watches, clocks, &c.; and having a desire to see some specimens of their workmanship, I accompanied a friend, who had purchased a *musical snuff-box*, to the workshop of its fabricator, who, although he was of the first celebrity in Geneva, had no warehouse in a more accessible situation than his workshop on the fifth story. I afterwards found that most of the watchmakers had their workshops at the tops of the houses, which here, as in Edinburgh, are mostly occupied by several families, who have a common stair-case to their apartments. I was much pleased with the display of ingenuity in this warehouse, and found that many of the articles were intended to be sent to Paris, to Asia, &c. Geneva itself could not, of course, supply purchasers for such a profusion of expensive mechanism. The

taste

taste of many of the articles is by no means such as would ensure them a ready sale in London.

‘ There are at Geneva many pleasant *circles* or *societies*, who have a common apartment to meet in within the city, where the papers are taken in ; and often a garden in the neighbourhood for their recreation. I was introduced to one of these circles, and went to their garden, which was large and well-shaded with walnut trees. — I must not take my leave of Geneva without mentioning, that there are few places which afford more of the requisites to a pleasant residence. The walks and rides in its vicinity are very numerous, and abound with interesting prospects. The view of the city from the village of Coligny, on the Savoy side of the lake, is highly impressive. The junction of the rivers *Arve* and *Rhone* forms another very fine scene. The waters of the Rhone are at least three times greater than those of the Arve, and are of a transparent blue colour, whilst those of the Arve are of a milky hue, something like the appearance of the Rhone when it first enters the Lake of Geneva, where it leaves the tint it acquired from the mountain-snows and torrents. The Rhone seems for a considerable distance to retire from any amalgamation with the Arve, but at length assumes a less transparent aspect.’

From Geneva, Mr. B. went northwards in the direction of Yverdun; and in his way he beheld, at the village of Lasseray, the remarkable sight of the separation of a rivulet into two branches, one of which flows northerly until it falls into the rivers leading to the German ocean, while the other runs into the lake of Geneva, and eventually into the Mediterranean. Though highly gratified with Switzerland, Mr. Bernard remarks that both travelling and house-keeping are more expensive there than in France; it being necessary to import from the latter country an annual supply of provisions, on account of the poverty of the soil in some parts and of the general culture of vines in others. His attention was much attracted by the town of Neufchâtel; which, with its adjacent territory, exhibits a pleasing picture of industry and activity:

‘ The town of Neufchâtel contains between 4 and 5000 inhabitants; it is partly built on a hill, where stand the church and castle, and partly on a plain near the lake, on the borders of which are handsome public walks, and farther improvements are carrying on. The elegant appearance of many of the private houses proves the wealth of their owners.

‘ Neufchâtel is without fortifications, but is in general well built; it is said to present a perspective, resembling, in miniature, the distant view of Naples. The lake is not deep, but seldom freezes, although it is thirty-one toises more elevated than that of Geneva.

‘ The principalities of Neufchâtel and Vallingen are about twelve leagues long, by eight at the broadest part; the soil is far

from fertile, but the industry of the inhabitants renders it astonishingly productive. Any person having a certificate of his general good conduct may settle here, and enjoy every essential privilege of the native subjects. This is perhaps the only country in Europe *exempt from taxes*; for the payment of a few sous annually from every householder cannot be considered as a tax. This circumstance lessens our astonishment at the commercial activity which prevails in this little state, the population of which exceeds 40,000. The villages of Chaux de Fond and Locle, with their districts, contain about 600 inhabitants, and furnish annually 40,000 watches in gold and silver, besides clocks. There are also numerous engravers and enamellers. The country is celebrated for its wild beauty; and our excursion, which occupied a day, was pleasant.—

The state of Neuchâtel is an independent sovereignty, allied with Switzerland; which alliance secures its independence, and every prince, on succeeding to the sovereignty, is obliged to ratify it. The actual government is a mixture of aristocracy and democracy. The sovereignty, which is *almost a name*, is inalienable and indivisible, and cannot be sold or given to a younger branch of the reigning family, without the consent of the people,—it is hereditary, and a female is capable of inheriting it. The revenues of the sovereign arise from quit-rents, fines, tithes, and the exclusive right of trout-fishing in the autumn; he can, on no pretext whatever, exact any thing additional from the state, and the total of his revenue does not exceed 45,000 francs.—The last time when the estates were called upon to decide between a number of claimants for the sovereignty, was in 1707, on the death of the Duchess of Nemours without issue. Most of the claimants came in person to Neuchâtel, or sent ambassadors to support their pretensions. Amongst them were the King of Prussia, Margrave of Baden Dourlach, the Prince of Nassau, the Prince of Condé, the Marquis d'Algers, the Count of Montbeliard, &c. &c. In bestowing the sovereignty on the King of Prussia, care was taken that he should confirm all the doubtful privileges of the people; for it is a fundamental maxim of this little state, *“that the sovereignty resides not in the person of the prince, but in the state.”*—

By the treaty of Tilsit, 1806, this state was severed from Prussia, and given by Bonaparte to Marshal Berthier; but the recent events have restored it to the King of Prussia, and the inhabitants seem to bear the greatest attachment to his Majesty. I saw, in two places, the triumphal arches under which he passed in his late visit to Neuchâtel. It appears probable that this will be acknowledged as a canton by the Swiss Diet, but that the nominal sovereignty of the King of Prussia will be preserved. The chief advantage his Majesty derives from this country is the supply of a great number of recruits to his army. I saw a body of 1,400 soldiers, of excellent appearance, set out on their march for Prussia.

The

' The Pont de Thiel divides the territories of Berne and Neuchâtel; and it is also the limit of the French language, none of the peasants beyond the bridge being able to answer any questions but in German. However, at all the chief inns, in both Switzerland and Germany, some of the waiters speak French. It is difficult to suppose a more sudden change than presents itself to the traveller on his passing this bridge. The houses, dress, and appearance of the inhabitants all announce that he is arrived in a country differing entirely from France, Savoy, and the Pays de Vaud.

' The enormous black crape head-dresses of the women have a most singular effect, as well as their long hair, which reaches half way down their backs, plaited into several divisions. It is said, that in some districts, the females after marriage roll it round their heads. The costume of the men much resembles that of our sailors. Cotton or woollen caps are more worn than hats, as was the custom in England until about the time of Henry the Eighth.

' We sent our baggage by the coach to Berne, and walked three leagues to breakfast at Anet, in German *Eis*, a large village, pleasantly situated. We observed that the direction posts had a translation into French of the German names, &c.; a precaution very useful on the frontiers of nations speaking two different languages. We found our inn extremely neat, as indeed the inns generally are throughout Switzerland; and that is one great advantage to the traveller which it possesses over France, where it is seldom that good accommodations can be procured at a country inn.'

Occasionally, the author intersperses his pages with comparative calculations relative to the prominent objects that he encountered in his tour, and similar monuments in other countries. When contemplating at Paris the dome of the *Hôtel des Invalides*, he gives a short statement of the height of other structures, computed in French toises, each equal to nearly six feet five inches English measure:

	Toises.
' The highest Pyramid - - -	77½
' Strasburg Cathedral to the top of the vane - -	71¼
' St. Peter's at Rome, to the summit of the cross -	68
' Church of the Invalids at Paris to the vane - -	54
' St. Paul's Cathedral, London, to the top of the cross	53'

Again, when traversing the Alps, he makes a comparative estimate of the height of mountains:

	English Feet.
' Chimboraco, the highest of the Cordilleras - -	20,608
' Mont Blanc, above the level of the Mediterranean, according to Sir G. Shuckburgh - -	15,662
' Ditto, according to M. de Luc - -	15,302½
' Mount Caucasus - -	15,000
' Etna, according to M. de Saussure - -	10,700
' Teneriffe - - - -	10,954

' The

'The highest mountain in Scotland is Ben Nevis, 4,337 feet. In Wales, Snowdon, 3,555. In England, Ingleborough, 3,200 feet. In Ireland, Croagh Patrick, 2,666.'

Lastly, when passing in the neighbourhood of Zurich, and making an excursion to that part of the lake which (though near the centre) is reduced by promontories to a very small compass, so as to admit of being traversed by a wooden bridge, he supplies his readers with a short note of the comparative length of other structures of the kind :

Westminster-bridge	- - -	1200 feet.
Bridge over the Moldu at Prague		1700
Bridge over the Lake of Zurich at Rappershweil	- - -	1800
The narrow bridge over the Rhône, at Saint Esprit, near	- - -	3000

At Zurich, the traveller is greatly mortified on coming into the town and finding that its internal appearance is by no means in correspondence with the beauty of the surrounding scene. Berne, on the other hand, will stand the closest examination, and is in fact one of the few places at which the expectation of a stranger, when excited by a distant prospect, will experience no disappointment on entering the walls :

'Berne is deservedly considered as *one of the handsomest cities in Europe*; it stands on a hill surrounded on two sides by the beautiful stream of the *Aar*; it is surrounded by higher grounds richly cultivated, and interspersed with woods, whilst the view is terminated by the snowy summits of the Alps.

'The chief street is half a league in length. The houses, which are in general uniform, are built of free-stone upon piazzas, and have a stately appearance, and there are several towers which add to the general effect. In the middle of the street runs a rapid stream, and there is sufficient space for two carriages to pass at each side of it. Fountains are also placed at regular distances. The piazzas are flagged and kept extremely neat; but, I should think, that in this climate they must make the houses cold in winter. This was the first place since my departure from London where I found a flagged way for the convenience of pedestrians.

'Berne is not a city of very remote antiquity, having been founded in the year 1191. It is 1650 feet above the level of the sea. The fortifications are kept in tolerable order, but from the height of most of the surrounding hills above the city cannot be considered as of much utility. In the trenches are kept several very large stags, and also several *bears*, there being an annual rent of 1200 livres for their support. This animal is thus favoured, as being the *armorial bearing* of the city, (to which it gives name,) and these arms are every where to be seen, there being few barns without them. There are many handsome churches in Berne: the tower

tower of the cathedral is very fine, and it contains many windows of stained glass. The public library is well worth visiting; as is also the *botanic* garden, which is on a most extensive scale; in it is placed the tomb of the celebrated *Haller*. I was much struck by the great number of chemists' shops in Berne. The bakers' shops also are very numerous, and the bread is inferior to none in Europe.

'A stranger is surprized to see the *convicts chained to the carts* which are constantly in use to keep the streets clean. I confess the sight displeased me, and this system would not be tolerated in England, where I think there was an attempt to introduce it during the reign of Edward the Sixth. The objects that most pleased me at Berne were the *public walks*, which are unequalled by any I have ever seen, in respect to their number, extent, and the neatness with which they are kept. The views from some of these walks are quite magnificent; one, in particular, on an eminence beyond the city, which follows the course of the Aar for a long distance, commands a view which can never be forgotten by those who have seen it. The city is a striking object at a distance from the number of its spires; but although, from the spaciousness of its streets, it covers a good deal of ground, yet it is by no means populous, the inhabitants being only 11,500, but there are no mendicants. The public roads in the Canton of Berne are kept in excellent order, and every thing indicates the activity of the administration.'

'Before visiting Switzerland, I had often felt surprize on considering the great variety of states which subsist in a country of such comparatively limited extent: but I no longer felt that astonishment, when I saw how completely many of the Cantons are divided from each other by chains of mountains, and how greatly their inhabitants differ in their dress, manners, and religion. In one day, in the cantons of Berne, Lucerne, and Zug, I saw three perfectly distinct modes of dress; and the enormous sleeves and crape head dresses of *Berne*, compared with the large flat hats and short petticoats of Lucerne, are as totally different costumes as could be supposed to prevail in two of the most remote countries. The *political* divisions of Switzerland are almost as numerous as its geographical; and there are few countries where more diversities of opinion prevail, respecting the means of securing that liberty which is the boast of its inhabitants.'

The farther progress of Mr. B. was made by Schaffhausen, Tübingen, Stuttgart, Heidelberg, Mannheim, Frankfurt, Mentz, Coblenz, and Cologne. He was delighted with the rich vineyards of Hockheim, and struck with awe by the lofty mountain of Ehrenbretstein, but could not, amid all this magnificence of view, forbear to regret the want of those cheerful country-seats which enliven the borders of an English river. Leaving the Rhine at Cologne, where the romantic scenery terminates, he brought his journey to a close by returning through Liege, Brussels, Lisle, and Calais. — Our chief

chief objection to his sketch of his tour is its want of animation. Like a dull picture, it contains no prominent object to fix the attention; and various scenes, rich with the materials of description, are introduced too cursorily and faintly to arrest the mind of the reader, or to satisfy him that Mr. B. was fully alive to the grandeur of the objects which he contemplated. The composition, too, is frequently inelegant. In point of political feeling, he is a resolute Antigallican, and as much disposed (p. 85, &c.) to panegyricize Lord Castlereagh for his diplomatic exploits, as a traveller of a very different stamp (Mr. Hobhouse) is to condemn him.

ART. VII. *A Treatise on the Puerperal Fever*, illustrated by Cases, which occurred in Leeds and its Vicinity, in the Years 1809—1812. By William Hey, jun. Surgeon of the General Infirmary, and of the House of Recovery at Leeds. 8vo. pp. 250. 8s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1815.

THIS is an interesting and instructive publication, and still more deserves that character when taken in connection with the work of Dr. Armstrong on the same subject, reviewed in our lxxvith volume, p. 369. Dr. A. gave an account of an epidemic puerperal fever, which had prevailed in 1813 in Sunderland and its vicinity; clearly described the symptoms; referred them, without hesitation, to the immediate or the remote effects of an inflammatory state of the body; and decisively recommended the system of copious depletion. We learn from Mr. Hey's narrative that, for the space of about three years before the commencement of the Sunderland epidemic, a disease of the same description had existed in and about Leeds; that he had adopted similar views respecting both the nature and the treatment of the complaint; and that he had even prepared his work for the press, but had been prevented by ill health from actually publishing it until after the appearance of Dr. Armstrong's volume. We have no doubt of the correctness of Mr. Hey's statement; and it is material because it enables us to regard him as furnishing an independent testimony, and equally original with Dr. Armstrong.

Mr. Hey justly observes that no disease exists, of the same importance with the puerperal fever, about which so great a diversity of opinion has prevailed: some writers considering it as a highly inflammatory disease, and others as of a typhoid nature; and each of them, in course, prescribing modes of treatment in conformity with his theory, and exactly opposite to the other: while a third set of writers, apparently among the most judicious, and of the highest authority

thority on medical topics, have chosen a kind of middle course, and have consequently adopted a wavering and inert line of practice. Dr. Gordon, of Aberdeen, had indeed taken the same view of the subject with Dr. Armstrong and Mr. Hey, and published an excellent treatise on this disease in 1795: but his doctrine was so much at variance with the general opinion, that it appears to have made little impression on the public mind. — Mr. Hey begins by defining the disease to be ‘fever in child-bed, accompanied with pain which has no intermission, and extreme soreness in the abdomen.’ He then remarks on the several appearances which it assumes under different circumstances, so as to have induced some authors to regard it as inflammatory, and others as of an opposite nature; and he mentions the distinctions which have been laid down between its various forms, and the attempts of Dr. Clarke, &c. to point out distinct species depending on the parts primarily affected, or on something peculiar in the situation and constitution of the patient. All these distinctions, however, he regards as of no use in practice, or even as productive of embarrassment; and he conceives that the only essential difference, in the cases of what ought to be called puerperal fever, consists in their degree of violence, and their being epidemic or simply sporadic: for it seems to be admitted that, whenever the disease exists epidemically, it is more urgent in all its symptoms. No circumstance could be ascertained which seemed to have any effect in producing the complaint; nor in fact was there any cause, either external or internal, which could be assigned for it.

After these preliminary observations, the symptoms of an acute attack are minutely and (as it would appear) faithfully detailed. They commence with rigor, accompanied by severe pain in the abdomen; while the pulse, the head, the skin, the temperature, the secretions and excretions, and the digestive organs, are all considerably affected. The state of the abdomen, which is the origin and centre of the evil, and the termination of the disease, are thus described:

‘A degree of fulness in the hypogastric region was often evident from the first attack, and not unfrequently the uterus could easily be perceived, forming a distinct tumour above the pubes. Pressure upon it gave exquisite pain. In about six or eight hours, if the patient was not relieved, the swelling began to extend itself to the whole of the abdomen, which was soon distended to a great size, and the enlargement of the uterus was lost in the general tumefaction. A diminution in the size of that viscus was a very favourable symptom. The soreness and swelling of the abdomen occasioned great shortness of breathing, and obliged the patient

to lie constantly on her back. There was always some mitigation of the disease when the breathing became slower, or the patient was able to change her position, and lie upon her side.

If the disorder was not checked, great depression of strength and other appearances of sinking quickly supervened. The pulse was too rapid to be counted; the tongue sometimes, though not usually, became dry and brown, and the teeth were covered with sordes*; the cheeks were flushed; the countenance was wild and expressive of great distress; and the whole body was covered with a clammy sweat. At this period the violent pain of the abdomen often ceased; but its distention occasioned pains in the back, sides, and chest, sometimes accompanied with spasmodic paroxysms of dyspnoea. The patient became restless, and affected with vomiting, hiccough, delirium, and other symptoms which are usual harbingers of dissolution, though not peculiar to this fever; and the melancholy scene was usually closed in a few days from the commencement of the attack.

The third chapter is intitled 'Cases and Method of Cure.' It contains accurate reports of most of the cases which occurred to the author, and of many of those which were attended by his father, with a minute detail of their practice. We are made acquainted, in the most candid and explicit manner, with their want of success in the commencement of the epidemic, with the opinions which they entertained on the subject, with the change which was gradually produced by experience in their views of the disease, and with the ultimate cures which were obtained.

The first fourteen patients were treated according to the plan which was sanctioned by the best authorities; laxatives, diaphoretics, and opiates forming the principal remedies: but eleven of the cases terminated unfavourably. After mature deliberation, the author then resolved to employ copious bleeding and purgatives; from which he had hitherto been restrained, partly by the prevailing doctrines on the subject, as contained in what were considered the most valuable publications, and partly by the rapid alteration from the first or inflammatory stage of the complaint to a state of the greatest apparent debility. The result of the new practice was most satisfactory; and, in thirty-six cases which fell under his care after this time, the disease proved fatal in only two instances. Several of them are fully detailed, and of others a general statement is given: but we cordially acquiesce in the following sentiment: 'Enough has been said to fulfil the design proposed in this chapter, viz. to illustrate the character of the disease under consideration; to shew the insufficiency of the

* * Indeed, the disease seldom allowed time for these changes.

means which had been usually recommended for its cure; and to elucidate that method of cure, which proved invariably successful, whenever it was fairly tried.'

To the relation of individual cases, succeeds 'a connected view of the Method of Cure;' a section which we strongly recommend to the perusal of our medical readers. The author acknowledges his obligation to Dr. Gordon's treatise, with which he coincides in all the essential points; and, where any minute differences of opinion exist, they are attributed more to some variation in the nature of the epidemic than to any disagreement in principle. The whole of the treatment may indeed be summed up in this one sentence: 'The method of cure consists in large evacuations by bleeding and purging; and, although other remedies may sometimes be useful auxiliaries, these are indispensable; and they alone will generally be found sufficient, if they are employed in a proper and seasonable manner.' When called in at the very commencement of the case, Mr. Hey informs us that he seldom took away more than 24 ounces of blood: but, if eight or ten hours had elapsed, a considerably larger quantity was often found necessary. It was not, however, so much any precise quantity as the effect produced by it which determined the practice; for it is expressly stated that the only limit to the detraction of blood is the removal or the considerable diminution of pain.

A concluding chapter consists of 'General Remarks on Puerperal Fever,' in which different questions are discussed respecting the nature of the disease; and, in the first place, whether what has been called puerperal fever be always the same disease, or whether it may not be sometimes an inflammation of the uterus and peritonæum, and at others of a typhoid tendency. He thinks that this distinction does not exist, and says; 'On this point, I might rest satisfied with referring to the history and symptoms of the disease, as already detailed, leaving it with the reader to compare them with other descriptions of the puerperal fever; and confidently relying on their general coincidence.' He conceives that the epidemial prevalence of the disease in question was a sufficient characteristic of its nature, because this circumstance never takes place with respect to simple inflammation of the uterus and peritonæum. — He afterward inquires 'whether the puerperal fever is essentially the same disease under all the different appearances which it assumes.' The answers to this question have been very various, and great authorities may be quoted as supporting precisely contrary opinions: but Mr. Hey coincides with Dr. Gordon in sup-

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posing that 'the puerperal fever is always inflammatory at the beginning, and becomes putrid only in its progress, and that this putrescency is only the effect, or consequence, of previous inflammation neglected, or improperly treated.' On this principle, he accounts for the very opposite statements that have been given concerning the effects of bleeding; some writers of respectability having altogether prohibited its use, or having employed it in a very limited degree only.

The last question of importance relates to the infectious nature of the disease; a point on which, as on many others, the greatest contrariety of sentiment has existed. Dr. Gordon has no doubt that the Aberdeen-epidemic was highly infectious; while Mr. Hey speaks on the subject with uncertainty, and confesses that he has not been able to 'form a decided opinion on it.' This cautious spirit confers on the work no small degree of additional value, and gives the more confidence in the author's judgment on those topics on which he speaks without hesitation. It is, however, unnecessary for us to say more in commendation of this treatise, because our account of it will prove that it merits the attentive perusal of every medical practitioner.

ART. VIII. *Historical Sketches of Politics and Public Men, for the Year 1813.* 8vo. pp. 265. 8s. Boards. Longman and Co.

WE owe an apology to the writer of this clear and temperate summary, for having so long delayed a notice of his publication. He has on this, as on a former occasion, (see M. R. for August 1813,) gone over all the leading topics of the year, and brought within a very convenient compass a mass of information which most readers have previously received only through the medium of news-papers and magazines; receptacles of so unconnected and frequently of so contradictory a nature, as often to leave those who peruse them at a loss to form a clear or conclusive opinion. The topics discussed in the present volume are

Ministerial and Party-changes during the Year. — The Case of the Princess of Wales. — The Catholic Question. — Renewal of the East-India-Charter. — Finances. — Campaign in the Peninsula. — Campaign in the North and in Germany. — America.

To whatever part of the book we turn, we discover the labours of a mind anxious to arrive at a fair and deliberate conclusion; a merit of such rare occurrence, that it induces us to look with a very indulgent eye on a few mistakes or rather

rather misapprehensions of the author, with regard to particular points. In treating of Spain, for example, we cannot help thinking that he has paid (p. 129.) too great a compliment to the national character, or at least to the rulers of our peninsular allies. National defects are generally attributable, it is true, to the existing form of government and religion: but, even with the benefit of all these allowances, a long interval must yet elapse before the Spaniards will be found to merit the flattering representation that is here given of them. With respect to Austria, likewise, we have no doubt that the writer mistakes (pp. 178. 206.) in supposing that she ever wavered in joining or in following up the cause of the allies in 1813 or 1814. He may, we believe, assume it for certain that, from the day on which the extent of Bonaparte's disasters in Russia became known, she had no other plan than that of bringing forth her utmost extent of military means, and of re-conquering the valuable provinces of which she had been deprived by France. A regard to appearances required, on her part, a less decisive tone than Russia or Prussia might adopt; and she might have, at particular intervals, a diplomatic point to carry before she threw her full weight into the scale: but on no occasion will she be found to have retarded the progress of the operations, if we make due allowance for the caution necessary when acting against so formidable and vigilant an enemy.

These are partial and by no means important blemishes; while in the greater part of the volume the writer has our cordial and almost unqualified assent. We extract, as a specimen of his composition, the observations on the well-combined passage of the Elbe in October 1813:

‘Of all the commanders in this war, none had distinguished himself more, or perhaps in an equal degree, with General Blücher. In a former war he had acquired the character of a gallant and daring partizan, to which his talents seemed then limited; but his present conduct established him in the first rank of great commanders. He had shewn that union of daring enterprize with consummate prudence, which was called for by his difficult situation; he had obviated all its disadvantages, and had carried on offensive and defensive operations with equal success. But he surpassed, if possible, his former exploits, by the decision and alacrity with which he carried into execution a plan entirely congenial to his bold and enterprising character. At a moment when the enemy least expected such a movement, he broke up from Bautzen, and, though carrying pontoons along with him, marched with such rapidity, that in three days he arrived at Elster, near the confluence of the river of that name with the Elbe. Here, disregarding all obstacles, he transported his whole army across

the river, attacked and defeated the corps of Bertrand, which was stationed on the opposite side. The moment that the Crown Prince heard of this movement, he lost not a moment in carrying the whole force under his command to cross at Rosslau and Acken. On the 4th October, the two armies came into contact. They were now, to the amount of 125,000 men, completely established on the left bank of the Elbe. They did not however stop here; but, determined no longer to follow any but the most decisive measures, they marched onwards. They successively passed the Mulda, the Elster, and finally the Saale; and drew up in battle array with their left resting upon that river. At the same time, the Austrian forces, after debouching from Bohemia, advanced upon Chemnitz and Altenburg; and the Cossack advanced guards of the two armies met on the left bank of the Saale.

‘There is not perhaps in the annals of military history, an operation of a grander and bolder nature than that which the allied powers had now undertaken. In interposing between Buonaparte and France, they had left all their own provinces uncovered; they left behind them an army of 200,000 men, commanded by the most distinguished military character of the age; they left also a chain of the strongest fortresses, while they themselves had not a single fortified position to rest upon. This measure, so remote from all common military practice, was rendered safe by two circumstances. One was the disposition which prevailed throughout the whole extent of the country into which they had entered. It was for them, not a hostile, or even a neutral, but a friendly, and as it were a native country. Instead of being harassed or impeded by the inhabitants, every aid which the most enthusiastic zeal could afford, might be confidently expected. The next security lay in the decided superiority of force, which they now possessed. An interchange of positions, like that now made, menaces total destruction to the weaker army, but is attended with little danger to the stronger, which can always force its way through the ranks of its adversary.’

The advance of the opposing armies and the gigantic conflicts at Leipsic are next related. The evening of the 18th of October brought the united forces of the allied Powers into the vicinity of the walls of Leipsic, and shewed their obstinate opponent the necessity of immediate retreat:

‘Buonaparte felt at length, and too late, that no means remained to him of farther resistance. A great part of his army had perished in the preceding battles, and the preponderance of the enemy, already considerable, had been greatly augmented. Of those who remained in his ranks a great proportion were determined enemies, more formidable from not having yet openly declared themselves. All his outposts and fortified lines were gone, and no prospect remained, but that the victorious encircling armies would storm him in this last retreat, and all his troops be destroyed or captured. He no longer therefore delayed retiring by the avenue which still remained open. The evening had scarcely closed,

closed, when the whole army began to defile by the road leading to Weissenfels. The passage, narrowed as it was at present, was attended with extreme difficulty. Five or six rivers here running parallel and close to one another, and requiring bridges over each, formed a long and narrow defile, through which an encumbered army could march only slowly and with difficulty. Day broke, and only part of the troops was on the other side. Buonaparte then caused the magistrates of Leipsic to send a deputation requesting that hostilities might be suspended for the purpose of arranging a capitulation. The object of this demand was evident; he merely wished to retreat unmolested, and extricate his army from their present embarrassment. It was determined that such a respite should by no means be granted. The Emperor Alexander received the messenger in person, and, in presence of the army, announced to him this resolution. The allied forces were then led on to the attack; after a short resistance, the city was carried; and about eleven o'clock, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia, and the Crown Prince of Sweden arriving from different quarters, met in the great square of Leipsic, amid the triumphal acclamations of the army and people. Buonaparte had left the city about two hours before, leaving a large party of his army. To them the disaster was greatly increased, when the confederate forces on entering the city were joined by all the remaining Saxon and other German troops. The French, now attacked and fired upon on every side, no longer knew where to turn; the narrow bridge was soon choked by crowds of fugitives trampling upon each other. The passage was stopped; prisoners were taken by thousands; and of the few who endeavoured to save themselves by swimming, most perished in the waters. The whole rear-guard of the French army, including some of its most distinguished commanders, fell into the hands of the confederates. Among the prisoners were Regnier, Brune, Vallery, Bertrand, and Lauriston. Macdonald with difficulty gained by swimming the opposite bank; but Prince Poniatowsky, in endeavouring to do the same, sunk, and was drowned. The wounded, to the number of 30,000, were likewise all taken. The King of Saxony, with all his court, ranked among the prisoners. It was far too late now for this monarch to obtain any merit by joining the cause of the allies; and as, contrary to his consent and authority, the whole of his troops already ranged under their standard, there was no service which he could render to them. It was judged proper to inflict some chastisement for that injury which, on a former occasion, the common cause had sustained from him; and he was sent, under a guard, to the castle of Eysenach.

Such was the termination of this great and dreadful succession of combats; to which the annals of Europe, ensanguined as they are, had never yet produced a parallel. Never had the work of destruction proceeded on so vast and terrible a scale; nor had any field been so defuged with the best blood of her sons. Famine and pestilence, which follow in the train of war, were there, and did their part in the work of death. In viewing this dreadful scene,

the philanthropic mind could however console itself by reflecting, that thus only could the injured cause of mankind be avenged; and that, through this bloody portal, peace and freedom were to revisit the earth.

The leading feature of this volume, as of its predecessor, is impartiality. Whether we follow the writer into an analysis of military operations, or revert to domestic topics, — such as the reported changes in the Cabinet, the discussions on finance, or the case of the Princess of Wales, — we find an uniform desire to do justice to both sides of the question, and to promulgate no opinions that are not supported by calm and deliberate reflection. On some occasions, (as p. 35.) the style is not sufficiently familiar for the plain matters under consideration; and it often betrays little *incuriæ*: but we have no hesitation in recommending the book to the imitation of those numerous writers who thoughtlessly or unblushingly come before the world with a very slender stock of preparation, and not always with a disposition to exhibit an unbiassed outline of public affairs. This sketch will be particularly acceptable to such readers as wish to have a view of the leading events of the year in a condensed shape, and are desirous of finding an author who can think for them on political subjects with a degree of attention which it may not suit their respective avocations to bestow.

ART. IX. *Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency; with Observations on the Profits of the Bank of England, as they regard the Public and the Proprietors of Bank-Stock.* By David Ricardo, Esq. Second Edition. 8vo. pp. 128. 4s. 6d. Murray. 1816.

ART. X. *Reply to Mr. Ricardo's Proposals for an Economical and Secure Currency.* By Thomas Smith, Author of an "Essay on the Theory of Money." 8vo. pp. 44. Richardson. 1816.

WE had occasion, in our February Number, to report a small tract by Mr. Ricardo on the Corn-trade, and to remark how inferior his performance on that topic was when compared with his former essays on the Bullion-question. We have now the satisfaction of reviewing a pamphlet on a subject professionally familiar to him; and, though we by no means warrant the accuracy of all his views, we recognize in it that disposition to temperate and impartial discussion which excited a favourable impression in the perusal of his earliest essay. The chief defect in the production before us is a certain verbosity of diction, and a tendency to enlarge on dry questions of finance, as if they were equally interesting to the general

general reader with politics or biography. This defect we shall endeavour to avoid, in our report, by giving our readers a rapid summary of the more important part of Mr. R.'s arguments; after which we shall proceed to notice with brevity those of his opponent, Mr. Smith.

Advantages of Paper-Currency. — Nothing, says Mr. R., is more desirable in a circulating medium than steadiness, and, if possible, uniformity in its value. The use of paper, as a substitute in all the larger and many of the smaller payments, so far from operating to make a difference between the value of bullion and the established coin of the country, may be made directly conducive to the maintenance of the desired level. A rise of coin above bullion takes place in consequence of a particular increase in the demand: but this increase may be very easily met by an augmentation of the stock of paper; the latter, however, being always understood to be "payable in cash on demand." The advantage of this condition is particularly felt in the case of any alarm, or diminution of public and private credit. Merchants become then averse to receive in payment each other's bills or acceptances; a greater quantity of currency is consequently required to perform the same business; and to make this augmentation in coin is evidently a matter of much more expence and difficulty than to make it in paper. Reasoning from these and other considerations, Mr. R. (though, as we shall see presently, by no means an advocate of the Bank of England,) is desirous that bank-notes should continue in circulation, even for the smaller payments; not indeed on the plan of compulsion, as of late years, but in consequence of being made directly and easily convertible into gold or silver. He would impose on the Bank the responsibility of giving bullion for their notes; and he suggests (pp. 26, 27.) certain regulations, with the view of securing that establishment against unnecessary demands. Bullion seems to him a fitter exchange for a large sum than coin, because it would simplify the transaction, and might have the effect of rendering bank-notes of still more general currency than they possessed before 1797. Together with this, complete liberty should be given to every individual to export our bullion and coin of every description: while country-bankers would be pledged to discharge their notes in gold and silver, or in notes of the Bank of England. Nothing, it is well known, conduces so much to steadiness of value as an open and unrestrained exchange of commodities, and the plan now proposed seems calculated to prevent any run either on the Bank or on country-bankers; except on the occurrence of a national panic, when in course every one would be desirous of exchanging

ing paper for the precious metals: but such a crisis must necessarily be of very rare occurrence.

A Standard of Currency. — In this country, gold is the legal standard, but in the rest of Europe it is silver. Mr. R. inclines (p. 21.) to the expediency of adopting the rule of our continental neighbours; silver being more steady in value, from the greater regularity of its supply, and the use of paper superseding the objections arising from its bulk and consequent unfitness for the large payments required in a commercial country. Another useful suggestion of the author relates to the means of preventing that scarcity of money which is so severely felt among mercantile men at particular intervals of the year:

‘ The national debt has become so large, and the interest which is paid quarterly upon it is so great a sum, that the mere collecting the money from the receivers-general of the taxes, and the consequent reduction of the quantity in circulation, just previously to its being paid to the public creditor, in January, April, July, and October, occasions, for a week or more, the most distressing want of circulating medium. — Exchequer bills, which usually sell at a premium of five shillings per 100l. are at such times at so great a discount, that by the purchase of them then, and the re-sale when the dividends are paid, a profit may often be made equal to the rate of fifteen to twenty per cent. interest for money. At these times, too, the difference between the price of stock for ready money, and the price for a week or two to come, affords a profit to those who can advance money even greater than can be made by employing money in the purchase of exchequer-bills. This great distress for money is frequently, after the dividends are paid, followed by as great a plenty, so that little use can for some time be made of it.’ —

‘ Let the Bank be authorized by government to deliver the dividend-warrants to the proprietors of stock a few days before the receivers-general are required to pay their balances into the Exchequer.

‘ Let these warrants be payable to the bearer exactly in the same manner as they now are.

‘ Let the day for the payment of these dividend-warrants in bank-notes be regulated precisely as it now is.

‘ If the day of payment could be named on or before the delivery of the warrants, it would be more convenient.

‘ Finally, let these warrants be receivable into the Exchequer from the receivers-general, or from any other person who may have payments to make there, in the same manner as bank-notes; the persons paying them allowing the discount for the number of days which will elapse before they become due.

‘ If a plan of this sort were adopted there could never be any particular scarcity of money before the payment of the dividends, nor any particular plenty of it after. The quantity of money in circulation

circulation would be neither increased nor diminished by the payment of the dividends. —

‘ Those who are well acquainted with the economical system now adopted in London throughout the whole banking-concern, will readily understand that the plan here proposed is merely the extension of this economical system to a species of payments to which it has not yet been applied.’

Reduction of Allowances to the Bank. — After these arguments in favour of bank-paper, Mr. Ricardo proceeds to discuss another topic, and to hold a language of a very different nature respecting the Bank. In his opinion, the profits obtained by it, during the long period since 1797 have been exorbitant, and ought to be retrenched as early as it may be possible. Government is pledged to respect the Bank-charter, and to maintain its right to the exclusive circulation of the London district for the next sixteen years: but it is under no such restraint with regard to the terms of payment for the transaction of business connected with the public debt. For the last ten years, the Bank is computed to have had (p. 43.) on an average not less than eleven millions of the public money permanently in its hands; which deposit arises from the government-receipts being lodged in the Bank, (in the same way in which merchants lodge their disposable funds with a banker,) and kept there until withdrawn by the different departments to which the funds are respectively appropriated. Now on this average of eleven millions, the Bank is supposed to have made a regular annual profit of five per cent.; since nothing prevents the Directors from vesting it in stock, in Exchequer-bills, in mercantile discounts, or in any other way which is calculated to yield that advantage. Again, the Bank is allowed between 3 and 400*l.* a-year on each million of the capital of our public debt, for the trouble of keeping the books and paying dividends; a charge which Mr. R. considers (p. 54.) as double the necessary allowance:

‘ The saving to the public is really effected by the money being brought to one focus, instead of being collected from various quarters. The Bank appear to consider the rule by which they are to measure the moderation of their charges, to be the saving which they effect to their employer, rather than the just compensation for their own trouble and expence. What would they think of an engineer, if in his charge for the construction of a steam-engine he should be guided by the value of the labour which the engine was calculated to save, and not by the value of the labour and materials necessary to its construction?’

Appropriation of Bank-Profits. — The last section of the pamphlet treats of a point of great interest to a bank-stockholder, — the use that should be made by the Bank of its accumulated

cumulated profits. On this head, the Directors have always chosen to observe considerable secrecy; admitting in general terms the existence of increased profits since 1797, and consenting to a material augmentation of dividend, but declining to enter into any specific explanation of the amount of the sum that has accrued in their hands. Mr. Allardyce, a mercantile man, and formerly a member of parliament, published a very full and minute inquiry into this subject in 1801. His essay was in the form of a pamphlet, and comprized a large collection of tables, calculations, and extracts from public documents: but, since his death, which took place about fourteen years ago, the Bank-Directors have met with no such inquisitor; or, rather, the proprietors have had reason to be satisfied with the increase of dividend paid since the year which we have mentioned. We can scarcely join Mr. Ricardo in blaming the Directors for their *reticence* on this delicate point; believing it to have been prompted by a wish to guard against that sudden change in the value of bank-stock, which was to be apprehended on the resumption of cash-payments: since a disclosure of the whole of the profits of a state of war might have raised the value of that stock to a rate which it could ill support on the deprivation of the grand sources of emolument. Peace operates doubly against the Bank; it diminishes the quantum of government-deposits; and it necessitates, or will soon necessitate, the sinking of a considerable sum in the dead fund of cash or bullion, to meet the demand for the exchange of notes.

Mr. Smith's Reply.—This pamphlet proceeds from the pen of a writer already known to the public in discussions of this kind. His answer to Mr. Ricardo is marked by something of the keenness that characterizes an old antagonist; and, though in some respects founded on substantial grounds, it seems in others to amount to little more than a correction of a supposed error on the part of Mr. R. The latter, in inserting the imagined price of 3l. 17s. per ounce for standard-gold, no doubt did it for the sake of giving a specific form to his reasoning, and not (as Mr. Smith imagines) under an impression that gold was likely to be had at so reduced a value. We are more disposed to agree with Mr. S. in his general objections (pp. 12, 13.) to the arguments of the Bullion-committee, and their advocates, among whom Mr. Ricardo filled rather a prominent station:—but the chief part of the pamphlet is appropriated less to a refutation of Mr. R. than to the support of a favourite notion urged by Mr. Smith in former publications, viz. “that the pound sterling is the standard unit, or sole standard of value in this country:”—a theory that would require a

very grave discussion, and of which we shall waive the consideration for the present, without any farther remark than that Mr. S. has not yet succeeded in making us converts to his system.

ART. XI. *Report from the Committee on the State of the Police of the Metropolis*: with the Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix, containing Abstracts of the several Acts now in force for regulating Public Houses, &c. &c. Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July 1. 1816. 8vo. pp. 396. 7s. Boards. Clement.

WERE we inclined to discuss the question whether the world has or has not advanced in civilization and virtue, we fear that we should find many facts contained in these pages which would support the negative side of the argument: but we must not here enter on so extended a consideration, nor venture to balance opinions in this place on so speculative a subject. It is more immediately our duty to attend to the important facts which this inquiry has rendered but too undeniable; — that the police of the metropolis, though it has been considerably improved in the present reign, has not been benefited to the degree that was expected by the alterations which have been at various times adopted; — and that the criminal law, even in the present day, contains many vices in its principles, and is subject to many abuses in its practice. The Committee, before whom this evidence has been given, and particularly its indefatigable chairman, are not blind to either of these facts, but seem inclined to apply remedies in each case which we sincerely hope they will be enabled to establish.

The present parliament, indeed, whose political death is ere long to take place, has exerted itself since its commencement with more than ordinary zeal in the formation of Committees to ascertain the causes of evils which have been represented as existing, to consider the mode of rectifying them, and to suggest general improvements on various subjects; and the members of those Committees have done themselves lasting and high honour by the industry and intelligence with which they have conducted their investigations and framed their statements. The Police of the Metropolis is not one of the least material of these inquiries; and though, in the short report which is merely made for the purpose of bringing up the evidence, the Committee observe that it is ‘a subject by no means exhausted,’ we regard the evidence already collected as of too interesting a nature to be withholden from our readers; especially since we feel convinced that a general consideration of the question will be pro-

productive of essential advantage, and may possibly be the means of suggesting new sources of inquiry, previously to the meeting of the Committee in the ensuing session.

The Committee sat 23 days during the months of April, May, and June last, and examined 54 persons. Their evidence embraced a great variety of questions connected with the police, and is here given without any order: but we shall endeavour to simplify it, by arranging the various topics under different heads, and noticing in their proper place such facts as have reference to them.

The subject, to which the Committee seems first to have directed its attention, is *the Mode by which Police-Officers are Paid for the performance of their duty*. This is three-fold; viz. a salary of one guinea per week, with some small allowances from the office to which they belong; — the fees received from private individuals who have suffered from robbery, under which may be included the large rewards offered by advertisements for the discovery of the offenders; — and a share of the parliamentary rewards on the conviction of certain criminals, which are distributed by the Recorder among the witnesses for the prosecution. These latter consist of “40l. upon conviction of every highwayman;” — “of every person who has counterfeited the coin, or clipped, &c. the same, or shall bring into the kingdom any clipped or counterfeited coin;” — “of every burgler or house-breaker;” — and on the conviction “of any person of treason or felony relating to the coin, upon the act of 15 Geo. II. cap. 28.” Also a reward of “20l. upon conviction of persons returning from transportation, before the expiration of the term for which they were ordered to be transported;” — “10l. upon the conviction of every sheep-stealer;” — and “10l. upon conviction of counterfeiting copper-money.” A “Tyburn-ticket” exempting the holder of it “from parochial duties in the parish where the offence is committed,” is also added in some cases; which is once assignable, and on sale produces from 12l. to 20l. — The policy of these rewards has often been considered as more than doubtful; and the recent trials of police-officers for a conspiracy to induce poor ignorant fellows to commit a crime, and then to convict them for the purpose of obtaining these sums, will serve materially to strengthen that feeling. It is not satisfactory to say that these are individual instances, and that the indignation which they excited will be sufficient to prevent a repetition of the offence. Every inducement to do wrong should be carefully removed; and no part of our daily prayer should be uttered with more fervency, or practised in our intercourse with the world with more

more attention, than that which petitions against being led "*into temptation*." Even before these trials, it appears in evidence that public justice has been frequently impeded, from the disinclination of the jury to believe officers whose evidence they suspected to be influenced by the hope of the reward on conviction; and the offender, though well known, has consequently escaped. Mr. Fielding, one of the magistrates of the Queen-Square Police-office, pointedly says;

' I am an old counsellor, and have practised a good deal in criminal courts, and I have uniformly found, that when it was necessary to call a police-officer to the establishment of a particular fact, or of any material part of the case, and the idea of reward struck the jury, so misguided were they, that it was the means of the failure of justice in a great number of instances, under the silly idea of disappointing the officer of his reward, and therefore not giving to his evidence the weight that it ought to have received; and many times I have seen that in opposition to the best direction of the Judge.'

Almost all the magistrates who were examined before the Committee concur in thinking that the parliamentary rewards should be entirely abolished; and that the power of recompensing the exertions of the police-officers, whether a conviction follows or not, should be left to the discretion of the magistrates, who alone have the opportunity of judging of their merits. The police-officers themselves are also of this opinion;—not merely on account of the misrepresentations which are circulated as to the value of their profits from convictions on which the rewards are given, (those profits being very small, and, according to the evidence, seldom exceeding 20*l.* in a year, and never amounting to 40*l.*) but of the unpleasant situation in which they stand in a court of justice, and the discredit that is thrown on their testimony. Lavender, of the Bow-street office, gives his evidence clearly on the subject, and all the other officers speak in the same strain:

' Do you receive, in cases of conviction or apprehension of offenders under the statute, a share in that reward which is known by the name of the parliamentary reward?—I have received several shares: but that is a business which I always decline, if I can possibly avoid it; no police-officer can go into the box at the Old Bailey with any comfort to himself, knowing that he will be asked the question by counsel, which is always extremely unpleasant.'

' You are then quite aware, when you are placed in that situation, that it is one of suspicion to a jury, who are to receive your evidence, and to your own breast it is most painful?—I feel it so always.'

' Can you state to the Committee what is the amount which you should suppose any officer at your office has made in any one year by

by the parliamentary rewards? — I think that in our office there has been less made than in any other office. I should conceive no one of them has ever made 30*l.* a-year by those rewards. We have had very few convictions in our district for these four or five years; I do not think there have been more than four or five burglaries.

‘ Should you not think the other officers, as well as yourself, would be much better satisfied with having rewards for specific services performed, paid either by the magistrates, or ordered by the Judge, you then being a competent witness, than by the present mode? — I think I can answer that with a great deal of truth, on the part of myself and my brother-officers, that it is the feeling of every one of them that the parliamentary reward should cease; that they would feel much better satisfied to be paid by the magistrate for any extra-services performed.

‘ Even though the amount received might be less than they now receive? — Certainly. I have convicted two as notorious offenders as have troubled the town for many years, last Sessions; the celebrated Roberts, and White, Conkey Beau, as he is called; and the only reward I got for that was sixteen shillings.

‘ Was that a share of the parliamentary reward? — An allowance made by the county to prosecutors and witnesses attending.’

We are surprized that two magistrates, so respectable as Sir Nathaniel Conant and Sir John Silvester, (the Recorder,) do not accede to the propriety of altering this system. The former, however, is less decided than the latter, and is indeed in the end induced, by the leading questions put to him, materially to vary the opinion with which he began. As we do not quite perceive the force of their reasoning, we shall let them speak for themselves. In Sir N. C.’s examination are the following questions and answers:

‘ Do you think that the system of the payment of rewards for the detection of offenders is one productive of public benefit? — Yes; I think that every inducement that can be held out for the detection of offenders is desirable, and the expectation of pecuniary reward for their trouble is the greatest that can be; and the magistrates always reward them, where it is not expedient that they should have it from individuals.

‘ Do you not think that if the sum paid was proportioned by the justices to the nature of the duty done, it would be a better mode of rewarding the exertions of the police-agents, than that at present adopted under the act of parliament, which affixes to the conviction for certain offences certain rewards? — I see no difference in the expediency to the public.

‘ Do you not think that there being no reward for the conviction of persons committing small offences, does in point of fact make it the interest of the officers of the police to pay little attention to the detection of such offenders? — I do not observe it in practice.

‘ Do you think that it is, or not, the practice at the present moment, of officers to let offenders continue in the career of small crimes

crimes in which they are engaged, till they commit some felony by which the officers or persons connected with the police can take their share of the 40l. settled by the statute on their conviction?— I think, certainly not; I have not the least idea that any person whom I have ever seen employed in the police had that kind of speculation.

‘ Do you not think that the common interests and motives that govern the actions of mankind would weigh with a police-officer as well as with any one else, so as to induce him to be more active where he was to gain something, than he would be if he was to gain nothing?—He would be more active in the detection of important offenders; but I think he would never carry that expectation of gain to the extent of lying by till greater gain was to arise for detecting the offender in riper crimes. It has been often thought that criminals are nursed up till they come to great offences; but I think the police-officers always take the merit of detecting offenders in the present offence, and never lie over upon a speculation of greater offences in future; I have never discovered this, in my experience.

‘ Is it not a common cant phrase, that “such a person is not worth conviction?”—I have heard it said, that an offender was not yet ripe for detection.

‘ That “he does not weigh 40l. yet?”—I have often heard that expression, but have no knowledge of it in practice; and never knew any individual employed in the detection of offenders neglect to take them, where there was evidence to be found against them, upon such a speculation.

‘ You have stated, that the pecuniary rewards offered by individuals are great stimulants to the exertions of the officers?—They certainly are,

‘ Why then do you think that the absence of pecuniary rewards for the detection of small offences should not operate precisely in the inverse ratio?—The officer would rather employ his time where he could gain, than where he could not; and therefore a reward for detecting small offences would operate.

‘ Of course the officer would rather be employed in detecting offenders where he could be gaining money, than where he gained nothing?—Certainly.

‘ Then of course the rewards being paid only on the conviction of felonies, must directly operate to the officer not paying the same attention to the conviction of offenders for small crimes?—If he had the two objects before him at the same time, it would; but I think he would not be employed at all in the police establishments if he was the sort of person upon whom that consideration would operate in exclusion of other duties.

‘ Do you think that it would be an improvement of the present establishment of the police, to allow the magistrates to give small rewards for the detection of persons guilty of inferior offences, picking of pockets, &c.?—I think it would, but it would be a great burthen on the public account.

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‘Do you not think it would be better to leave in the magistrates a power of giving specific rewards for specific services, than the present practice arising under the statutes, which is technically called “blood-money?” — I do not think it would operate to the same extent; the persons described in the statutes as objects of reward, are persons not employed by the magistrates in the capacity of police-officers, it is the party prosecuting or detecting, and frequently not a peace-officer.’

These questions, we see, allude also to another bad effect of rewards, both parliamentary and private, viz. the probability that an officer will neglect the smaller offences, to which no rewards are attached on conviction, for the sake of those by which he can gain money; — and the worthy magistrate, in the last answer quoted, might have recollected that, though ‘the party prosecuting or detecting’ is the object of the reward, the peace-officer apprehending is almost invariably made a participator.

We now come to Sir John Silvester’s examination:

‘It has been stated to the Committee by different magistrates, no less than by the police-officers themselves, that they consider the mode of rewarding the detection of offenders, known by the name of parliamentary rewards, as one which they look upon as prejudicial to the public interest, and which they would wish to have changed; have you any opinion upon that subject? — Yes; I think very differently; I think that rewards do not tend to any improper ends. On the first day of every session, after conviction, I distribute them at the Old Bailey; but I do not make a distribution till I have considered every individual case, and the merits of every witness, upon the back of the indictment; I then apportion the rewards according to the best of my judgment.’ —

‘The evidence before the Committee has not gone so far as to say that no rewards should be given, but it has been proposed, not only by various magistrates, but also by the police-officers themselves, that they would be better pleased that the rewards should be paid at the discretion of the Judge, of the Recorder, or of the police-magistrate, for services performed, than settled by act of parliament in that manner which is generally known by the name of blood-money, because all the different parties have stated that they consider themselves as coming into court with a stain upon their evidence; and that it has been distinctly avowed by more officers than one, that they themselves have witnessed evidence given against an offender, apparently for the sole purpose of getting the reward; the Committee wish to learn from you, whether in that view of it you consider the parliamentary rewards as the best mode? — I can only speak for myself; and can say, that I consider the present mode as the best mode. I see great inconvenience in the police-magistrates distributing it, *because they may be considered as liable to partiality to their own officers*, it seems to me. I divide it

it now, and no act of parliament could give me more power than I have at present. They talk of blood-money as applied to officers; low and ignorant people will do that; but I do not find that the police-officers outstrip the truth, and it is perhaps because they know that I watch them; I find the country-constables much more anxious for the reward than the town-constables.

‘Do not you see that the consequence of a settled reward, to be paid only upon conviction; must at all times have a tendency to induce people to go very far in their oaths, for the sake of what they are to gain by that conviction? — I really have not seen that; I have seen it go so far as for juries to acquit; the officers know if I saw they went too far, when I distribute I should say, You gave your evidence improperly, and therefore I must give less. But I never saw it.

‘If juries are induced to acquit, public justice is thereby stopped? — That so seldom happens, that it has become scarce a question; I do not say it never happens.

‘Do not you see that the present system of rewards has also this objection, that unless there is conviction, the greatest possible exertion on the part of the constable or police-officer goes unrewarded? — I do not know how they are to be considered as unrewarded, because they have their expences allowed; whenever there is no reward upon a conviction, the officers have their expences; whenever there is a conviction, and there is a reward, they have no expences paid.

‘The Committee have had it in evidence, that the allowance for expences is but small, and, even where there is conviction, it repeatedly happens that the division is so small as not in any degree to cover the expence of the officers? — To that I cannot answer, because I do not know what expence they are at; if there are a great number of persons to divide the reward, they must each have a smaller part of it. As to the expense of witnesses, it is always allowed by the court, where there is no reward. The expence of witnesses during the last year at the Old Bailey, for the county of Middlesex, was 3,728l. which is no small sum.

Mr. Markland, one of the magistrates of the Shadwell Police-office, forms the same conclusion on precisely opposite ground. He says, in relation to the reward;

‘I think that is better left as it stands by the law; the magistrates would never satisfy them, if it was left to their discretion; indeed they would not be satisfied; there is a specific sum that they are to have, and they know that they are to have no more; probably the magistrates might think it too much for the trouble they have had, and then they would cut them off, which would of course cause great disturbances and heart-burnings: I hope the distribution of rewards will never be left to the magistrates.’

Why should not the officers be as well satisfied with the distribution made by their own magistrates, as with that which is now made by the Recorder?

We must dismiss the other two sources of emolument in a few words. It appears to us that the fees which the officers receive from private individuals should not be suffered : — the time of the officer belongs exclusively to the public, by whom he deserves to be paid liberally : — there cannot be a divided interest ; — and the alternative is that the charges on individuals are an imposition, or the employment of the officer's time in their service is a palpable neglect of public duty. The salary now allowed seems by far too small, and ought to be at least doubled, and increased with length of service : while the magistrates should have the power of rewarding the officers according to their exertions, whether the offence be of greater or less magnitude, and with or without conviction. The emoluments of the situation would then be considerable, and a fair stimulus would be held out for activity and skill. All persons requiring it should have (as indeed they now have) immediate and ready assistance given to them : but, forming a part of that public which contributes to the establishment, they should not be expected, (as they are now,) nor even allowed, to reward the officer. With respect to large rewards offered by government and individuals, we are inclined to think that less objection attaches to them ; especially as these are cases which can very seldom occur.

We have treated this subject the more at large because we consider it as possessing vital importance, and therefore deserving of being taken into early and serious consideration. It seems to be clear that, while these rewards remain on the statute-book, suspicion of connivance or of perjury will always exist, and police-officers will still be objects of obloquy : while the course of justice should not only be pure in fact, but every apparent possibility of its being impure should be carefully removed. — Much plain sense and home-truth are evinced in the characteristic though wandering evidence of Townsend, the well-known Bow-street-officer, with reference to these matters ; and we would entertain our readers with some extracts from it if we could spare room : he is decidedly against the present system of rewards.

The abuses in the system of *Licensing Public-houses* form the next important topic which engages the attention of the Committee. It comprehends the continuance of public-houses which have been denounced for their profligacy ; — the encouragement given to *Flash-Houses* ; — the increase of gin-shops ; — the granting of licenses to brothels ; — and, what may be considered as the cause of some of these evils, the undue influence which is often exercised in favour of particular brewers.

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More want of vigilance and fairness seems to pervade this department of the magistracy, than any other which comes under the inspection of the Committee. This evil may arise in a great measure from the number of magistrates who meet for the purpose of licensing, from the interest that is exerted to obtain or continue a license, and from the excessive tenderness to property which influences their decision. Public-houses are necessary for the accommodation of the lower classes of society: but, when they become notorious as the resort of profligate characters, and as encouraging scenes of debauchery and riot, they are nuisances, and ought, after proper notice, to be suppressed, without regard to the owner of the freehold; whose duty it is to be careful in the choice of his tenants, and to preserve decency on his estate. The fact, however, is, as Sir N. Conant remarks, that 'the worst conducted are often the most profitable, on account of the greater consumption;' and therefore the interest of the proprietor is in opposition to reform, especially when he finds that the magistrates pay so much respect to his property: while nothing can more strongly prove the uselessness of merely refusing a license to the offending tenant, when they grant it to the house with a new nominal occupier, who will soon find his account in following the steps of his predecessor, even though on the next licensing day he may be in his turn evicted. That houses of the worst description exist, and almost under the eye of the magistrates of Bow-street, is too notorious to need the trouble of proving; and the following extracts from Sir N. Conant's evidence will justify the preceding remarks:

'Have there not been repeated complaints of outrages having occurred, and riot, and the most profligate scenes of debauchery and vice, in the Rose public-house, in Rose-street, Covent Garden, near Long Acre? — I have given orders to all the officers in Bow-street, to be particularly watchful of that house, within this fortnight.

'Was not that house verbally presented, by the Magistrates at Clerkenwell, last year? — That house, I think, was denied its licence the last year but one, on the first day of the licensing.

'Do you recollect why it was granted afterwards? — The keeper of the house was changed, and a reputable man brought in.

'Does it not occur to you, that there is no fraud so easy to be practised, and that in point of fact there is none so uniformly practised, as where a complaint is laid against a house, that there should be a nominal abandonment of it by the tenant; and have you not heard that the phrase that is used is, that "the stone walls carry no sin;" and that if the tenant is changed, the license is renewed, and the old practices, before complained of, still continue? — The term is entirely new to me; but if a house gets completely

pletely reformed, and there is an expectation of the house getting completely reformed, and the keeper of it is removed, in tenderness to the property the license is frequently continued.'—

'How long did the Rose public-house, against which there were such repeated complaints, continue unchecked?—I think the Rose more than a year ago was denied its license; I cannot take upon myself to recollect the particulars.

'How long had the complaint been made against it?—I rather think it was a general complaint against the character of the man that kept it.

'Had not the magistrates at Clerkenwell made a verbal presentment of it?—It was in consequence of that, that the impediment to the license took place.

'I think you have stated before, that the license was granted in consequence of the change of the landlord?—I think that was the reason.

'In what state is the house at present?—I am fearful it is not reformed, and unless it is, the license I believe will not be continued.'

Several instances might be added of similar cases in the district of Shadwell; and also of a case in which a public-house, though the landlord had been convicted of suffering tipping five times in the course of eleven months, was re-licensed to the same man, in opposition to the recommendation of the convicting magistrates. (P. 145.) Vickery, the officer, gives a much stronger instance of the extreme want of caution in the magistrates, to say no more. He observes, (p. 264.) 'I will tell you where there is an evil in existence. I have known instances where men have been transported for seven years, and have come back to this country, and have got licences for public-houses.' In answer to a question 'Was that lately?' he adds; 'I have not been in the way to know of that within the last six or seven years, but I have known instances of that kind: I knew one man who had been fourteen years at Botany Bay, and got a licence on his return; that was Tom Bray, at the Black Horse in Golden-lane, near Barbican. He is now dead.'

The cant-name of *Flash-Houses* is given to those public-houses which are the known resort of thieves and prostitutes; and to which, as one of the Committee expressively states, 'the police-officers go just as regularly as a gentleman goes to his preserve, in his manor, to find game.' The existence of them seems universally allowed, though Sir N. Conant wishes to avoid a direct acknowledgement that he is aware of them; and his expression, 'I do not believe they exist *upon system*,' puts us a little in mind of Sir John Falstaff's "*not upon compulsion, Hal, not upon compulsion*." The only question seems

seems to be whether they ought to be suffered. The feeling even of some of the magistrates may be collected from the following extract from the evidence of Mr. Raynsford of the Hatton-garden-office, which will also disclose a part of the uses of these houses:

‘ Is it an objection to a house of that sort, that it is known to be the resort of infamous characters, persons engaged in plunder? — Most certainly; and if it came to the knowledge of the magistrates, I have no doubt the licence would not be renewed; but with respect to those houses, which it is gone abroad there are a great number of in this town, and which are technically called “Flash-Houses,” I am free to say that there are houses of that description, and, though certainly it is a great evil to society that such houses should be permitted, yet at the same time as a police-magistrate I am bound to tell the Committee that many of the most notorious thieves would escape if it were not for those particular places of rendezvous, which afford us the means of getting those offenders into our power. The officers go into those houses at night, where they see and mix with five or six men whom they know to be thieves, and if there has been any information of a robbery having been committed, and they miss one or two of those men on a particular occasion, suspicion naturally falls upon them (owing to their being absent from their usual haunts) that they are in some mischief; our officers immediately take the risk upon themselves, and apprehend the parties. Those men, upon being brought to the Office, and notice being given to persons who have been robbed, are frequently identified, and from no other cause but that of being absent from their place of rendezvous, and being known to the officers as notorious characters. The officers will go into one of those houses, and find six or eight notorious characters assembled; the thieves will say, “Master, do you want me? whom do you want?” Upon receiving an answer, they will go out and suffer themselves to be searched, without any difficulty in the world. At the same time I would wish the Committee distinctly to understand, that if it came to our knowledge that there was any particular public-house that was a notorious receptacle for thieves, we should make a memorandum of that house, and should certainly try to put a stop to the licence; the consequence of that would be, they would be driven from that house and would go to another; and as there always will be thieves, the place of resort for those thieves will naturally be the public-houses; and it certainly is the principal means of our knowing where notorious offenders are to be taken. I have no doubt the public are surprised, when an offence takes place, at the offender being so soon taken into custody; but the cause is explained from what I have stated. I have been told by an intelligent officer at Hatton Garden, that when thieves quarrel amongst themselves, they often, from a principle of revenge, tell the officer, “Ah! Jack such-a-one was one of the persons concerned in the burglary the other night, and he was one concerned in another offence;” then away

away go the officers and take this man up; the consequence is, that the public sometimes are surprised how soon notorious offenders are in custody after committing the offence, but, this circumstance being explained, the mystery ceases.

'Do you not think that, though it be true that the advantage to be gained to public justice in seizing the offenders where you know their haunts is considerable, the very establishment of those haunts, by bringing persons together into a society of thieves, particularly by bringing young boys to be trained up by thieves, does more mischief to society than good by the apprehension of the offender? — I can only answer that question by saying, that in my opinion we should very rarely get hold of notorious offenders if every place of this sort was done away.

'Is there not in point of fact a regularly understood system between the inferior police-officers, for the maintenance and support of certain public-houses where the thieves are accustomed to resort? — Not that ever came to my knowledge.

'Are you not of opinion that though those houses may facilitate the discovery of offenders, they also facilitate the commission of crimes, by being notorious rendezvous for persons disposed to enter into schemes of that sort, and by bringing them acquainted with each other? — There are a great proportion of the public-houses that will not admit persons of this description; at the same time there are many that openly encourage them, and I dare say would conceal them if they had an opportunity.'

Sir N. Conant says that he 'would go any lengths to obtain evidence that should justify the suppression of such houses:' a remark which much surprises us, since we should suppose that there cannot be an officer under him who would not be able to supply that evidence. He adds, 'There is no feeling in Bow-street to nurse such places, either in the magistrates or the officers.' This may be true with regard to the former: but, in the testimony of the three officers of that establishment who were examined, a very different feeling seems to prevail. Townsend, in answer to a question whether he considered 'the existence of those houses as tending to facilitate the detection of offenders,' declares that there is 'no question about it:' — Vickery says, in answer to the same question, 'I am sure they do;' — and his evidence thus proceeds:

'But these houses are not now as they were, because they are visited by the officers from time to time, whenever they think fit, without the least molestation or inconvenience; they may go into these houses, look round, and see what company there are there, and what they are doing, without any interruption; formerly we could not go into these houses without a magistrate's warrant; and probably if we went to make any inquiries, we should not come off without some insult or molestation; but now it is quite other-

otherwise. I hold myself much above this kind of gentry, and I am always treated with great civility.

‘ But there are a number of houses of that sort frequented by particular bands of thieves?—I am aware of that; they are attended with this advantage, for they often furnish the means of detecting great offenders; they afford an opportunity to the officers of going round, and knowing the suspicious characters, or of apprehending persons described in advertisements. It is desirable that the officers should know there are such houses, for there is a regular correspondence carried on between the thieves of Birmingham, Liverpool, and Manchester, and other places, and the thieves of London; and probably, by going to those houses, the officers may learn a good deal of useful information respecting desperate characters in all parts of the country. There is another advantage, that they are able to find out the haunts of those men who have returned from Botany Bay, and the nature of their connexions; they materially help in the detection of offenders, and if the officers did not go round where these men frequent, we should never know how to proceed after those parties that are connected together in gangs, and bring them to conviction.’

He then adds, ‘ I think, however, it would be much better if these houses were done away with altogether, but it is not in the power of the magistrates to do it altogether.’—Sayer, also, replies thus to the same question :

‘ I think so; it being flash-houses that collect them together. In Sir John Fielding’s time there was the Blakeney in Bow-street, next door to the Office; that was a house that men and women used to drink in. We would find a great deal of difficulty, when informations were brought to Bow-street, in being able to apprehend the offenders, unless there were such houses; but when this sort of people use the house in Covent Garden or St. Martin’s Lane, we should have him at once by merely going there.’

Lavender not only deems them ‘ certainly a necessary evil,’ and thinks that if they ‘ were done away,’ we should have the thieves resort to private houses and holes of their own and we should never find them,’ but seems inclined to prove that they are no evil at all: for his examination thus continues :

‘ Is it your opinion that flash-houses are used by old offenders as places for the instruction of the juvenile offenders?—No; I do not think they are.

‘ As you are in the habit of frequenting those houses, do you frequently meet with juvenile offenders associating with old offenders in those houses?—No; I have seen old offenders pick them out: the young offenders begin by seeing one another at the theatre door, and in the Park: a great proportion of them are out-door apprentices.

‘ You are of opinion that the flash-houses do not increase the number of offenders?—No, I think not; I believe there is more instruction given in the streets than in those houses; they come there

there as any other tradesmen will, and sometimes they come there to divide their spoil: there was an instance of a man being robbed in the street; the thieves got away, and we found them immediately in a house in Wild-street.

We are not to wonder that the officers should wish to encourage these receptacles of vice, which must undoubtedly facilitate their exertions: but we are astonished when we read the opinion of so experienced a magistrate as Mr. Colquhoun:

‘Do you think the system of permitting public-houses, which are the resort of thieves, for the sake of gaining information, is really necessary to obtaining such information? — Upon the general principle that every thing can contribute to the detection and apprehension of thieves, may be useful in bringing criminal offenders to justice; if one house of this description is put down another will immediately rise up.

‘Are you of opinion the detections would be as frequent and as speedy, if the licences of those houses to which they resort were taken away? — I should doubt it.

‘Are the police-officers in the habit of resorting to those houses, and living in communication with the thieves, for the purpose of obtaining information? — They do mix with them occasionally, in order to obtain information, and they send persons unknown to the thieves, to mix with them, for the purpose of gaining information, more especially when great offences have been committed; under such circumstances, every expedient must be resorted to for the detection and apprehension of the delinquents.’

A very different statement is given by Mr. Holdsworth, lately Upper-Marshall, respecting the police-regulations within the City of London:

‘Are there many houses in the district of the city of London, that are known by the name of Flash-houses? — Not one; whenever there is, it is stopped immediately, and upon a very different opinion from what prevails in the county; in the county they conceive them to be very useful to the officers, that they meet there whoever they want: in the city, as soon as a house of that sort is attempted to be established, the man has notice; and if he persists he loses his licence.

‘At the next licensing day? — No, immediately; we do not let it go off.

‘What authority has the Mayor and Court of Aldermen to take a licence away from a victualler, on proof of this conduct, before the next licensing day? — They enter into security for keeping good order, and they are called on by the inquest, and the alderman of the ward stops the licence; by what authority I do not know, but he does it.

‘You mean by that, that they call upon the securities to be answerable for the money for which they are securities? — Yes.

‘Who

‘ Who of course call on the person for whom they are security, to repay that money to them; and in that way the person gives up the house instead of paying the money? — Yes, that is it.

‘ And by that process the house is shut up? — Yes.

‘ You do not mean to say that an alderman of any ward has power to stop a licence between the periods of its being granted, and the re-granting of it for the preceding year? — I do not mean to say he has; by calling on the securities, they withdraw themselves, and he cannot keep the house open, because they refuse to be security any longer; then the house is shut up or re-let, for want of securities.

‘ How many instances of such a circumstance as you have related, have happened within your knowledge, in the last seven years? — I think I can safely say, from ten to a dozen; I think I could enumerate the houses.

‘ Enumerate some of the houses, the licences of which have been so lost? — The Barley Mow in Field-lane, the Red Lion in Fleet-market, the Magpie and Stump in Skinner-street, Bishopsgate; I can speak safely of those three, but I cannot speak with safety to any other. We never allow a flash-house in the city.

‘ Do you not find considerable inconvenience in not knowing where to look for those persons who have the character of reputed thieves? — The officers sometimes go out of the city, they know where to look for them, and see them together, and know new ones by seeing them in the company of old ones: but in the city we do not allow them a place of rest if we can help it; the officers go out of the city, and are always well treated.

‘ With the exception of Field-lane, there is hardly any place of resort for thieves? — There are none in Field-lane; the only fault we have to find with that place is the riots of the Irish on Saturday night and all day on Sunday.

‘ Is Petticoat-lane in the city? — One side of the way.

‘ Are there not reputed thieves living there? — They frequent the houses in the county.

‘ You consider that by the vigilance of the magistrates and the police, you have in point of fact nearly driven out of the city those nests of thieves which the Committee have in evidence exist in other parts of the town? — Yes; they never come into the city for the purpose of depredations, but they walk about as if they were afraid of going into the city. Soames just came through Temple-bar to take a peep in the city, and just beyond the Temple-gate he picked a pocket, and was returning with the pocket-book he had taken, when he was seized; one of our patrolé saw him do it, and immediately took him by the collar, and found the gentleman whose pocket he saw picked; the case was as plain and clear as possible. But they all seem to go through the city as if they suspected somebody was after them; they do not make any pause; and if they do any thing there, they must do it very quick.

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Can there be a doubt, in true policy, as to the balance of advantages and evils in encouraging these houses? If they remove many difficulties in the detection of crime, do they not also afford every facility for the commission of it? Is it not to be supposed that plans are laid and schemes matured at these resorts of vagabonds, which would never have been devised but for the easiness of communication which they open? Are not children ruined, servants tempted, and poor labourers led into vice, by an accidental association at these public-houses with the accustomed frequenters of them; and may not the officers themselves be contaminated by the association? Surely it is a new principle of police, and we trust that it will never become established, to encourage crime (for what is it else?) in order to detect it. We trust that the Committee, on concluding their labours, will strongly urge the necessity of carrying the law into effect, and of not only depriving the publican of his licence in these cases but suppressing the house altogether.

[*To be continued.*]

ART. XII. *Memoirs of the principal Events in the Campaigns of North Holland and Egypt*, together with a brief Description of the Islands of Crete, Rhodes, Syracuse, Minorca, and the Voyage in the Mediterranean. By Major Francis Maule, late of the Second or Queen's Regiment, and on the Staff of the Severn District. 12mo. pp. 315. 8s. Boards. Rivingtons. 1816.

MAJOR MAULE states in his introduction that he does not profess to give any thing like a finished account of the campaigns mentioned in the title-page; nor would he, after the number of books already existing, have obtruded the present observations, had he not had an opportunity of remarking certain local and particular circumstances which escaped the notice of preceding writers. So modest a preface is calculated to check any severity of literary criticism, and to induce us to pass over, with an indulgent hand, a variety of inaccuracies which might otherwise have incurred more pointed animadversion. The Major has trespassed chiefly when he goes out of his professional line, and attempts to interweave historical notices with the description of the events that passed under his eye. He cannot, for example, sail up the Mediterranean without summoning to his reader's recollection the battle of Lepanto, although fought in a quarter very distant from the course of his navigation; nor can he pass Crete without reminding us that Jupiter was born on Mount Ida, and that Idomeneus conducted the Cretans to the plains of Troy. We were

somewhat amused on finding him a serious believer in the "hundred cities of Crete;" as if an island, mountainous and of limited extent, could, in so early an age of society, have contained a hundred towns intitled to the high-sounding name of cities. — Leaving these mysterious traditions, as well as his brief account of the campaign in Holland, we prefer to attend to the observations of Major M. on matters that fell under his personal cognizance, and on more distant and attractive scenes. The fleet in which he sailed anchored in January 1801 in the bay of Marmorice on the coast of Asia Minor, a spot surrounded with the most beautiful and magnificent scenery :

‘ Every day which I could snatch from my prison, the transport, was employed in excursions into the country, and in the forests in the vicinity.

‘ In all these expeditions, great circumspection became necessary, to guard against the beasts of prey, wolves and leopards, which numerously occupied the recesses of the forests. At night we usually heard the howlings of these animals, as we lay on board the vessels. About the distance of a mile from one of the landing places, is situated a Turkish village. Around it is a charming country, refreshed and fertilized by brooks and rivulets. The environs are planted with lofty trees, and embellished with luxuriant orchards of fig-trees, being enlivened also by many neat houses, whose inhabitants seem occupied in the business of prosperous cultivation.

‘ As you cross the forest, the eye discovers a small town, partly surrounded by ruins, embosomed by mountains of immense height. On a rising ground immediately above the town stands a mosque, the approach to which is directed by avenues of trees of the most luxuriant foliage.

‘ These avenues, four in number, are of great length, through which the votaries of Allah pass and repass in constant succession. We purchased here some honey of exquisite flavour, resembling that of Minorca, the bees feeding on the flower of myrtle and orange trees.—

‘ On another occasion a small party landed with me at day-break, and proceeded with an intention of taking some sketches of the old ruins, which are situated about three leagues in a north-westerly direction. We were provided with mules, and two guides, and were all of us well armed. After traversing a thick forest of pines, olive, and other trees, we arrived at a delightfully open country, well cultivated, and occasionally interspersed with cottages, and other buildings. The ruins of a considerable palace or castle, gradually appeared as we advanced, and large masses of decayed stone work.—

‘ On our return to the bay in the evening, in passing through the thickest part of the wood, one of the party shot at a leopard. The animal made a noise, and instantly made off, by which I conclude he may have received a wound. These animals continually lay in ambush, and dart upon the unwary traveller. Our retreat became in consequence a little more circumspect and even rapid,

our

our guide having hinted to us the partiality of those gentry to reconnoitre at the approach of night.

‘ On the day following, a boat calculated for the purpose having been obtained, we, by dint of labour and aided by a guide, reached the neighbourhood of Rhodes. The ruins of this once celebrated country are still interesting to the attentive traveller, and afford objects worthy of inspection.

‘ It is now no longer a place of any note; although from its situation, and being in the country where wood is abundant for the construction of ships, it is well calculated for the purposes of commerce. The town is situated in the extremity of a promontory, extending to the eastward, precisely in the same spot occupied by the great city.’

After having remained a considerable time in the bay of Marmorice, the fleet set sail on the 24th of February for Egypt. The landing on the 8th, and the battle of Alexandria on the 21st of March, have been very frequently described: but the public are much less familiar with the particulars of the intermediate and indecisive action that took place on the 13th. Both parties suffered considerably on that occasion; the loss on our side being owing not only to the superior artillery of the enemy, but to a necessity, on the part of our commander, to push forwards, and endeavour to obtain from the observation of his officers that knowledge of the country and of the force of the French, from which he felt himself debarred by the ignorance of the Turks, and the unfortunate deprivation of the engineers commissioned to that effect in the outset of the expedition. Major M. had been stationed with the division of troops left behind at Aboukir after the landing:

‘ On the evening of the 12th, orders were received for the greater part of the troops at Aboukir to move forthwith. These troops, reinforced by a battalion of marines, marched immediately at sun-set. After a long and very harassing march during the night, impeded as they were by a heavy and uncertain road, through a desert of sand, they at length reached the point of their destination.

‘ The marines, though unaccustomed to long marches, bore up with their usual firmness against the fatigues of the march.

‘ At midnight, I well remember the welcome appearance of the range of lights, discovering the position of the English army. Beyond these, with the intervening distance of half a league, the more extended line of the French, who had also fires along the whole of their position.

‘ Our repose here was of short continuance. At four in the morning, the whole of the troops were again under arms. The brigade, to which my regiment was attached, formed on this occasion the extreme left of the army. After the space of an hour, a heavy cannonade from the French line, which in the first instance was but feebly answered, announced to us the commence-

ment of the engagement. I had an opportunity of witnessing the advance and attack of the cavalry upon our right and center.

' In the mean time, my regiment, leading the brigade, received a smart salutation from the enemy's light artillery. We observed at the line of hills a brigade of six guns, supported by cavalry. These guns occasioned us some loss, but they did not think proper to relinquish their strong commanding position; and as the brigade advanced, they fell back, still keeping up a sharp fire.

' A singular instance of the correct firing of the French artillery occurred here. A shot from the guns above mentioned grazed the officer who carried the colours, and killed two men. The brigade were advancing rapidly; it was of course necessary to change the position of the guns; notwithstanding which, six shots successively killed or wounded men in the same company, which were immediately following the colours.

' On the right and center the battle soon took a favourable turn. The enemy abandoned about mid-day the line of hills.

' I perceived the English descending into the plains, advancing in open columns, and taking the route to Alexandria. The left wing, in the mean time, kept parallel with the line of march, and approached the canal of Alexandria and lake Mareotis.

' A point called the Green Hill, well known to the army in that country, was now occupied within range of the enemy's artillery. We suffered considerable loss here.

' The French army having about three o'clock in the afternoon re-occupied their positions and batteries on the heights of Nicopolis, now turned upon their pursuers, and poured into the long extended line of the English a tremendous shower of balls and grape-shot. My regiment lost twenty-seven men, without returning a single musket.

' The very commanding position of the enemy, supported by the garrison of Alexandria, the considerable reinforcements he had received, and the rapid approach of evening, induced the Commander of the Forces to suspend all further attack. The brigades received orders to halt, and soon afterwards fell back.

' At sun-set, the regiment filed into the space allotted for them in the second line in rear of the line of Sand Hills, held by the enemy the preceding evening.'

He proceeds to relate in a few words the battle of Alexandria, and the subsequent march of his detachment to Rosetta and Rahmanie. The resistance of the French was not serious: but the annoyance experienced by the troops in so hot a climate was greater than persons accustomed to the enjoyment of a moderate temperature can possibly conceive. Incessant thirst, wretched lodging, mosquitoes and flies by day, aided by reptiles at night, all concurred to aggravate the sufferings of our countrymen, which became progressively greater as the heat of the season increased.

' The army remained some time at Amm-el-Dinar. Here the heat of the weather became excessive. The fatigue of the marches unbounded, and the pains of thirst insupportable.

' The

‘ The unhappy soldiers were seen rolling in the sand, and giving themselves up without hope, whilst the sun darted upon them its vertical and fiery rays.

‘ Times and circumstances were no respecters of persons. Every officer was equally exposed. The greater part of them carried their baggage, if such it might be called, in a knapsack slung over the shoulder; and on the arrival at the position for the night, lay down, if not employed on duty, in the sands or fields: in common with many others, I myself shared without intermission this lot, from the 8th of March, the day of our landing, until the occupation of Alexandria in the September following: during the whole of this period, I never experienced the least diminution of health.

‘ The dreadful southerly wind, called by the Egyptians the kamsin, or wind of fifty days, commenced at this period its fatal career.

‘ They prevail generally in the fifty days preceding and following the equinox. They are the winds of the desert, and are justly called poisonous, from the baneful effects they occasion to the human frame.

‘ It is difficult to form an idea of its excessive heat, or to calculate upon its destructive tendency. After a day spent under the burning rays of the sun, and worn down with a long and toilsome march, the wearied soldier expected some little repose at the approach of evening.

‘ It was in vain that he cherished this pleasing hope. Instead of cool and refreshing breezes, the deadly blast of the kamsin assailed him, and prevented the necessary repose. It may be said to resemble the confined air of an oven. It produces a change on all animated bodies, affects immediately the lungs, and causes pain.

‘ The skin also becomes parched and dry: no quantity of water drank by the unhappy sufferer produces perspiration, and it is in vain to seek for coolness.’—

‘ The poor Arabs were seen terrified, and running about in groups, throwing themselves into the Nile, where they remain for many hours; others shut themselves up in their houses, and dug pits in the earth.

‘ If the traveller in the desert should be overtaken with one of the squalls of wind which sometimes happen, a suffocation and sudden death are inevitable.

‘ Even the camels and horses have a mode to resist this horrible enemy, by putting the nose into the sand during the squall; nature has pointed out to them the necessity of thus defending themselves.’—

‘ The kamsin is more or less felt in the island of Cyprus, and of Rhodes, but passing as it does over a considerable portion of the Mediterranean, its violence is somewhat alleviated by the coolness of the waters. I have experienced it in Minorca, and in Gibraltar: in the latter place, it is generally called an easterly wind or levanter: it is extremely oppressive on that rock; and during its continuance, totally changes the nature of the climate.

‘ When

'When the winds proceed alone from the Deserts of Arabia and Lybia, their force is at its extreme height. The air which covers these immense plains, meeting with neither lakes, rivulets, nor water of any description, but always scorched, by the rays of a burning sun, and the reflexion of the sand, becomes naturally more arid and destructive. This naturally accounts for its insupportable power in the latitude in which we then were; namely, so very contiguous to the deserts above mentioned.'

With the exception of the passages which we have quoted, the volume contains very little that is interesting, being made up (see pp. 180. *et seqq.*) of extracts from the intercepted letters of French officers published long since in our newspapers, or of repetitions of common-place remarks on the climate and situation of Egypt. — The Major's regiment being ordered towards the Straits at the end of the campaign, he makes a few very cursory observations on Malta, Sicily, Minorca, Gibraltar, and finally on the neighbouring part of Spain; and he concludes his memoir with an account of the dreadful epidemic or pestilential fever which caused such mortality at Gibraltar in the year 1804. — As a composition, this little volume is extremely defective, the quotations (as in p. 220.) being generally incorrect, and the descriptions abounding in inelegancies; and Major M. has evidently allowed too long an interval to elapse before he published his account, so that the remnant of information that he had to communicate was scarcely worthy of the press, at least in a separate form; however suitable it might have been to fill the columns of a magazine, or to make an appendage to some larger work on the subject.

MONTHLY CATALOGUE,

FOR OCTOBER, 1816.

POETRY.

Art. 13. *The Festival of Flora.* A Poem. With Botanical Notes. 12mo. pp. 60. Sewed. Sharpe. 1815.

A rigid censor of the taste of the age might quote, in support of his remonstrances, the frivolity of such poetical effusions as that which is now before us, and the encouraging reception which they have experienced from the public. The antient apologue, he might allege, pointed at least to a moral lesson: but the inferior animals are now exhibited as busied with fashionable balls and routs; even shrubs and flowers must mingle in the dance; and, ere long, we may expect to hear it announced that the Diamond has issued cards to all the gems and precious stones, for an *at home*, at Golconda. All this may appear abundantly childish; and yet, testy

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and cynical as we are sometimes reputed to be, we feel conscious of no disposition to animadvert on those *nugæ canoræ* which have in any degree contributed either to unknit our own brows, or to allure the young, the gay, or the fair into the delightful paths of natural science. The prose-notes, at all events, usually administer some pleasing or striking instruction; and the verses may be quietly permitted to hang out as an elegant decoy to the temple of philosophy.

'The following lines,' says their author, 'were written for the amusement of a very young lady, who permits me to record in them only her Christian name. The spot in which the scene is laid, and which I have attempted briefly to describe, is the summer-residence of her family, a place which, while it owes many of its charms to the bounty of nature, and more to the taste of its possessor, is endeared to me by the recollection of my boyish recreations, — by reminding me of kindness which I have uniformly experienced, and of friendship which I hope long to enjoy.'

The plan of this little piece of *badinage* is neither complex nor unnecessarily protracted: yet the nature of the subject would have easily admitted, and, from such a lively and amusing pen, the public would have more than tolerated, a greater multiplicity both of incident and episode. — The Goddess Flora, determined not to be surpassed in splendour and gaiety by the beasts and birds, intimates to all her loving subjects, through the intervention of the Rose, her royal will and pleasure to celebrate a ceremonious gala on the 30th of June; and the Rose, "nothing loth," charges her messengers, the Gnomes and Sylphs, with a bundle of invitations to the principal families of the garden and the field. With joy and alacrity, most of them accept the honour, and make suitable preparations for the assembly:

'But some—would you think it?—declined to be gay,
And sent their excuses for staying away.
The stately old ALOE, an alien born,
And brought from afar the parterre to adorn,
Apologized much that he could not appear,
Having only his every-day jacket in wear*;
'Twould be long ere he hoped such a scene to partake in,
For his holiday clothes took a century making.
Poor MARYGOLD mourned her unlucky mishap
To need, about noon-tide, a regular nap.
The CYCLAMEN chanced to be wholly in black;
MIMOSA had just had a nervous attack;
MIGNONETTE had long felt herself drooping, indeed
It was very much feared she was—going to seed.
The TORCH-THISTLE thought it his duty to state
That 'twould shock all his friends to see him at the fête;
He'd an utter aversion to parties at noon,
But would join in a dance by the light of the moon.

* This rhyme would be more allowable on the north side of the Tweed.

THE PRIMROSE OF EVENING, — to solitude prone,
 In the stillness of twilight found mating alone;
 A romantic young lady, — was heard to declare
 That, for her part, she hated all bustle and glare,
 Preferring calm nature and innocent leisure
 To that feverish riot which Folly calls pleasure.
 Of all the fair hostess's kindred and name,
 THE AUSTRIAN ROSE made excuses from shame;
 For his breath, says report, was so strong, it belied
 The fond prejudice formed from his graceful outside.
 EUPHORBIA sent from the hot-house to say
 That in England she never attempts to be gay,
 Reserving the delicate bloom of her flowers
 For a clime more congenial and brighter than our's.
 It is thus with the tender sensation of Love;
 It buds only on earth, but it blossoms above.

Some few little beauties of Flora's creation,
 For certain good reasons, had no invitation; —
 For the ROSE had been fearful her spirits would fall
 At the drooping appearance of poor WIDOW WAIL,
 And deemed it were highly improper to meet
 So doubtful a person as young BITTER SWEET,
 And rude to invite, among plants of good breeding,
 RAGGED-ROBIN, and CATCH-FLY, and LOVE-LIES-A-BLEEDING.
 Looking down with contempt on the pride of fine clothes,
 She avoided the COCKSCOMB and spruce POWDERED BEAUX;
 And hating false gaudiness, even on gay days,
 Turned away with abhorrence from all PAINTED LADIES.
 NIGELLA, unhappily destined to claim
 From the vulgar a homely and ludicrous name,
 Was quite out of humour to find herself slighted
 And wholly left out in the list of invited.
 Not so BELLADONNA, whose flowers shrink away,
 As if conscious of guilt, from the gaze of the day;
 She, sullenly moping in murky recesses,
 Is heedless of all but of Luna's caresses,
 And ever delighting in dulness and gloom,
 Haunts, witch-like, the ruin, the church-yard, and tomb.
 All the others, employed in the arts of adorning,
 Impatiently waited the Jubilee morning.

That morning, at length, is ushered in, all balmy and blythe-
 some; and the decorated parties issue forth, arriving at the des-
 tined spot about one o'clock. The Rose, who does the honours,
 and her numerous varieties, shine conspicuous in the throng:

Then a fond pair arrived from the neighbouring dell,
 AMARYLLIS the fair, and Miss LILY the Belle.
 Messrs. STOCKS, from their office, Change-Alley, Cornhill,
 Brought their managing clerk, little Mr. JONQUIL;
 The IRIS came with them, and close by his side
 Was a dashing young damsel, by name LONDON PRIDE.

MAJOR VINCA the Great Periwinckle, — was seen
 In a salver-shaped jacket of ultra-marine;
 And adorned as he was, yet his son, though a MINOR,
 Appeared than the father both sweeter and finer.
 With these, in an uniform nearly the same,
 The veteran MAJOR CONVULVUS came,
 So infirm in his limbs, and so tall in his port,
 That he constantly needed a stick for support.
 Lo! high in the midst, overtopping the rest,
 The SUN-FLOWER reared his broad saffrony crest;
 But he slighted the beauties around, and his eye
 Was incessantly fixed on the orb of the sky.
 Thou darling ERICA, thou child of the waste,
 In Nature's most lovely simplicity drest,
 Whose tufts, amid all that is cheerless and rude,
 Afford to the wild bird its shelter and food;
 Lone orphan of Flora! thou too hast come forth
 From those hills where thou wav'st to the breeze of the north,
 And appear'st in the crowd as engaging and pretty
 As the sweet village-maid among belles of the city.

The *Primrose, Tulip, Anemone, Woodbine, Jasmine, Pink, Carnation, &c. &c.*; as they pass in review, are characterized with equal felicity; until the bard, despairing of enumerating all the beaux and belles of the festival, seems comforted with the reflection that he has at least culled 'a nosegay for KITTY.' — The insect and feathered nations contribute to enliven the joyous scene, while solid and liquid fare are thus amply furnished for the guests:

' The provident ROSE, in a nook of the glade,
 Had a dozen long tables for banqueting laid,
 And ordered, at intervals during the rout,
 The refreshments prepared to be handed about.
 Old CORN-FLOWER had sent her some cakes of his baking;
 The CANDYTUFT, sweetmeats, and jams of her making;
 The BUTTER-CUP, milk-maid, brought junket and whey;
 The PEWTERWORT, dishes and plates in his tray.
 HERB-CHRISTOPHER offered his service to wait;
 HERB-ROBERT appeared in his livery of state;
 And SWEET-WILLIAM, so handsome, and gay, and polite,
 In a rich suit of crimson, embroidered with white,
 Shewed all that attention which fitly display'd is
 By gallant young men to the wants of the ladies.
 The ROSE decked the tables with pleasing devices;
 The SNOW-DROP * supplied a profusion of ices;
 But the plants of the Green-house refused 'em through fear,
 As unwholesome to eat at that time of the year.
 So the PITCHER-PLANT furnished a plentiful draught
 Fresh drawn from the clouds, which was eagerly quaff'd;

* The *snow-drop* on the 30th of June is rather a violent anachronism, even for a poet. — Why overlook the services of the *ice-plant*?

And

And while AMARYLLIS, the handmaid of Flora,
 With dimple of Hebe, and blush of Aurora,
 In CAMPANULA goblets of silver and blue,
 Handed round, from his vessel, the glistening dew,
 Sweet COWSLIP the lass and ROSE BURGUNDY join,
 And, kissing each cup, turn the water to wine.
 ' As evening was closing, to wind up the whole,
 The light little COLUMBINE danced a *pas seul* ;
 Then ROCKETS went off in a brilliant display,
 And the Birds with a chorus concluded the day.'

Fastidious must be that critic who with-holds the smile of approbation from verses so easy, sprightly, and graceful. — They are accompanied by *Lines sent with a Violet, on Valentine's Day*, and by the *Rose-bud*, which would not disgrace any reputable collection of fugitive pieces. — The explanatory notes are neither pedantic nor fatiguing; and they are calculated to convey some interesting information to those who are strangers to the habits of the vegetable tribes.

Art. 14. *The Panegyric of the late Samuel Whitbread, Esq. M.P.*
 By the Rev. J. Whitehouse, formerly of St. John's College, Cambridge; and Rector of Orlingbury, Northamptonshire.
 8vo. pp. 38. Conder, &c.

The word *Panegyric* is sufficiently expressive of the design of this poem, and fully apprizes us that no cold balancing estimate of virtues and failings is the writer's aim, but a warm display of those great qualities, public and private, which distinguished the lamented object of Mr. Whitehouse's verse. Indeed, as he observes,

' Not wanted here
 The meretricious hues of phantasy,
 Or glaring lights that Adulation flings
 In indiscriminate, and transient show,
 O'er the weak idol of its eulogy :
 But firm, and free, and faithful be the line,
 Expressive of the subject of our song.'

' What master-hand
 Shall build up the memorial of his fame?
 Who shall delineate in the living hues
 Of poesy, the labours of a life
 So multifarious, yet converging all
 To one grand point *the happiness of man* :
 Who shall describe him in the senate, armed
 With all the thunders of Demosthenes,
 And pouring the rich tide of eloquence,
 Full, copious, irresistible, that struck
 Conviction in each mind, and in the heart
 Awakened all the generous sympathies
 Of honour, freedom, country : wheresoe'er
 His sphere of intercourse extended, there
 Was he the foremost, with head, heart, and hand,
 Enlightening, and directing : from his lips

Plain, wholesome truths came undisguised, that quelled
 Of erring policy the insane boast,
 Her specious reasonings, and false rhetoric,
 While on his brow, like lambent lightnings, played
 Wit and good-humour, or her well-aimed shafts
 -- Keen satire pointed with ethereal fire.

Mr. Whitbread's political sentiments are implied in the above passage, but he afterward expresses them more strongly; and on the subject of frequent and desolating wars he speaks with the indignation of a philanthropist and a Christian. He laments that Britain, after her long and gigantic efforts, finds herself not recompensed, but exhausted; and he exclaims,

‘ There was a time
 When Englishmen were proud of being free,
 And justly valuing liberty themselves,
 Dispensed, with careless prodigality,
 The welcome boon to others; they stood forth
 The champions of the rights of other men,
 They had so much to spare: but, now, instead
 Of this high feeling, and self-reverence
 Which once ennobled us, we are become
 The builders-up again of dynasties
 It was our boast to humble, in the days
 Of England's glory; when her sun shone clear,
 And shed dismay on arbitrary thrones.’

In strains and with feelings like these, the poet dwells on the public career and services of Mr. Whitbread, and on his domestic and private excellences; avoiding all reference to the deplorable termination of his valuable life. Of his beneficent habits, it is said;

‘ To the aged and infirm,
 And those bereft of Reason's guiding ray,
 He gave his leisure-hours, his daily cares,
 And nightly thoughts; how best to ameliorate
 Their helpless state, to soothe their wretchedness,
 To smooth the bed of sickness, and to raise
 To hope and confidence the sinking mind!
 His vigilance ne'er slept; nor could the taunts
 Of malice, nor the scoffs of evil men,
 Nor falsehood's treacherous arts, nor calumny
 Dogging his steps with ceaseless yell, divert
 His purpose from its fixed and destined aim:
 So walked he in his own integrity,
 Fearless: conducted by the steady light
 Of self-approving conscience.’

The author's meaning is generally conveyed in energetic language, but we cannot always compliment him on its poetic flow, since it often falls into that prosaic course which is the too general fault of blank verse. The ensuing lines are examples:

‘ And

- 'And splendid talents he did dedicate.' P. 10.
- 'Who pleads the great cause of Humanity.' P. 12.
- 'Or stemmed the tide of popular prejudice.' P. 13.
- 'More than his own ease or convenience.' P. 26.

NATURAL HISTORY and BOTANY.

Art. 15. *Animated Nature*; or, Elements of the Natural History of Animals. Illustrated by short Histories and Anecdotes; and intended to afford a Popular View of the Linnæan System of Arrangement. For the Use of Schools. By the Reverend W. Bingley, A.M. Fellow of the Linnæan Society, and late of Peter-house, Cambridge. Embellished with Engravings. 8vo. pp. 336. 6s. Boards. Darton and Co.

We have more than once had the pleasure of bestowing our commendation on Mr. Bingley's popular contributions to the library of the natural historian*. Of his present publication, the title sufficiently indicates the general object: but the preface moreover acquaints us that it was undertaken with the sole view of exhibiting, at once, such a simple and such a methodical introduction to the Linnæan system of zoology, as might induce young persons to prosecute with eagerness the study of a science which not only affords us the most striking proofs of the existence and attributes of the Deity, 'but also furnishes us with abundant sources of observation, of reflection, and comfort, which are applicable to us under every circumstance, and in every condition of life.' — In his preliminary systematical index of the characters of the classes, orders, and tribes of animals, he has studiously avoided technical phraseology. 'In the account of the respective animals, his plan has been, first, to insert a short history of their habits and economy; and at the conclusion of each, in a separate paragraph, to give a concise but methodical description of their form and appearance.' We are also told that 'to two particulars he has been studiously attentive. He has inserted no subject whatever which can, in any respect, prove offensive to the most delicate female mind. — And it has, throughout, been his constant endeavour to divert the attention from second causes, and to turn it to the Almighty and only Source of Being, Power, and Truth.'

These views, though neither original nor profound, we conceive to be of primary importance in the early education of youth; and they are intitled, in course, to the serious attention of all who feel interested in the promotion of general and individual happiness. This paramount consideration has uniformly induced us to peruse such elementary works as are presented to our notice, with particular care; and to bestow on them a larger portion of our time than some of our readers may, perhaps, at first sight, conceive to be advisable. In the instance now before us, we wish not to draw any invidious comparisons between the author and others who have

* For our account of his *Animal Biography*, see Rev. N. S. Vol. iii. p. 178.; and for his *Memoirs of British Quadrupeds*, Vol. lxii. p. 232.

preceded him in similar laudable attempts. To the plan which he announces, he generally adheres; and he has certainly executed his task with his usual sagacity and discretion. When we reflect on the quantity of useful information which he has contrived to reduce within such a limited number of small pages, on the authentic documents from which he has abridged his materials, and on the easy comprehension of his style and manner, we cannot hesitate to recommend this little work to those persons who are intrusted with the education of the young. In the event, however, of a fresh impression being required, we would beg leave to suggest that the addition of the Linnéan generic and specific appellations might contribute to greater accuracy of nomenclature, and prepare the tyro for engaging in the study of more extended and scientific views of the subject. By making the description precede the account of the habits of the species, two advantages might be gained; namely, a previous idea of the aspect and form of the animal described, and the reservation of the most interesting portion of the text to the last. We could have welcomed, too, a more frequent reference to the proofs of wisdom and design which are manifested in the structure and economy of the different races of animals, the insertion of a few more lively and amusing anecdotes, and, on the whole, language of a more '*animated nature*.'

In one or two instances, by having recourse to his own knowledge, or personal observation, the author has furnished his readers with new or interesting facts. For example:

'A very pleasing instance of instinct in the Sparrow was mentioned to me about a year ago, upon good authority. One of these birds was remarked to fly several times, with food in her mouth, into a hole in an old wall. The curiosity of the person who observed it was excited to ascertain the cause, as it was in the month of January, and, consequently, at a time when the bird could not have young. Ascending to the place with a ladder, he found there a full-grown sparrow, of the breed of the preceding summer. It had been accidentally entangled by one leg, in such manner as to prevent its escape; and, thus fettered, the parent birds had not forsaken their unfortunate offspring, but had continued to feed and support it, in its confinement, even for so many months after the other individuals of the same brood had taken flight.'

'*Puffin Auk*. — Immense numbers of these birds breed every year in the small islands off the coasts of Wales and Scotland. They dig holes in the earth to the depth of half a yard or upwards, and at the bottom of these they lay a single white egg. I have several times taken up the females whilst in the act of incubation, and, on placing them upon the ground again, they seldom took wing; but generally ran for shelter into their own or some neighbouring hole. They are birds of passage, appearing on our coasts about the beginning of April, and continuing with us until the middle of August. These birds, when in the holes with their young, make a humming kind of noise, not
16
unlike

unlike that produced by the large wheels which are used in the spinning of worsted. This noise, when a person is standing on a spot surrounded on all sides by them, has a very singular effect. On the island of Priestholme, near Beaumaris, I have seen several thousands of these birds, all at the same time, in flight.'

Of Wolves, we are told that, 'when caught in a trap or snare, their courage forsakes them, and they become as abject and cowardly as before they were daring and desperate. We are informed by Gesner that, one night, a friar, a woman, and a wolf, were all caught in one trap, the woman lost her senses with the fright, the wolf his life, and the friar his character.'—Was the friar a wolf in sheep's clothing?

Without any very material enlargement of the volume, the sketch of Insects and Vermes might have been somewhat extended; and the Bee and Ant-tribes, in particular, might have afforded a more ample fund of entertainment.—A few of the engravings are rather caricatured: but, in general, they are well selected, and executed with considerable fidelity. In these days of retrenchment, we should not omit to add that the price is very moderate.

Art. 16. *The Botanist's Companion*, or an Introduction to the Knowledge of Practical Botany, and the Uses of Plants; either growing wild in Great Britain, or cultivated for the Purposes of Agriculture, Medicine, Rural Economy, or the Arts. By William Salisbury, of the Botanic Garden, Sloane Street. In 2 Vols. 12mo. 12s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1816.

These pocket-volumes are intended to assist the students who attend the author's botanical establishment in Sloane Street, or who accompany him in his weekly herborizing excursions. The first consists of an introduction, which comprehends a familiar view of the Linnéan classes, orders, and genera, and an explanation of the technical phraseology. The characters of the genera of British Plants are next laid down, and the rest of the volume is occupied with a tabular synopsis of the species; embracing, in columns, the Linnéan and English names, the soil or situation, the colour of the petals, the time of flowering, the specific characters, and a reference to the uses and qualities of such of the species as are particularly noticed in the second volume.

The species of plants are therefore, (says Mr. S.) for the sake of easy reference, put into alphabetical order, and in this book set up in tables on a similar plan to those in Græffer's Catalogue and Galpine's Compendium, a small and very useful work, which has been some time out of print, of which it will be seen I have availed myself in the present undertaking. I have not gone further into the class Cryptogamia than to the order *Filices*; as the plants of the other orders of this class form almost a distinct department in botanic science. Should this treatise, however, meet the approbation of the public, those will probably engage my attention as an useful addition to the present volumes. In its present state I now offer it to the public, and my own students in particular, who can best appreciate its value, hoping on a perusal that their suffrages may be in its favour.

Vol. II. treats of plants useful in agriculture, and the arts, — of poisonous species indigenous to Great Britain, — of such as are noxious, — of exotic trees, shrubs, and flowers, cultivated for useful or ornamental purposes, — and of a few vegetable products from which sugar or palatable beverages may be obtained.

Mr. Salisbury has been induced to adopt this arrangement of his materials by considering the wants which he has had occasion to hear his pupils express; and, although we can look for nothing that is new or particularly ingenious in the execution of such a plan, we doubt not that a digest so very portable as the present may prove of material service to all who commence their botanical career with other views than those of mere amusement. Even those individuals who are not professed botanists, but who are directly or indirectly interested in the important concerns of agriculture, medicine, or the arts, may derive useful hints from many of the comments in the second volume. Being printed on a small type, the entire performance contains a larger quantity of valuable information than works of greater magnitude and splendour will supply: but, without extending this article to an unreasonable length, we cannot pretend to follow the author through the diversities of his details. We must not, however, conclude without recommending his notices of the grasses, and his indications of deleterious plants, to the serious perusal of all whom they may concern.

MINERALOGY.

Art. 17. *Geological and Mining Report on the Leinster Coal District.* By Richard Griffith, Jun. Esq. Inspector General of his Majesty's Royal Mines in Ireland, Mining Engineer to the Dublin Society, F.R.S. Edinburgh, &c. &c. &c. 8vo. pp. 130. Dublin. 1814.

Among the gentlemen of science who have recently directed their observations to the long-neglected mineral resources of Ireland, the present reporter is justly intitled to hold a conspicuous station. In his introduction to the valuable communication now before us, he takes a general view of the coal-districts of the sister-kingdom; and he concludes by observing that 'none, except the Leinster district, have been examined; yet the Munster coal-district is in extent greater than any in England, and may probably contain inexhaustible beds of coal.' — His notice of the Antrim collieries should not be passed in silence. Though not extensive, they have been wrought for a great number of years.

'The coal is of a slaty nature, and greatly resembles both the coal and the accompanying rocks which occur in Ayrshire, and probably they occur in the same formation. A very extraordinary discovery was made at these collieries about the year 1770. It is thus described by the Rev. Dr. Hamilton, in his *Letters on the North Coast of the County of Antrim*. "The miners, in pushing forward an adit or level toward the bed of coal, at an unexplored part of the Ballycastle cliff, unexpectedly discovered a passage cut through the rock. This passage was very narrow, owing to incrustations formed on its sides. On being sufficiently widened,

some

some workmen went through it. In minutely examining this subterranean wonder, it was found to be a complete gallery, which had been driven forwards many hundred yards, into the bed of coal; it branched out into 36 chambers, where coal miners had carried forward their works; these chambers were dressed quite square, and in a workman-like manner, pillars were left at proper intervals to support the roof; and in short it was found to be an extensive mine, wrought by a set of people, at least as expert as those of the present generation. Some remains of the tools, and even of the baskets used in the works, were discovered, but in such a decayed state, that on being touched they fell into pieces. Some of the tools appear to have been wood thinly shod with iron."

"The great antiquity of this work is evident from the fact, that there does not exist the most remote tradition of it in the country, but it is more strongly demonstrable from the sides and pillars being found covered with sparry incrustations, which the present workmen do not observe to be deposited in any definite portion of time."

In the more immediate range of his inquiries, Mr. Griffith has geologically dissected the stratification of the district, has stated many important facts, and has illustrated his descriptions and proposed modes of extracting the coal by a series of plates, which are published in a separate form. Through the whole of his investigations, he has carefully forbore to indulge in theoretical prepossessions, and has confined his remarks to objects of practical utility; exposing, in a plain and perspicuous manner, the many failures in the search for coal that have originated in ignorance or knavery, and the very slovenly and unprofitable modes in which the workings are at present conducted. The discovery of whole beds of brown spar, of quantities of apyrous clay, equal or superior in quality to that of Stourbridge, and of various irregularities and dislocations to which most of the coal-strata appear to have been subjected, is well calculated to arrest the attention of our mineralogical readers; while those land-owners, who either have or fancy that they have coal, may hence derive many useful hints and suggestions.

Were reports like the present to be generally drawn up and circulated through the British empire, we might confidently augur the realization of the most extensive and important benefits.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Art. 18. A Diary of a Journey into North Wales, in the Year 1774. By Samuel Johnson, LL.D. Edited, with illustrative Notes, by R. Duppa, LL.B. Barrister at Law. Crown 8vo. pp. 226. 9s. Boards. Jennings. 1816.

We are not in these days to appreciate the value of a book by its price. The present publication, however, would not, on a computation which we have had the curiosity to make, with its Appendix, Itinerary, and Index, — not forgetting even its table of *errata*, — fill more than 50 of our pages, if printed in the same

same manner; and the Journal itself would not quite occupy 16 pages, or *one sheet*. 'Yet the publisher has the modesty to charge *nine shillings* for it, being at the rate of more than *one shilling* for every six pages. The matter of the book cannot come to its aid; and the secret therefore is that we must pay for the name of Dr. Johnson:—our very respect for which induces us to express our regret that this Diary has been published with so much *form and weight*. It was evidently never intended to see the light, and contains little more than such remarks as any man might enter in his pocket-book. The Doctor, in a letter to Boswell, says, "Wales is so little different from England, that it offers nothing to the speculation of the traveller," (*Boswell's Life*, Vol. II. p. 29.); and, were he alive, he would shake both his sides with laughter at seeing the detail of all his calls at Lichfield, and the amount of his washing-bill at Chester, illustrated with notes by Mrs. Piozzi and Mr. Duppa.

We are not furnished with any history of the discovery of the manuscript, which may be seen at the publisher's: but to the editor's pledge for its authenticity we may add our own recognition of the hand-writing, and the internal evidence of Johnson's style. The following passage contains some of the "Rambler's" characteristic beauties, and is almost the only one which is worth quotation:

'We saw Hawkestone, the seat of Sir Rowland Hill, and were conducted by Miss Hill over a large tract of rocks and woods; a region abounding with striking scenes and terrific grandeur. We were always on the brink of a precipice, or at the foot of a lofty rock; but the steepes were seldom naked: in many places oaks of uncommon magnitude shot up from the crannies of stone; and where there were no trees, there were underwoods and bushes.

'Round the rocks is a narrow path cut upon the stone, which is very frequently hewn into steps; but art has proceeded no further than to make the succession of wonders safely accessible. The whole circuit is somewhat laborious; it is terminated by a grotto cut in the rock to a great extent, with many windings, and supported by pillars, not hewn into regularity, but such as imitate the spots of nature, by asperities and protuberances.

'The place is without any dampness, and would afford an habitation not uncomfortable. There were from space to space seats cut out in the rock. Though it wants water, it excels Dovedale by the extent of its prospects, the awfulness of its shades, the horrors of its precipices, the verdure of its hollows, and the loftiness of its rocks: the ideas which it forces upon the mind are, the sublime, the dreadful, and the vast. Above is inaccessible altitude, below is horrible profundity. But it excels the garden of Ilam only in extent.

'Ilam has grandeur tempered with softness; the walker congratulates his own arrival at the place, and is grieved to think he must ever leave it. As he looks up to the rocks, his thoughts are elevated; as he turns his eyes on the vallies, he is composed and soothed.

'He

‘ He that mounts the precipices at Hawkestone wonders how he came thither, and doubts how he shall return. His walk is an adventure, and his departure an escape. He has not the tranquillity, but the horrors of solitude; a kind of turbulent pleasure between fright and admiration.

‘ Ilam is the fit abode of pastoral virtue, and might properly diffuse its shades over nymphs and swains. Hawkestone can have no fitter inhabitants than giants of mighty bone and bold emprise, men of lawless courage and heroic violence. Hawkestone should be described by Milton, and Ilam by Parnell.’

Art. 19. *Costume of Portugal*, designed by Mr. H. Levêque.
4to. 11l. Boards. Colnaghi and Co.

We have at several times mentioned the publication of works depicting, in coloured plates, the costume of our own and of different countries, accompanied by cursory descriptions of each engraving, in French and English. The present is a production of the same kind, and may be considered as adding one more to the series: but it is not sanctioned by any statement of the sources whence it has been formed; nor has it even the convenience of an index, or table of the plates. They are fifty in number, and represent persons exercising a variety of trades, the peasants of several parts of Portugal, begging monks, religious processions, female costume, &c. &c.: the generality of which will now be the more interesting in this country, on account of our late increased connection and communication with the people to which they refer.— Among the differences of objects and manners which will strike an English eye, will be immediately noticed the custom of the Portuguese females sitting on the opposite side of a horse, mule, or ass, from that on which women ride in England; and the rude construction of the waggons and carts, especially of their wheels: except in the case of the *Water-cart* and *Mud-cart*, which seem to be the most elegant of these vehicles.

The first plate represents a female having ‘ *an Audience of the Prince* ;’ and in the description we are told that, though the etiquette of the Portuguese court is so extremely rigid that no subject, whatever be his rank or functions, ever sits down in the presence of his sovereign, or ‘ approaches his person but with a reverence due but to the Almighty,’ yet the Prince is always accessible to all, and ‘ the prayers of the poor and the demands of the rich, the applications of weakness and the claims of power, reach him with equal facility.’ The account proceeds, in flowery and diffuse language, to describe the audiences; in which the Prince ‘ receives all the petitions that are presented to him, listens with attention to all the complaints, all the requests of the petitioners; consoles some, cheers others, gives hopes, promises, encouragement to all. The coarseness of their manners, the familiarity of their address; the tautology of some, the prolixity of others, nothing wearies him: he seems to forget that he is their master, in order to remember that he is their friend!’ — If this representation be correct, the people of Lisbon will lament the removal of the court to the New World; though perhaps they often found that the
soft

soft words and kind behaviour of their sovereign verified an English proverb, and "*battered no parsnips.*"

Plate 2. exhibits the conveyance of '*the Prisoner's Soup,*' which is prepared by a holy brotherhood called *Brethren of Charity*, who procure alms, 'set up in one of the squares coppers filled with meat, vegetables, and rice, and, when these are sufficiently cooked, the coppers are placed on carts, adorned with boughs, and are conveyed to the prisons.' These repasts are repeated on the first Sunday at least of every month, and on the numerous principal festivals of the year. In this article, the absence of the Prince (now the King) is lamented:—'he who was accustomed to pardon, he who alone had the power and always the wish to do it, he will be sought in vain!'

Plate 8. represents a '*Peasant of the Neighbourhood of Lisbon,*' in a costume which might be advantageously introduced among our country-people. He wears a straw great coat, 'connected and wove together as fringe; several borders of this fringe are placed one over the other aslant, which form an impenetrable defence against rain: the coats are extremely light, and several English officers who have adopted them have fully appreciated their utility.'—A peasant may be thus as securely *thatched* as his cottage-roof.

In plate 21. '*Bestow your charity on a poor sick Man,*' a friend of the invalid is depicted, soliciting aid for him; and here, as in other instances, the charity of the Portuguese is loudly praised: the writer asserting that nowhere is this virtue 'more frequently, more universally, and more constantly practised.'

'*The Maltese, or the Money-changer,*' (plate 35.) is an article which might be worth quotation, on the subject of finance: but it is too long for us.

In art. 39. '*the Ballad-singers,*' it is stated that 'charity is involuntarily awakened by the pleasing tones of these wandering minstrels; and that the Portuguese language, full of vowels, prominent as well as sonorous, affords rests to the singer, which enable him to display all the treasures of his voice, and draw out all the graces of his song.'

The subject of the last plate is '*a Peasant Girl leading a Waggon,*' that is, leading the oxen which draw it; and we have the pleasure of learning that the peasants of the province of Minho have a particular attachment to their oxen, and treat them as companions of their toil. A young girl 'leads them to pasture and attends them in the stall: she cleans and washes them, keeps their skins sleek and their horns bright; and, in order still more to set off the latter, she rubs them from time to time with a little grease.'

Considerable information is conveyed in the descriptive part of this publication, and the whole will be acceptable to those who can afford to purchase it.

CORRESPONDENCE.

We have considered the letter signed *Samuel Greatheed*, and dated from Bishop's Hull, near Taunton, on the subject of the lamentable disease which afflicted the estimable poet Cowper, and

in reference to the remarks which we made respecting it in our Number for March last, pp. 296, &c.: but, as the letter is in itself long, and the observations which we must make on it cannot be expressed in a very few words, we must be excused from printing the former entire, and must curtail the latter. Mr. G. says:

'The reviewer assumes, if I do not misunderstand his aim, that Cowper believed the Calvinistic doctrine of "irrespective and irreversible decrees;" and then assigns such a belief as the cause of his unhappy derangement.

'If there be any passage in all Cowper's writings, that implies his belief of that doctrine, I am a stranger to it: but I do not apprehend that there can be; because, during ten years' familiar intercourse with him, at the period when he published most, I never heard any thing from him that indicated him to believe it.

'Throughout that time, with very short intervals, (except while diverted from the subject,) he was apprehensive of falling into everlasting misery: but that he did not ascribe this to any *irreversible decree*, appeared to me, *first*, because he considered it (however irrationally) as a judgment for not performing what he thought to be a command of God *; the performance of which, he always supposed, would have *exempted* him from the punishment; and *secondly*, because, although he imagined, that, in this state, his prayers could not be acceptable to God, yet he usually expressed some degree of hope, that the prayers of his friends might be granted in his behalf. Mature reflection on these facts leads me to conclude, that he could not, even in his own case, entertain the opinion which the reviewer (I know not on what ground) has ascribed to him.

'If, however, he had thought *himself* irreversibly deemed to misery, which in his worst paroxysms is possible (though I apprehend it to be without proof, even then), this would not have demonstrated his belief of the doctrine in question; because he always declared that he believed his own case to be *singular*. Nothing indeed could be more incompatible with CALVINISM, than his apprehensions for himself. It is the essential distinction of Calvinism, that *no regenerate person can finally perish*. Cowper never wavered in his persuasion, that he was (in the Calvinistic sense) *regenerate*; yet he was equally persuaded, that if he died in the state in which he was, he *should perish for ever*.

'I cannot allege my reasons for regarding his derangement as hereditary, without indelicacy to his surviving relatives, who are mostly of a very respectable description. That it was *constitutional*, I was thoroughly convinced, by anecdotes of his youth, which he related to me without discovering any suspicion of the cause. This is the best excuse that can be assigned, for squandering fourteen years of the prime of his life in mere amusement. Hence, when necessitated to engage in *business*, he found himself wholly unprepared for it, and in desperation resolved to destroy himself. It brought on total insanity; from which, however, under the best treatment, he recovered in a few months. To have renewed his efforts at business would doubtless have rendered, if it would not have proved him, insane. He never was a religious character, till his recovery; and during more than eight years from that time, he enjoyed uninterrupted tranquillity. He then proposed marriage to Mrs. Unwin. The day was fixed; but before it came, the fatal delusion I have described overwhelmed him, for the *first* time; probably in consequence of agitation produced in his mind, by the intended change of his condition. From this shock, he never recovered; although, after a few years, he became able to divert his thoughts from their dismal object by poetical composition.'

* I explained this, in a sermon which I preached at Olney, in 1800, on occasion of Mr. C.'s recent decease.'

It

It seems unnecessary to enter into any argument with Mr. G. as to the fact of Cowper's *fears* of everlasting condemnation. He admits it when he says, 'During ten years, with very short intervals, he was *apprehensive* of falling into everlasting misery.'— 'He imagined that in this state his prayers *could* not be acceptable to God.' Now, after this admission, it appears to be of little consequence whether Cowper thought that his unhappy state was originally determined by an *irreversible decree* of the Deity, or whether he regarded it as a *judgment* inflicted on him for the non-performance of a divine command. In each case he considered the state itself as unalterably fixed, because he did not believe that his own prayers *could* be accepted. As to the salvo of his friend's prayers, Mr. Greethead describes this as the casual expression of '*some degree of hope*:' but, setting that aside, the thing itself (namely, that a man *professing* to depend on the atonement of our Saviour, as Cowper frequently does, should disbelieve the efficacy of prayer, unless preferred by a friend, and that friend an earthly one!) is much too unreasonable to be made the foundation of any argument. If Cowper really entertained *such* despair of being able to work out his own salvation, and *such* hope of the efficacious assistance of friendly human intercession, all that we can say is, that in his reasoning moments and in his unhappy paroxysms there seems to have been little real distinction. The cruelty, indeed, of pursuing this amiable and ill-starred being into the recesses of the grave becomes every moment more apparent. That he feared irreparable misery without the shadow of a reason for such a fear appears most certain; and if this be not the consequence of holding the doctrine of irreversible decrees, it amounted (as we have said before) to the same thing in the practical results of the opinion. In a sane man we should call it the very impiety of despair: in an insane man what can we reason about it?

That he could *at the same time* believe himself to be in a *state of regeneration*, and of *liability* to eternal punishment by falling from that state, is most certain: but that he should believe himself to be *regenerate*, and yet *unacceptable*,—that he should feel himself in the progress towards salvation, and still be persuaded of finally perishing if he died in the state in which he yet entertained that feeling,—is a manifest contradiction in terms, and unworthy of any serious consideration.

We are sorry to say that a recent publication will soon recall us to this unpleasant topic.

On account of the absence of one of our coadjutors, who is at present on the Continent, we can take no other notice of the remarks of *Liberalis Cantab.* than by assuring the writer that we have spoken according to the best judgment that we could form, and to the best intelligence which we could procure.

It is not in our power just now to give a precise answer to the inquiry of W. D. of Thornhaugh-street.

* * The APPENDIX to Vol. LXXX. of the M. R. was published on the 1st of October, with the Review for September.

THE MONTHLY REVIEW,

For NOVEMBER, 1816.

ART. I. *Memoirs of the Marchioness de Larochejaquelein.* With a Map of the Theatre of War in La Vendée. Translated from the French. 8vo. pp. 541. 12s. Boards. Constable and Co. Edinburgh; and Longman and Co. London. 1816.

OF the mass of publications relative to the events of the present age, a very small proportion has been derived from the pen of an eye-witness, particularly in the case of operations of so dangerous and disastrous a nature as those which occupy the volume before us. We are thus induced to set a double value on the literary labours of this lady; who, for the sake of leaving with her children a permanent memorial of the heroism of her husband and his friends, did not scruple to go through the painful task of recording their extraordinary sufferings and their untimely end. Such, she says in her preface, was her motive; and we see no reason to doubt the truth of the assertion, since the book is in no respect decked out with pretensions to popularity in point of style, or with panegyrics on those who figure most prominently in its details. Every part of the narrative is plain, concise, and modest; not always clear, indeed, and not devoid of inaccuracies; yet containing sufficient evidence that the irregularities discoverable in it proceed not from any intention to misrepresent, but from the original want of notes, and from inexperience in literary composition.

The Marchioness was born in 1772, the only daughter of the Marquis de Donnessan; and, being the grand-daughter of the Duchess de Civrac, who was in the habit of frequenting court, she was from her infancy under the protection of the royal family of France. According to a plan very generally followed in that country, her matrimonial lot was fixed by her parents in her tender years, but it fortunately happened that her selected partner possessed other recommendations than those of rank or property; and M. de Lescure, her first husband, with less ease of manner than the French *noblesse* usually manifest, was a serious, religious, and moral young man. Their marriage took place in 1791, by which time the public affairs

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of France were fast assuming that aspect which led to the most violent disorder. Emigration had now become the order of the day with the *noblesse*, and it was only, at the particular recommendation of the Queen that M. de L. and his young wife remained at Paris. The horrors of the 10th of August (1792), the dangers to which the lately married couple were exposed, and the mode of their escape to their patrimonial property in Poitou, are briefly related in the second chapter of the work. On reaching their country-residence, they found that the inhabitants of most of the towns were converts to the cause of the Revolution, while a very different feeling prevailed in the sequestered districts that have since been so well known by the name of La Vendée.

‘ This country differs by its aspect, and still more by the manners of the inhabitants, from most of the other provinces of France. It is formed in general of small hills, unconnected with any chain of mountains. The valleys are neither deep nor wide; inconsiderable streams run through them in various directions, towards the Loire, or the sea; others uniting form small rivers. Granitic rocks appear every where. It may easily be conceived that a country without either chains of mountains, rivers, extensive valleys, or even a general slope, forms a sort of labyrinth. You scarcely find any hill sufficiently elevated above the others to serve for a point of observation, or to command the country. Approaching Nantes along the Sèvre, the country assumes an aspect of more grandeur. The hills are more elevated and steeper. The river is rapid, and flows between high banks, and the general appearance becomes wild instead of rural. The eastern part of the Bocage is comparatively level and open. The whole country, as may be supposed from the name, is well wooded, although without extensive forests. Each field or meadow, generally small, is fenced with a quickset-hedge, and trees very close together, — not high nor spreading, the branches being lopped off every five years, twelve or fifteen feet above ground. The soil is not fertile in grain, and being often left untilled, becomes covered with broom and furze. There is much grass-land and pasture, and the landscape is in general very green, and varied with many dwellings and farm-houses, the flat tile-roofs of which, together with the steeples of churches, peep here and there through the trees: the view, in general bounded, extends occasionally to a few leagues.

‘ Besides two main roads running through the country, one from Nantes to Rochelle, the other to Tours and Bourdeaux by Poitou, it is intersected by cross roads in all directions, narrow and deep, between hedges and trees arching over; miry in winter, and rough in summer; and, when they happen to follow the declivity of a hill, often serving, at the same time, for the bed of a rivulet. In some instances, these cross roads ascend the heights by irregular steps over rocks. At the end of each field, almost, you meet with a short turn or a branching off, which leaves the traveller

traveller in uncertainty what course to follow, finger-posts being unknown. The inhabitants themselves are frequently at a loss when they happen to go two or three leagues from home. There are no great towns in the Bocage; small ones, of two or three thousand souls, are dispersed over its surface. The villages are not numerous, and distant from each other. The ground is divided into small farms, each inhabited by a family and some servants.

'It is seldom that a farm yields to the proprietor more than 600 francs (25l.) a-year; the revenue is principally from grazing.—At all times the gentlemen of Poitou have been celebrated sportsmen. This exercise, and the kind of life they led, accustomed them to fatigue, and to the privation of those conveniences to which the rich attach generally such importance. The women travelled on horseback, and in litters or carriages drawn by oxen. The mutual relation that subsisted between the seigneur and his tenants was rather peculiar. The proprietors did not lease out their land, but divided the produce with the farmer. A certain community of interest and personal acquaintance was the consequence of this system, often productive of mutual esteem and attachment. The farms being small, a seigneur had twenty or thirty such tenants, in the midst of whom he lived paternally, conversing with them about their affairs, the care of their cattle, and taking an interest in their good or ill fortune, in which he was himself concerned. He went to the weddings of their children, and drank with the guests. On Sunday, the tenants danced in the court of the chateau, and the ladies often joined. When there was to be a hunt of the wolf, the boar, or stag, the information was communicated by the curate to the parishioners in church after the service. Each took his gun, and went joyfully to the place assigned. The hunters posted the shooters, who conformed strictly to the orders given them, and this was very like their tactics during the civil war. With these habits, the inhabitants of the Bocage were an excellent people, mild, pious, hospitable, charitable, full of courage and vivacity; of pure manners, and honest principles. Crimes were never heard of, and law-suits were rare. They were devoted to their landlords, and their manner, although free, was respectful; naturally suspicious, their confidence, when once bestowed, was unbounded.'

The great cause of the disgust, which these homely rustics felt for the Revolution, arose from the interference of the Convention with regard to their Priests, or *Curés*. It was a part of the plan formed by the new modellers of the nation, to remove from office all the priests who would not take the Constitutional oath; and, as a number of the simple and retired clergy of La Vendée considered this oath to be at variance with their conscience, the people were observed to flock to them in the woods, and to go through the forms of worship cheerfully with their old pastors in the open air, while the

newly appointed clergy were left in the churches without a single hearer. The country was thus in a state of great discontent, when the commencement of the war of 1793 led to a general call on the population of France to come forwards and draw lots for serving in the republican army. The Vendéens had never been deficient in intrepidity, but they were determined on no account to join themselves to those who were the avowed enemies of the crown and the altar; and accordingly the levy ordered in February 1793 became a signal for open resistance on the part of the peasantry. In this first movement, M. de Lescure took no part: but, having incurred suspicion, he and his family were exposed to considerable danger, being arrested by the neighbouring magistrates, and confined until delivered by Henri de Larochejaquelein, their relation, who already began to bear a command among the insurgents. Many other Vendéen commanders were chosen, all of whom were more or less known to the fair author of these memoirs, and are here introduced in detail. Indeed, whoever, from previous service in the regulars, had acquired military habits, — whoever, without such service, possessed the confidence of the peasantry, — or any private man who discovered ingenuity enough to lead a detachment; found employment in this busy and hazardous warfare. Considerable disorder arose at times from so miscellaneous a collection of chiefs, and the absence of a directing head was essentially prejudicial to the cause: but the struggle was so different from most military contests, and depended so much on local circumstances and individual exertion, that the injury done to the republicans was still very great. The Vendéen chiefs were all noted for energetic qualities of some kind; no promotion took place here from favour; all proceeded from the voice of the people, or from the acknowledged fitness of the individual.

‘ There existed a mutual and perfect confidence among them; they had the same object in view, the same devotedness; each individual performed the utmost in his power without any need of his duty being strictly prescribed to him. Vanity and ambition were scarcely distinguishable; and as there were engagements with the enemy almost every day, very little time remained for disputes and the display of pretensions. If ambitious hopes were formed, they were so remote that it would have been ridiculous to speak of them. The differences of personal rank and birth were forgotten. A brave peasant, the tradesman of a small town, were brothers in arms to a gentleman. They encountered the same dangers, led the same life, were almost dressed in the same manner, and conversed on the same topics common to all; — this equality was real, and perfectly free from affectation.

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‘ There were originally different shades of opinion among the officers respecting the Revolution ; and they had not all begun at the same period to detest it ; but being now all agreed on the same point, and having all shewn the same zeal, the mere date of their opinions could not be an object of invidious distinction among them.

‘ Such was, with a few exceptions, the character of the chiefs and officers in the beginning of the war. The formation and discipline of the army presented a state of things no less peculiar. The army was never assembled for more than three or four days together. Whether the battle was gained or lost, the object effected or not, nothing could prevent the peasants returning to their homes ; and the chiefs were left with some hundreds of deserters, or strangers without a home to go to : but, whenever the army was wanted for some new enterprise, it was as readily formed again as it had been dissolved. The chiefs sent to all the parishes, and the tocsin being sounded, and the peasants assembled, a requisition in the following terms was read to them :

‘ “ In the holy name of God, and by the King, this parish is invited to send as many men as possible to such a place, on such a day and hour, and to bring provisions with them.” The chief, in whose command the parish lay, signed the requisition. It was obeyed with alacrity by the peasants, who even struggled for the privilege of going. Each man brought bread with him, and the generals provided a certain quantity of provisions besides. The grain and oxen necessary for the support of the army were obtained from the gentlemen’s estates, or proprietors of land in general, emigrants, and others ; but there was seldom occasion to have recourse to a requisition, for there was extreme willingness to furnish what was necessary. The rich people gave with the utmost liberality, and the parishes assessed themselves to send carts with bread to the army as it passed ; and the women on their knees, telling their beads, watched upon the roads to offer provisions to the soldiers. Those who were able gave to the full extent of their means, and there was no instance of want of provisions.’—

‘ When the army was assembled, it was divided into different columns, for the attack of certain points previously determined upon by the generals. They said, “ M—— goes such a way, who follows him ? ” Those soldiers who knew the officer, joined immediately, and when the requisite number was made up, no more men were received. The chiefs, when they arrived at the point of attack, formed the different companies in the same manner. The soldiers were not told, “ To the right,” “ To the left,” but, “ Go towards that house, — towards that great tree, — then to the attack ! ” The peasants scarcely ever omitted saying their prayers before engaging, and almost all of them made the sign of the cross, each time they fired.’—

‘ Such was the Vendéen army, the first months of the war, and when it is considered how little common prudence, order, or calculation, contributed to its successes, they will appear still more surprising. Very different ideas had been formed of this insur-

rection. It was naturally supposed to have been brought about by intrigue and deep manœuvring, and that the chiefs were skilful politicians, of whom the peasants were the blind instruments, and that the whole had been the result of a great plan previously concerted. Nothing could be more remote from the truth. The war was rather defensive than offensive, wholly without a plan, and had scarcely any object but the immediate security of the country. After continued successes, the hope of powerfully contributing to a counter-revolution, assuredly presented itself to all the Vendéens, but without influencing their conduct. During these short moments, in which they could indulge such hopes, the pretensions of the insurgents did not cease to be moderate.

This refractory district may be compared in extent to a square of sixty miles on every side, and was situated to the south of the Loire. Lower Brittany, lying to the north of that river, was attached in general to the royalist cause, and sent forth, at a time somewhat subsequent to the period described by the Marchioness, numerous bands of insurgents under the name of *Chouans*: but the present memoirs are confined to the operations of the Vendéens. Their great campaign (in 1793) may be divided into two periods; the first when their operations were restricted to the immediate frontiers of the revolted territory, and were attended with signal success; the second, when they left their homes, and experienced all the disasters that might have been expected in the midst of a population that was strange to them, and surrounded by hosts of republicans embodied from distant departments.

One of the first engagements of consequence took place at the town of Thouars, situated on the eastern frontier of the disaffected territory. A body of republicans commanded by General Quétineau entered the place on the 3d of May 1793, but received notice on the next day that they were on the eve of being attacked by the insurgents. The assault occurred on the fifth; and, after much disorderly fighting and a great display of gallantry by the commanders and officers on both sides, the town was taken, and Quétineau made prisoner. This first advantage was followed by farther attacks, from the insurgents, on the towns along the eastern and southern frontier of their territory; the result of which was of a mixed nature, but on the whole favourable to the Vendéens. A successful action at Fontenay procured for them an ample supply of arms and ammunition, and encouraged them to assume the offensive to the northward, in the direction of Saumur: an operation which, like the others, exhibited a great display of personal courage on the part of the chiefs, with a striking want of combination on that of their followers. Having, however,

however, to contend only with volunteers or irregular troops, they carried their point, and entered Saumur, a town of greater importance than any which they had yet occupied. Encouraged by this acquisition, the insurgents crossed the Loire and proceeded along the northern bank to Angers, which they seized without opposition. They now undertook a more hazardous enterprize; an attack on Nantes, which is nearly fifty miles farther down the Loire, but which it was of great moment to possess, since it had proved one of the principal points of annoyance to the western Vendéens under Charrette: but they failed in this attempt, partly from the number of their opponents, and more from the falling off of their own followers, who, impatient of protracted operations, had returned in crowds to their homes. After having lost a part of their force, and, among others, their General, Cathélineau, they withdrew from the walls of Nantes, repassed the Loire, and gave up for the present all efforts on the side of Brittany. Saumur was soon afterward evacuated, and the insurgents obliged to concentrate themselves to withstand the increasing force of their republican assailants.

The latter, under General Westermann, now began to penetrate into the disaffected territory, and occupied the town of Châtillon, about twenty miles within its frontier; destroying the *châteaux* of the Vendéen leaders, taking without scruple whatever they wanted from the peasantry, and even in some cases burning the villages. It now became a matter of difficulty for the Vendéen officers to prevail on their followers to give quarter, and M. de Lescure often exposed himself to great danger by rushing forwards to protect a surrendering enemy, or by issuing peremptory orders to men who were little accustomed to military subordination.

‘ The head-quarters were again at Châtillon. Dining there, I was witness of a scene shewing the character of the Vendéen soldiers. An officer had sent to prison two millers of the parish of Treize-Vents, for some trifling fault; they were good soldiers, and loved by their comrades. The peasants began to murmur, saying they were treated too harshly; forty men of the parish went to the prison, declaring they were as guilty as the prisoners, and they must be confined too. Beauvolliers came to tell me of this, and advised I should ask their pardon from M. de Lescure, that he might not appear to yield to a clamour. I repaired to the spot, told the peasants that I should speak in favour of their comrades, because the chateau of La Boulaye was in the parish of Treize-Vents. M. de Lescure appeared afterwards to grant my request. I went myself to the prison, followed by all the peasants, and had the prisoners set at liberty. “ We are very thankful to you, my lady,” the people of Treize-Vents said, “ but it was wrong, not-

withstanding, to have put these men in prison." Such were our soldiers, perfectly obedient in battle; out of it, considering themselves as free.'

On the decease of Cathélineau, the command was conferred on M. d'Elbée; who, though a very brave man, was not precisely the fittest person for this station. The operations had now continued with various success during four months, without concert or even communication with any foreign power. The British government knew of the insurrection only by vague reports, and at first supposed it to be combined with other commotions of a very different character, such as the movements in Lower Normandy in defence of the Girondists who had been proscribed by Robespierre: but the magnitude of the diversion which the Vendéens were now making induced our ministers to endeavour to obtain correct information about their affairs, with the intention of sending them supplies of arms and money.

' M. le Chevalier de Tinténac arrived from England, sent by the government of that country to the insurgent chiefs. He had during the night landed alone from a fishing-boat, on the coast of St. Malo. He was unacquainted with the roads, and had not even taken the precaution of having false passports. At three in the morning he passed through the town of Château Neuf.

' They called to him, "Who goes there?" he answered, "A citizen," and walked on. When the day broke, not knowing how to proceed, he accosted a peasant. After some conversation, he determined to confide in him, and risk his life, by telling him he was an emigrant, and was seeking his way into La Vendée. The peasant led him to his cottage, and kept him two days, while the municipality was consulted. The people in this part of Brittany were so inimical to the Revolution, that in most of the parishes there was hardly one individual favourable to it. The municipality made M. de Tinténac put on a disguise, and gave him a guide. He procured others successively in every parish, and was brought in safety to the banks of the Loire, where, after having travelled fifty leagues on foot in five nights, he had the good fortune to get faithful watermen, who carried him across the river, through the armed vessels of the republicans. He was landed near where the division of M. de Lyrot was encamped, and from thence an officer conducted him to Boulaye, where there were staff-officers.

' The insurgents never till that time had any communication with England. While at Noirmoutier, M. de Charrette had sent one of the MM. la Roberie, but he was lost in the passage; and another agent, M. de la Godellière, arrived safe in England, but having lost his papers, could not be accredited there, and was lost himself afterwards on his return. M. de Tinténac belonged to one of the first families of Brittany. He was thirty years of age, a small man, but appeared quick and intelligent. He carried his dispatches as wadding, in two pistols.

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‘ He found at Boulaye my father, M. de Lescure, M. de La-rochejaquelein, the Bishop of Agra, and the Chevalier Desessarts, who received him at first with some distrust, and expressed surprise that such a commission had not been given to a Vendéen emigrant.

‘ M. de Tinténiaç said, that some of them had refused; and then, with a frankness that did him great credit, he added, “ I will own to you, gentlemen, that, independent of my attachment to your cause, I wished to expiate the errors of my early youth, which have been very great, by an action dangerous as meritorious.”

‘ His dispatches were from Mr. Dundas, and from the Governor of Jersey. They contained praises of the constancy and bravery of the insurgents, and expressed an earnest desire to afford them every assistance. Nine questions were proposed, to which precise answers were requested.—

‘ They desired to know what the real object of our revolt was, and the nature of our opinions? What occasioned the rising of the country? Why we did not endeavour to establish a correspondence with England? What connection we had with the other provinces, or with the continental powers? Of what extent was the insurgent country? The number of soldiers? What our resources were? What ammunition of all kinds we had? How did we procure them? And lastly, What kind of assistance did we require? And what place appeared to us the proper one for a landing?

‘ The dispatches were written with a tone of sincerity, and apprehension that we might reject the offers of England. They seemed also uncertain what our views were; whether we were inclined to support the ancient constitution, the opinions of the constituent assembly, or the Girondin faction.

‘ Mutual confidence was soon established between our generals and M. de Tinténiaç. He saw us as we were, and dispelled all our doubts respecting himself, by laying aside the diplomatic reserve of an English envoy, and opening his heart to us. He told us, that in England nothing was known with precision respecting La Vendée. It was supposed that about 40,000 revolted troops of the line had begun the insurrection, and that it was, as in Normandy, excited by the republican party of Gironde.—

‘ A speedy answer was required, as M. de Tinténiaç was to pass only four days in La Vendée, his guide having been appointed to meet him on a certain day, on the other side of the Loire. I could then write a small and legible hand. I was employed, as their secretary, to write the dispatches that were to travel in M. de Tinténiaç’s pistols. I do not believe there is now alive any one of the persons who signed them, and I alone, perhaps, can give the particulars of this correspondence.

‘ They answered the English minister with sufficient openness, and explained the political views of the Vendéens. That the impossibility of communication had been the sole cause of their not having solicited succours, which were extremely wanted. Care was taken, however, to exaggerate a little our strength, lest the English

English should be led to fear that their exertions might be misplaced. They advised a landing at Sables, or at Paimbœuf, promising to join them with 50,000 men, at a place and day fixed. We informed them that M. de Charrette had lost l'île de Noirmoutier, but that he could easily possess the port of St. Gilles. As to Rochefort, Rochelle, and l'Orient, which the English had mentioned in their letter, we stated how difficult it would be for us to take possession of these ports.'—

‘It was particularly and urgently desired, that the forces landed should be commanded by a Bourbon Prince, and in a great part composed of emigrants, and that, in that case, they might rely on complete success. We said that 20,000 young men should join the troops, and accompany them out of their own country; and that, on crossing the Loire, we knew all Brittany would rise, being assured of the sentiments of this province, although not in direct correspondence.’

M. de Tinténac travelled northward with this important dispatch, passed in disguise through Anjou and Brittany, landed at Jersey, and proceeded to London; where, however, the Marchioness believes, he made only a verbal report, the letter of which he was the bearer having been lost at sea. The success of his first journey induced him to repeat the perilous adventure, and to maintain an intercourse first between the Vendéens and afterward between the Bretons and our government. He had many surprising escapes, but shared at last the fate of the majority of those intrepid men, being killed when fighting at the head of his troops.

During August and September 1793, repeated engagements occurred between the insurgents and the republicans, with various success. The latter had now become numerous from voluntary levies, and formidable from having among them a large body of regular troops; who, having been in garrison at Mentz, Valenciennes, and Condé, had capitulated on condition of not serving against the allied powers: but the Convention, insisting that this stipulation did not prevent them from serving against French royalists, sent them in the direction of Nantes, and appointed General Kleber to command them. These men, already accustomed to stand fire, were not to be intimidated into a flight by an unexpected volley or by a sudden onset of the peasantry; and, though frequently obliged to retreat, the coolness of the officers commanding in their rear, and the judicious use of a few field-pieces, generally preserved them from the disorder of a rout. In October, the Vendéens were pressed by a large body of these troops on their western frontier, and attacked by a host of republican levies on the east. In one of the desperate conflicts that ensued, M. de Lescure received a mortal wound
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in the head; and the wounds of two other leaders, d'Elbée and Bonchamp, together with a defeat at Chollet in the very centre of the Vendéen territory, made the great body of their army (exclusive of the division of Charrette) take the unfortunate determination of crossing the Loire and penetrating to the northward.

'The heights of St. Florent form a kind of semicircular boundary to a vast level strand reaching to the Loire, which is very wide at this place. Eighty thousand people were crowded together in this valley; soldiers, women, children, the aged, and the wounded, flying from immediate destruction. Behind them, they perceived the smoke rising from the villages the republicans were burning. Nothing was heard but loud sobs, groans, and cries. In this confused crowd, every one sought his relations, his friends, and his protectors. They knew not what fate they should meet on the other shore, yet hastened to it, as if beyond the stream they were to find an end to all their misfortunes. Twenty bad boats carried successively the fugitives, who crowded in them; others tried to cross on horses; all spread out their arms towards the other side, supplicating to be taken there. At a distance on the opposite shore, another multitude was seen and heard fainter. In the middle was a small island covered with people. Many of us compared this disorder, this despair, this terrible uncertainty of the future, this immense spectacle, this bewildered crowd, this valley, this stream which must be crossed, to the ideas of the last judgment.'—

'When we were embarked, my father told the boatman who conducted us to pass the little island, and go to Varades at once without stopping, to save M. de Lescure the pain of being landed and put in the boat again. The man refused absolutely; neither entreaties nor threats could induce him. My father was angry, and drew his sabre. "Alas! Sir," said the boatman to him, "I am a poor priest; out of charity I came to ferry the Vendéens over. I have now been working eight hours in this boat; I am overpowered with fatigue, and I am not skilful in this business; I should run a risk of drowning you if I crossed the great arm of the river." We were then obliged to land on the island, in the middle of the confusion. We found a boat there which took us to the other side, where there were a number of Vendéens seated on the grass all waiting for their friends.'—

'Nobody knew what was become of M. d'Elbée; the army was without a commander-in-chief. M. de Lescure sent for the principal officers of the different divisions, and told them they must elect one. They answered, that it was evidently he who was general, and that he must command when he recovered. "Gentlemen," said he, "I am mortally wounded; but even if I could live, which I do not believe possible, I should be long unable to command. It is necessary that the army should have immediately an active chief, loved by every body, known by the peasants, and having the confidence of all; it is the only means of saving us. M. de

Larochefoucauld.

Larochejaquelein is the only one who has made himself known to the soldiers of all the divisions. M. de Donnissan, my father-in-law, is not of this country; they would not follow him so willingly, and he himself would not wish it. The choice that I propose will reanimate the courage of the Vendéens: I advise you, and I beg you to name M. de Larochejaquelein. As to me, if I live, you know I shall not quarrel with Henri, I shall be his aid-de-camp."

'These gentlemen retired, and formed a council of war, in which M. de Larochejaquelein was elected. They wanted to name a second in command: M. de Larochejaquelein answered, that he was that second, as he should follow the advice of M. Donnissan, and look upon him as his superior officer.

'M. de Larochejaquelein, far from desiring this honour, feared it very much, and was sincerely sorry for it. He had represented, that at one-and-twenty he had neither age nor experience enough to give him influence; his youth was in reality his only fault. In battle, his valour animated and subjugated the whole army, and they obeyed him blindly; but he neglected the council, and did not attach importance to his own opinion; he told it, without supporting it, and, from too much modesty, let the army be governed by others. When he did not agree with them, he said to the officers who were his friends, "This is all nonsense; when in the battle, it will be our turn to lead, and theirs to follow." Notwithstanding all this, he was the best general they could choose. The peasants followed him with alacrity, from the natural ascendancy of his character; his courage and activity were truly inspiring, and he had the art of commanding. My father did not desire to have the difficult employment of conducting a crowd of peasants who did not know him, and who, besides, preferred being led on by young men.

'M. de Larochejaquelein was then proclaimed General, with the acclamations of all the Vendéens.'

From this time forwards, the march of the Vendéen army exhibited a very distressing scene, the soldiers suffering greatly from want of provisions, and their progress being much retarded by the necessity of dragging along their sick and wounded. The Jacobins had now acquired the ascendancy at Paris, and were beginning to signalize their sway by the most revolting atrocities, laying waste the insurgent territory, and putting to death the women and children, sometimes on the scaffold, sometimes by a still more summary process.

Two objects were now in the contemplation of the Vendéen chiefs; the first to move westward, into the disaffected part of Brittany; the second, to proceed northward to Lower Normandy, in the hope of meeting support from the inhabitants, and of seizing a sea-port to communicate with England. Unluckily, the latter plan was preferred, and a most toilsome march of nearly two hundred miles was performed in the direction of Château-Gontier, Laval, Fougères, and Avranches, to Granville. They bore down all the op-
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position which they experienced in their progress to the last-mentioned place; which, from its vicinity to Jersey, was a point of great importance: but the interval had enabled the republicans to throw a considerable force into it, and the Vendéens, who were entirely out of their sphere when attacking a walled town, were obliged to retreat. The first idea of the chiefs after this failure was to march eastward into Normandy, but the peasants could not be persuaded to take any other road than that which would lead them to their homes. It therefore became necessary to make their way back along the extensive tract which they had already traversed. This march was accomplished under all the disadvantages of scanty provision, the incumbrance of sick and wounded, and reiterated attacks from the republicans; and, when at last the army (or rather the surviving part of it) arrived before Angers, where they hoped to accomplish the passage of the Loire, they had the mortification of finding that the republicans had occupied the town in force, and strongly barricaded the different avenues to it. The fair author's account of the action which ensued is full of life and interest, and especially from her own exposure in the contest: but it is too long to allow of our quoting it.

‘ After an attack of 30 hours, we were obliged to raise the siege: we had now lost every hope of safety; the army gave itself up to the most complete despair; they no longer saw any means of repassing the Loire. All the schemes which had been formed depended on the taking of Angers. The officers were discontented with the soldiers, who had not shewn the ardour which was expected from them. Sickiness increased every day. On all sides the cries were heard of the wounded wretches whom we were forced to abandon. Famine and bad weather added to all this misery. The chiefs were harassed in mind and body; they knew not what determination to take.’

Yet the dissolution of this unfortunate army did not happen so soon as it might have been expected. The republicans were not in a condition to pursue, and the Vendéens adhered to each other with all the perseverance of despair. They retreated in a north-east direction, first to La Flèche and afterward to Mans, a distance of fifty miles: but, meeting with a fresh repulse at the latter, they marched or rather fled westward to Laval, from which they made a final attempt to reach the banks of the Loire. On the 16th of December they arrived at Ancenis, a small town on that river: but the boats had been removed by the republicans, and the patrols of the latter were so formidable that only a few of the chiefs succeeded in passing. The remainder marched in the direction

tion of Savenay, and the battle which followed put an end to the existence of this army of the Vendéens; the survivors taking refuge among the peasantry of Brittany, who in general acted a loyal and affectionate part towards them. The Marchioness and her mother remained many months in concealment among the cottagers, obliged frequently to change their humble quarters, and to pass days and even nights without shelter. To complete the distress of the Marchioness, she was considerably advanced in pregnancy, and at one time (April 1794) her alarms were such as to make her look for relief only in another life; yet it is a remarkable fact that her recovery after child-birth was much quicker than in her days of affluence, owing to her having led for several months the active life of a country-woman.

The spring and summer of 1794 were disgraced by all the horrors of Jacobin tyranny; the insurgents being murdered at their homes, executed on the scaffold, or drowned by the infamous Carrier in the Loire. The Marchioness continued in concealment, but heard from time to time of the melancholy fate of her relations and friends; her father had fallen soon after the defeat at Savenay; d'Elbée had been taken and shot; and the brave Henri de Larochejaquelein, after having gained fresh successes, fell in action March 4. 1794, at the early age of twenty-one. Charrette survived some time longer, and receives from her an ample tribute of commendation on the ground of boldness, fertility in resources, and constancy under misfortune. The present work, however, does not treat of his operations, which were conducted on the western frontier of La Vendée, in the direction of the coast. The only Vendéen chief whose character is doubtful, and accompanied with unpleasant impressions, is Stofflet. Naturally harsh, he allowed himself to be guided by bad advisers; and he was considered as the author of the sentence and consequent execution of M. de Marigny, a brave, though somewhat untractable associate in the cause.

After the death of Robespierre in July 1794, the benevolent part of the republicans succeeded in prevailing on the government to adopt a conciliating course towards the Vendéens: in a few months, a decree of amnesty was passed; and the Marchioness with her mother ventured to quit their retreat. They now found that the current appellation of the Vendéens among the republicans was changed from *brigands* to the gentler name of *frères égarés*, and they had the satisfaction of finding several distinguished characters still alive whom they had long given up for lost.

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The supplementary part of the volume relates briefly the domestic events in the life of the Marchioness, subsequently to the termination of the Vendéen war. After having been eight years a widow, she married Louis de Larochejaquelein, the brother of the gallant Henri, and passed her time in retirement, her husband declining every offer of military promotion under Bonaparte. Each successive contest undertaken by Napoleon flattered them with the hope of the occurrence of circumstances which might bring back the hereditary sovereign; and the disasters in Russia had the effect of rendering her husband extremely desirous of bearing a part in the expected restoration. It was still, however, necessary to delay any open attempt; for Bonaparte's government knew too well the temper of the Vendéens to extend to them the dreadful conscriptions of the last year of his reign: but, on the 12th of March 1814, the Marquis de Larochejaquelein took a conspicuous share in the insurrectionary movement at Bourdeaux, and was on the eve of putting himself at the head of a general levy in La Vendée, when the counter-revolution at Paris rendered the measure unnecessary. Here ends the supplement to the memoirs: but it remains for us to make the painful addition that the leader of the name of Larochejaquelein, who was killed in action in La Vendée in June 1815, was the husband of the Marchioness. The person of the same name who has since received flattering distinctions at the hand of Louis XVIII., and has succeeded to the family-influence among the Vendéens, is his brother.

We have thus laid before our readers the leading outlines of these memoirs: but we have found it necessary to pass over many interesting scenes, since every chapter, or rather every page, contains something that deserves to be recorded. The narrative bears frequently the marks of a female pen, containing occasionally details of a minute and domestic cast, without a sufficiently methodical arrangement respecting events of higher importance; and it does not therefore form, nor is it announced as forming, a complete account of the Vendéen war: but, as a collection of materials, and as an authentic and impartial summary of the principal events, it is a work of great value. The writer is always direct and candid; desirous of observing perfect accuracy, and almost uniformly succeeding in this attempt, except in the comparatively few cases in which she speaks from the report of others. Our chief regret is that her composition was not more carefully revised before it was committed to the press; not that we desire elaborate preambles, or attempts at general reasoning, but a correction of unintentional mistakes; an insertion of dates wherever they could

could be ascertained from collateral documents; and, finally, that correctness which would have stamped the whole with a character of authenticity. Unluckily, the English translation does not in the slightest degree make up for these defects; being executed in a very careless, and, we might almost say, in a very ignorant manner, as well as being marked by Scoticisms. What are we to think of an English writer who says of one person (p. 154.) that 'he was very *considerable* by his zeal and virtue;' of another (p. 185.) that 'fear made him lose his head,' (Fr. *perdre la tête*); and of a third (p. 264.) that a ball from the enemy laid him 'lifeless,' when in fact the succeeding pages are filled with his subsequent exhortations and addresses to the soldiers? Typographical errors are likewise too frequent. We have, for instance, in p. 10. 1793 for 1792; in p. 498. 1815 for 1812. — The fair author, now a widow for the second time, is probably not in a state of mind to prepare a new edition of her book: but she may at some period find a melancholy pleasure in giving it to the world in a finished shape; and then, we trust, a translator of real knowledge and accuracy will render it ample justice in an English version.

ART. II. *Spurinna*, or the Comforts of Old Age. With Notes and Biographical Illustrations. By Sir Thomas Bernard, Baronet. 8vo. pp. 248. 9s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1816.

IT is recorded in one of Pliny's letters that his friend *Spurinna* was accustomed to pass his days with an undeviating regularity which is well adapted to old age. The first part of his morning was devoted to study; at eight o'clock, he dressed, and walked three miles for contemplation and exercise: a light meal, a short rest, some conversation, and some reading, occupied his time until noon: he then took the air in a chariot with his lady, or a friend, and again used walking exercise: between two and three he went to the bath, played awhile at tennis, and then reposed while some favourite author was read to him: at six o'clock, he sat down to an elegant repast, which society and mirth, and the recital of a dramatic entertainment, extended to a late hour. Pliny also announces, as a sort of corollary, that *Spurinna* in his seventy-seventh year had the full use of his ears, eyes, and legs. Probably, this Italian old gentleman was naturally vigorous and cheerful, and Pliny has ascribed to his habits the consequences which resulted rather from his temper and constitution. We see nothing particularly meritorious or skillful in this diurnal distribution of employments; nor can we perceive

perceive why Sir Thomas Bernard should hold up *Spurinna* as a pattern for modern idlers, and as a proper title for a book on employing well the hours of old age.

The work before us, however, has little to do with this antient Italian, who is only incidentally introduced in the terms which we have above stated; it is one long dialogue, of which the scene is laid in modern times, under the pacific administration of Sir Robert Walpole; and the interlocutors, who converse together on the circumstances of old age, are the venerable Bishop Hough, of Worcester, Bishop Gibson, of London, and Mr. (afterward Lord) Lyttelton, who wrote on the conversion of Saint Paul. The lately published life and letters of Bishop Hough (see our Review, Vol. lxi. N. S. p. 133.) have afforded materials of which Sir Thomas Bernard has availed himself, in endeavouring 'to mark his peculiar manners and mode of expression;' and by introducing, in that prelate's part of the dialogue, various incidents and anecdotes that belong to his actual history. The Bishops, though too much alike, are more dramatically *hit off* than the young nobleman; the garrulity of aged leisure, and the kindly tone of the holy order, being more prominent than the vivacity and spirit of a parliamentary oppositionist. Rather too much of method pervades the conversation; which is divided into heads, like a sermon, and treats first of the *Inconveniencies of Age*, such as unfitness for public life, infirmity of body, loss of animal enjoyments, and anxiety about death. These evils are successively extenuated; and the *Comforts of Old Age* are then enumerated, such as melioration of temper, social intercourse, benevolent occupation, amusing books, and the dawning view of a future state. We give as a sample the remarks on the diminution of animal enjoyments!

'Upon this I have to observe, that different pleasures are adapted to different periods of life; so that as one desire diminishes, another increases. We do not therefore lose, but only vary the objects of attachment; exchanging the turbulent and tyrannic passions of youth, for the milder and more sedate affections of age. If increase of years be a check to intemperance, it is also a preservative against its unhappy effects. It does not exclude conviviality; but leaves us the delight of social intercourse, while it improves the pleasures of conversation, and diminishes the cravings of appetite. Indeed there is hardly any thing so dangerous, as an inordinate love of pleasure; nor any crime, public or private, which men abandoned to the lawless and unbridled indulgence of appetite, will not commit. — When those, who place their enjoyments merely in the gratification of the senses, describe one of their dinner parties, their account of it refers to the turtle, venison, and burgundy, which made the *entirety* of the entertain-

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ment: but if three or four intellectual persons by chance mix with the society, the narrative is changed; and the *dullest eater and drinker* of them all will cry out, — "What an agreeable party! what wit, what pleasantry, what information!" — Who that has noticed this, will question the superiority of intellectual over sensual pleasure, or pity us *old men*, who can enjoy all this, the most desirable part of a social entertainment, better than at five-and-twenty?

'*Bishop Gibson.* — Do you then mean to infer, brother, that the whole of our course through life is a progress from sensual to intellectual enjoyment?

'*Bishop Hough.* — I do. — The new born infant is a mere *sensualist*. Softness to the touch, sweetness to the taste, fragrance to the smell, brilliancy to the eye, and pleasing sounds to delight the ear, constitute the sum and substance of his existence. He is composed entirely of sensual appetites; and when they are satiated, sinks into repose. But every ray of intellectual light that is admitted into the mind, by instruction, experience, example, and by the kindness of friends, tends to convert the *animal* into a *rational* being; supplying mental pleasures in the place of those which are merely corporeal, and the direction of reason for that of instinct. — As the heir of immortality advances in the period of existence, a series of mixt enjoyment follows in succession, until what is called the entrance of life; when the sexual attraction, the desire of pre-eminence, and the dreams of ambition, supply new objects; which, though not purely intellectual, are not so grossly sensual as those which occupy the very vestibule of existence. As life passes on, there is an increasing prevalence of intellect; and the soul is gradually prepared for the glory to which it is destined. To complain, therefore, of the diminution of sensual gratifications as our intellectual enjoyments increase, seems to me neither just nor reasonable.

'*Mr. Lyttelton.* — In your account of the progress of intellect, your Lordship has only slightly alluded to the *sexual* passion; but does it not afford an apt exemplification of the progress of the mind, and of its power to convert an appetite of a sensual nature into an intellectual pleasure?

'*Bishop Hough.* — Where the powers of the mind and the intellectual habits have been duly cultivated, connubial love will gradually refine and become intellectual; and be more and more assimilated to that spiritual enjoyment, which will form a portion of the felicity of the pious in a future state. It is thus that mutual confidence and esteem, — complacency, forbearance, intellectual improvement, and benevolent occupation, become increasing sources of reciprocal tenderness, and of pure and undivided affection; so as to produce that vital union of soul, of which the sensualist can have no more conception, than of the heaven for which it is a preparation.'

The two Prelates are usually of the same mind, and consider earth and heaven through the same eye-glasses: but, indeed,

indeed, Bishop Gibson bears a comparatively small share in the conversation; while the third personage also says but little, and does not always say that little well. We will quote an exception to this perfect *conformity* of the R. R. speakers:

Bishop Gibson. — Your seclusion from public life, my excellent friend, has made you less acquainted with this new sect of Methodists, and the intemperance and hostility of their conduct. They now carry their presumption so far, as to pretend to ordain for the ministry: they have the audacity to accuse our clergy of neglect of duty, not merely in lesser points, but in the primary and essential one, of preaching the Gospel. They profess to agree with us in doctrine, while they separate from us in communion and unite against us in practice: and pretending to extraordinary sanctity, they seek for excess of power, and by extending their influence over the kingdom threaten the subversion of the Establishment. Is not this, Bishop of Worcester, a just and sufficient cause for anxiety?

Bishop Hough. — I think not. If it be of man, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, we cannot overthrow it, nor need we fear evil from it. May they not, in the hands of Providence, be the means of bringing us to a more acute sense of our duty, and to a more perfect knowledge of evangelical truth? The Christian church has never been in so great danger, as when it has continued for any time in a state of unruffled prosperity. The existence of sects seems to me not only to be inseparable from the nature of imperfect intelligence, but of benefit to religion itself; and while the Bible continues to be the acknowledged standard of faith, they can be of no material prejudice. I respect even the errors of the conscientious Christian; and feel the impossibility of a *perfect unison* of sentiment, in rational beings *who think for themselves*: That there have been sectaries, whose objects were worldly praise and worldly power, cannot be denied: but the number I trust is limited. And, looking to the true interests of religion, let us consider in what state (had no diversity of opinion existed) Christianity *might* have been at the present day: if we now are *luke-warm*, what would have been our state of *torpidity* had one dominant creed been submitted to by all Christians, without examination, for a period of seventeen centuries; and there had existed no difference of religious opinion, to induce inquiry or awaken interest? Let us at the same time not forget, that the right of searching the Holy Scriptures, and judging for ourselves, was the ground on which we separated from the church of Rome, venerable both in antiquity and authority; and let us be very tender of abridging this right to others. While we bear in mind that we are the descendants of fallen and imperfect creatures, we can hardly presume that of all sects we alone are without any shade of error or warp or prejudice; and we should be very careful how we intermix any *desires* or *interests* of our own, with the *concerns* of religion. “When lust (says the Apostle James) hath

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conceived,

conceived, it bringeth forth sin; and sin, when it is completed, bringeth forth death."

'*Mr. Lyttelton.*—Did it ever strike you, my Lord, that to this single verse, we are indebted for *Mr. Milton's* bold and poetic Allegory of Sin and Death?

'*Bishop Hough.*—The observation to me is new, and appears to be founded.'

Similar sentiments of extended toleration and charity are expressed in other parts of the dialogue, and in the notes; in the latter of which the author also displays the extraordinary success of the *British and Foreign Bible Society*, and farther dilates on the tenets of the celebrated Chillingworth. In 1805, he says, the income of the above-mentioned Society was only 601*l.* and in 1814 it was nearly one hundred thousand. By pecuniary assistance from it, to the amount of 28,700*l.*, 'there have been printed abroad in the same year 200,000 Bibles and Testaments, for the use of the foreign poor of every sect and denomination, and in every quarter of the globe;' exclusive of 61,217*l.* expended in the same year for a similar purpose at home. — From Chillingworth's great work, intitled "*The Religion of Protestants a safe Way to Salvation,*" the following quotation is made:

'"*By the religion of Protestants* (he says) I do not understand the doctrine of Luther, or Calvin, or Melancthon;—nor the confession of Augusta or Geneva, nor the catechism of Heidelberg, nor the articles of the church of England,—no, nor the harmony of Protestant confessions; but that wherein they all agree, and which they all subscribe with a greater harmony, as a perfect rule of their faith and actions,—that is, the Bible. The Bible, I say, *the Bible only*, is the religion of Protestants!—I for my part, after a long and (as I verily believe and hope) an impartial search of the true way to eternal happiness, do profess plainly, that I cannot find any rest for the sole of my foot, but upon this rock only. I see plainly and with my own eyes, that there are Popes against Popes, Councils against Councils, some Fathers against others, the same Fathers against themselves, a consent of Fathers of one age against a consent of Fathers of another age. Traditive interpretations of Scripture are pretended; but there are few or none to be found: no tradition, but only of Scripture, can derive itself from the fountain, but may be plainly proved to have been brought in, in such an age after Christ,—or that in such an age they were not in. In a word, there is no sufficient certainty, but of Scripture only, for any considering man to build upon.—I will think no man the worse man nor the worse Christian, I will love no man the less, for differing in opinion from me: and what measure I mete to others, I expect from them again. I am fully assured, that God does not, and therefore that *men ought not to require any more of any man than this*,—to believe the Scripture to be,

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God's word, to endeavour to find the true sense of it, and to live according to it!

These notes afford very acceptable illustration, and breathe, like the dialogue, a spirit of piety and humanity that is honourable to the writer, and may be beneficially imbibed by the reader.

ART. III. *An Inquiry into the Literary and Political Character of James I.* By the Author of *Curiosities of Literature*, &c. &c. Crown 8vo. pp. 240. 8s. 6d. Boards. Murray. 1816.

IN reviewing the "Secret History of the Court of James the First," (vol. lxvii. p. 291.) we observed that this Prince had by most of our historians been undervalued. It suited the enemies of Charles I. to blacken the founder of the Stuart dynasty; and they described a man, whose faults often grew out of a benevolent facility, as the tyrant of his people and the poisoner of his son. His pacific policy, his religious tolerance, his attention to talent, his eager munificence, his extreme clemency, his indulgence for pleasure, and his love of sports, plays, and art, are qualities which, in a Duke of Florence, would have been enumerated as virtues; and he is said to have disgraced the British throne who would have adorned the house of Medici. On one point, however, of doubtful establishment, we would be less liberal than the Florentines. His very pusillanimity assisted the growth of our national liberties; and even his prodigality to favourites served to adorn the country with magnificent villas.

Moreover, the age of James I., who had Buchanan for his preceptor, is perhaps the most glorious period for our literature in the annals of Great Britain. The church was full of learning and of talents. Whitgift, the master of Bacon, ennobled the see of Canterbury; Hall adorned that of Norwich; Laud, that of St. David's; and Usher, that of Meath. Dean Williams, also, with the plasticity of a Romish cardinal, after having subdued by his arguments the puritan chieftain Dr. Reynolds, stalked into the see of Lincoln, which he disdained to illustrate, but, changing his career, took up the seals which Bacon had laid down, and attracted the admiration of the House of Lords by a probity more unfaltering, by a profounder knowledge of the civil law, and by the majesty of his Chrysostomic eloquence. So high stood the church of England in continental reputation at this era, that a Dalmatian bishop, Marco Antonio, apostatizing from the religion of his fathers, resigned all his preferments, to begin in its bosom a humble cure of souls:—yet its acmé was not arrived; it was educating in its schools a Lightfoot, a Walton, and a Jeremy Taylor.

Parliaments, under James, sat neither often nor long: but such was the diffusion of education prompted by the learning of the Prince, that some of our greatest senators, thunderbolts of eloquence as well as torch-bearers to liberty, flourished then; — Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Edward Coke, Selden, and Pym. The active armies of James consisted only in a volunteer-corps of two hundred and fifty persons, raised in 1620 for the service of the Elector Palatine: but in that corps were formed Essex, Fairfax, and Hutchinson, worthy pupils of Gustavus Adolphus, and the purest heroes of the ensuing revolution. Whither, indeed, can we turn without finding excellence? Shakspeare was the Choryphæus of a band of dramatists, in which the minor names of Massinger, Jonson, Fletcher, Marlow, and Ford, can still assert popularity. Fairfax, the best translator of the best epopea of the modern world, was teaching the art of versification to Harrington, Drayton, Wither, Waller, Daniel, Sylvester, and innumerable translators of the classics. From the Italian, from the Spanish, and from the French, the novelists Green, Fenton, Fortescue, Whetstone, and Linch, were importing the more popular continental story-books. In philosophy, Bacon and Cudworth were educating by their writings the undisputed mind of Hobbes; and such a triumvirate of cotemporary philosophers, no age but that of James the First can marshal, in the whole history of human literature: they were each all that men so busied can become. Among the historians of the time, Spelman, Knolles, Raleigh, and Osborn, still have readers: among the philologers, Gataker and Wallis; and among the prose-writers, the melancholy Burton and the angler Walton. The sea was explored by Drake and Raleigh, and the interior of Asia by Sir Robert Shirley. That vast aqueduct which supplies the metropolis was then channeled by Sir Hugh Middleton; and, so regularly was some mark of royal favour attached to individual excellence, that almost all the merit, for which the church did not provide, appears decorated with the knighthood of personal nobility.

The public are obliged to Mr. D'Israeli for endeavouring to reverse the harsh verdict of prejudice against this mild monarch, and for invoking once more towards his name the fickle-gratitude of posterity. He begins by criticizing the modern assailants of the character of James, such as Burnett, Harris, Macaulay, and Walpole; and he bears hard on Pope, who in the *Dunciad* writes thus:

“O,” cried the Goddess, “for some pedant reign;
Some gentle James to bless the land again!”

James

James was indeed gentle to pusillanimity, and pedantic to tediousness; so that the satirist has not fixed on unreal features, or even exaggerated them. — Mr. D'Israeli then proceeds to analyze his polemical and political studies, his theological conferences, and several of his writings. The King's habits of life are stated to have been literary; his facility and copiousness of composition are praised; and his eloquence, his wit, his humour, his acute observation of human life, and his sagacity in weighing moral evidence, are curiously exemplified. For instance:

‘Early in life, James I. had displayed the talent of apt allusion, and his classical wit on the Spaniards, that “He expected no other favour from them than the courtesy of Polyphemus to Ulysses—to be the last devoured,” delighted Elizabeth, and has even entered into our history. Arthur Wilson, at the close of his *Life of James I.* has preserved one of his apophthegms, while he censures him for not making timely use of it. “Let that prince, who would beware of conspiracies, be rather jealous of such whom his extraordinary favours have advanced, than of those whom his displeasure hath discontented. *These* want means to execute their pleasures, but *those* have means at pleasure to execute their desires.” Wilson himself ably develops this important state-observation, by adding, that “Ambition to rule is more vehement than malice to revenge.” A pointed reflection, which rivals a maxim of Rochefoucault.

‘The King observed, that “Very wise men and very fools do little harm; it is the mediocrity of wisdom that troubleth all the world.”—He described, by a lively image, the differences which rise in argument: “Men, in arguing, are often carried by the force of words farther asunder than their question was at first; like two ships going out of the same haven, their landing is many times whole countries distant.”—One of the great national grievances, as it appeared both to the government and the people, in James's reign, was the perpetual growth of the metropolis, and the nation, like an hypochondriac, was ludicrously terrified that their head was too monstrous for their body, and drew all the moisture of life from the remoter parts. It is amusing to observe the endless and vain precautions employed to stop all new buildings, and to force persons out of town to reside at their country mansions. Proclamations warned and exhorted, but the very interference of prohibition rendered the crowded town more delightful. One of its attendant calamities was the prevalent one of that day, the plague; and one of those state libels, which were early suppressed, or never printed, entitled “*Balaam's Ass*,” has this passage: “In this deluge of new buildings, we shall be all poisoned with breathing in one another's faces; and your Majesty hath most truly said, “England will shortly be London, and London, England.” It was the popular wish, that country gentlemen should reside more on their estates, and it was on this occasion the King made that admirable allusion, which has been recently repeated in the House of Commons: “Gentlemen resident on their estates were like ships

ships in port—their value and magnitude were felt and acknowledged; but, when at a distance, as their size seemed insignificant, so their worth and importance were not duly estimated.” The King abounded with similar observations; for he drew from life more than even from books.

‘James is reproached for being deficient in political sagacity; notwithstanding, that, he somewhat prided himself on what he denominated “King’s-craft.” This is the fate of a pacific and domestic prince!’

“A king,” said James, “ought to be a preserver of his people, as well of their fortunes as lives, and not a destroyer of his subjects. Were I to make such a war as the King of France doth, with such tyranny on his own subjects—with Protestants on one side, and his soldiers drawn to slaughter on the other,—I would put myself in a monastery all my days after, and repent me that I had brought my subjects to such misery.”

The author next treats of the *Basilicon Doron*, a work somewhat resembling the *Royal Politician* of Saavedra; which gives advice to Prince Henry on the choice of his servants and associates, describes the revolutionists of his time, and carries high the assertion of the prerogative of the crown. The Book of Sports is then analyzed; and Mr. D'Israeli's observations on the subject deserve consideration.

‘The King, returning from Scotland, found the people in Lancashire discontented from the unusual deprivation of their popular recreations, on Sundays and holidays, after the church-service. “With our own ears we heard the general complaint of our people.” The Catholic priests were busily insinuating among the lower orders, that the reformed religion was a sullen deprivation of all mirth and social amusements, and thus “turning the people’s hearts.” But, while they were denied what the King terms “lawful recreations,” they had substituted more vicious ones: alehouses were more frequented—drunkenness more general—tale-mongery and sedition, the vices of sedentary idleness, prevailed; while a fanatical gloom was spreading over the country.’

‘The King, whose gaiety of temper instantly sympathised with the multitude, and perhaps alarmed at this new shape which puritanism was assuming, published what is called “The Book of Sports,” and which soon obtained the contemptuous term of “The Dancing Book.”’

‘On this subject our recent principles have hitherto governed our decisions: with our habits formed, and our notions finally adjusted, this singular state-paper has been reprobated by piety; whose zeal, however, is not sufficiently historical. It was one of the state-maxims of this philosophic monarch, in his advice to his son,

“To allure the common people to a common amitie among themselves; and that certain daies in the yeere should be appointed for delighting the people with public spectacles of all honest games, and

and exercise of arms; making playes and lawful games in Maie, and good cheare at Christmas; as also for convening of neighbours, for entertaining friendship and heartliness, by honest feasting and merriness — so that the Sabbothes be kept holie, and no unlawful pastime be used. This form of contenting the people's minds hath been used in all well-governed republics."

James, therefore, was shocked at the sudden melancholy among the people. In Europe, even among the reformed themselves, the Sabbath, after church-service, was a festival-day; and the wise monarch could discover no reason why, in his kingdom, it should prove a day of penance and self-denial: but, when once this unlucky "Book of Sports" was thrown among the nation, they discovered, to their own astonishment, that every thing concerning the nature of the Sabbath was uncertain."

Mr. D'Israeli then considers the King's aversion to war, and his conscious dependence on the Commons; and he endeavours to weaken the evidence of Osborne's Memoirs, which ascribes to James some of the tastes of Heliogabalus, and represent his favourites as persons recommended by their physical virtues. A picture of the age is given from a manuscript of the times; and additional light is thrown on the King's private life in many particulars. The work concludes with a detection of the discrepancies of opinion prevalent among the decriers of James; and with a cotemporary Epitaph on his death, 'which (says Mr. D'I.) has great poetical merit, and may with some propriety close this Inquiry; another evidence of the feelings of his contemporaries.

' Those that have eyes, awake and weep,
For He, whose waking wrought our sleep,
Is fallen asleep, and shall never
Awake again, till waked for ever.

' Death's iron hand hath closed those eyes
Which were at once three kingdoms spies;
Both to foresee, and to prevent
Dangers so soon as they are meant.

' That Head whose working brain alone
Wrought all men's quiet, but his own,
Now lies at rest; oh let him have
The peace he purchased in his grave.

' If that no Naboth all his reign
Was for his fruitful vineyard slain;
If no Uriah lost his life
For having had so fair a wife,

' Then let no Shemei's curses wound
His honour, or prophane his ground;
Let no black-mouth, nor rank-breathed cur
Peaceful James his ashes stir.

' For

' For his day's toil and his night's watches,
For the crazed sleep he stole by snatches ;
For two fair kingdoms, joined in one ;
For all he did, or meant to have done ;

' Do this for Him ; write on his dust,—
King James the Peaceful and the Just.'

While this Inquiry is written with Mr. D'Israeli's usual vivacity and bibliographic research, it is more free from affectation of style than some of his former publications : it deserves to be enlarged into a formal picture of the age : an appropriate welcome of returning peace is to rehearse the praises of pacific sovereigns.

ART. IV. *The Life and Studies of Benjamin West, Esq. President of the Royal Academy of London, prior to his Arrival in England ; compiled from Materials furnished by himself. By John Galt. 8vo. pp. 160. 7s. 6d. Boards. Cadell and Davies. 1816.*

THIS small volume may be considered as the first part of an extensive biography of our celebrated painter, which it is the intention of the author hereafter to complete. In the present sketch, he has been assisted with private communications from that eminent artist himself, and has thus been enabled to state on the best authority many particulars not otherwise ascertainable, which confer rather a singular attraction on the detail in general. The work consists of eight chapters, of the nature of which an idea may be formed from the prefixed syllabus of their principal contents, which supplies (but inadequately) the place of an index.

Mr. W. was the youngest son of John and Sarah West, and was born at Springfield in Chester county, in the state of Pennsylvania, 10th October 1738 : the eloquence of a popular preacher having accelerated the delivery of Mrs. West, who was seized with the pains of labour in a Quaker meeting-house, and speedily gave birth to the infant-painter. *

The branch of the West family, to which he belongs, has been traced in an unbroken series to the Lord Delawarre, who distinguished himself in the great wars of King Edward the Third, and particularly at the battle of Cressy, under the immediate command of the Black Prince. In the reign of Richard the Second, the ancestors of Mr. West settled at Long Crandon in Buckinghamshire. About the year 1667, they embraced the tenets of the

* We do not perceive from the narrative whether the child was actually born in the meeting-house.

Quakers ;

Quakers; and Colonel James West, the friend and companion in arms of the celebrated Hampden, is said to have been the first proselyte of the family. In 1699 they emigrated to America.'

In June 1745, being left to watch a sleeping infant, Benjamin took a pen and made a sketch of the child, which was so like as to be known; and this indication of talent pleased the family, who encouraged him to draw flowers, a practice which he continued at school. Some Indians, also, who came to Springfield, saw these drawings, and gave him instructions how to prepare the red and yellow colours with which they painted their ornaments. He afterward made for himself brushes of cat's hair, obtained some indigo in the wash-house, and executed paintings instead of drawings; and Mr. Pennington of Philadelphia, having seen these performances, sent the young artist a box of paints, with some engravings:

'The arrival of the box was an æra in the history of the painter and his art. It was received with feelings of delight which only a similar mind can justly appreciate. He opened it, and in the colours, the oils, and the pencils, found all his wants supplied, even beyond his utmost conceptions. But who can describe the surprise with which he beheld the engravings; he who had never seen any picture but his own drawings, nor knew that such an art as the engraver's existed! He sat over the box with enamoured eyes; his mind was in a flutter of joy; and he could not refrain from constantly touching the different articles, to ascertain that they were real. At night he placed the box on a chair near his bed, and as often as he was overpowered by sleep, he started suddenly and stretched out his hand to satisfy himself that the possession of such a treasure was not merely a pleasing dream. He rose at the dawn of day, and carried the box to a room in the garret, where he spread a canvas, prepared a pallet, and immediately began to imitate the figures in the engravings. Enchanted by his art he forgot the school hours, and joined the family at dinner without mentioning the employment in which he had been engaged. In the afternoon he again retired to his study in the garret; and for several days successively he thus withdrew and devoted himself to painting. The schoolmaster, observing his absence, sent to ask the cause of it. Mrs. West, affecting not to take any particular notice of the message, recollected that she had seen Benjamin going up stairs every morning, and suspecting that the box occasioned his neglect of the school, went to the garret, and found him employed on the picture. Her anger was appeased by the sight of his performance, and changed to a very different feeling. She saw, not a mere copy, but a composition from two of the engravings: with no other guide than that delicacy of sight which renders the painter's eye, with respect to colours, what the musician's ear is to sounds, he had formed a picture as complete, in the scientific arrangement of the tints, notwithstanding the necessary imperfection of the pencilling, as the

the most skilful artist could have painted, assisted by the precepts of Newton. She kissed him with transports of affection, and assured him that she would not only intercede with his father to pardon him for having absented himself from school, but would go herself to the master, and beg that he might not be punished. The delightful encouragement which this well-judged kindness afforded to the young painter may be easily imagined; but who will not regret that the mother's over-anxious admiration would not suffer him to finish the picture, lest he should spoil what was already in her opinion perfect, even with half the canvas bare? Sixty-seven years afterwards the writer of these Memoirs had the gratification to see this piece in the same room with the sublime painting of "Christ Rejected," on which occasion the painter declared to him that there were inventive touches of art in his first and juvenile essay, which with all his subsequent knowledge and experience, he had not been able to surpass.

The works of Du Fresnoy and Richardson on painting having been lent to young Benjamin, the impression made by a perusal of them decided his destination; and the effect of the enthusiasm which they inspired may be imagined from a singular incident:

One of his schoolfellows, on a Saturday's half holiday, engaged him to give up a party at trap-ball to ride with him to one of the neighbouring plantations. At the time appointed the boy came with the horse saddled. West enquired how he was to ride; "Behind me," said the boy; but Benjamin, full of the dignity of the profession to which he felt himself destined, answered, that he never would ride behind any body. "O! very well then," said the good-natured boy, "you may take the saddle, and I will get up behind you." Thus mounted, they proceeded on their excursion; and the boy began to inform his companion that his father intended to send him to be an apprentice. "In what business?" enquired West; "A taylor," answered the boy. "Surely," said West, "you will never follow that trade;" animadverting upon its feminine character. The other, however, was a shrewd, sound-headed lad, and defended the election very stoutly, saying that his father had made choice of it for him, and that the person with whom he was to learn the business was much respected by all his neighbours. "But what do you intend to be, Benjamin?" West answered, that he had not thought at all on the subject, but he should like to be a painter. "A painter!" exclaimed the boy, "what sort of a trade is a painter? I never heard of such a thing." "A painter," said West, "is a companion for Kings and Emperors." "Surely you are mad," replied the boy, "for there are no such people in America." "Very true," answered Benjamin, "but there are plenty in other parts of the world." The other, still more amazed at the apparent absurdity of this speech, reiterated in a tone of greater surprise, "You are surely quite mad." To this the enthusiast replied by asking him if he really intended to be a taylor. "Most certainly," answered the other. "Then

"Then you may ride by yourself, for I will no longer keep your company," said West, and, alighting, immediately returned home.

It was by painting a death of Socrates that this promising youth first attracted the patronage which was necessary to give a classical turn, or finish, to his education: but an inconvenient omission of the dates of some of these incidents leaves us not minutely informed about them. At sixteen years of age, he invented for himself a *camera obscura*. Some obstacles of prejudice arose among the Quakers, respecting the education of West for the profession of a painter: but they were overcome by the good sense and authority of liberal men who guided the society; and he was sent for this purpose, in 1756, to Philadelphia: where he resided until 1760, painting portraits chiefly. A Trial of Susanna, however, was one of his compositions at this period. He also painted at New York. His instinctive tendency to picturesque excellence is exhibited in the following anecdote:

He happened, during his residence there, to see a beautiful Flemish picture of a hermit praying before a lamp, and he was resolved to paint a companion to it, of a man reading by candle-light. But before he discovered a method of producing, in daylight, an effect on his model similar to what he wished to imitate, he was frequently baffled in his attempts. At length, he hit on the expedient of persuading his landlord to sit with an open book before a candle in a dark closet; and he found that, by looking in upon him from his study, the appearance was exactly what he wished for. In the schools and academies of Europe, tradition has preserved the methods by which all the magical effects of light and shadow have been produced, with the exception, however, of Rembrandt's method, and which the author of these sketches ventures to suggest was attained, in general, by observing the effect of sunshine passing through chinks into a dark room. But the American artist was as yet unacquainted with any of them, and had no other guides to the essential principles of his art, but the delicacy of his sight, and that ingenious observation of nature to which allusion has been already made.

In 1760, Mr. West embarked for Livorno or Leghorn, with a view to study art in Rome: where he arrived on the 10th of July, and was obligingly received by Mr. Robinson, afterward Lord Grantham, who took him to a conversation.

Among the distinguished persons whom Mr. West found in the company, was the celebrated Cardinal Albani. His Eminence, although quite blind, had acquired, by the exquisite delicacy of his touch, and the combining powers of his mind, such a sense of ancient beauty, that he excelled all the virtuosi then in Rome, in the correctness of his knowledge of the verity and peculiarities of the

the smallest medals and intaglios. Mr. Robinson conducted the artist to the inner apartment, where the Cardinal was sitting, and said, "I have the honour to present a young American, who has a letter of introduction to your Eminence, and who has come to Italy for the purpose of studying the fine arts." The Cardinal fancying that the American must be an Indian, exclaimed, "Is he black or white?" and on being told that he was very fair, "What as fair as I am?" cried the Cardinal still more surprised. This latter expression excited a good deal of mirth at the Cardinal's expence, for his complexion was of the darkest Italian olive, and West's was even of more than the usual degree of English fairness. For some time after, if it be not still in use, the expression of "as fair as the Cardinal" acquired proverbial currency in the Roman conversations, applied to persons who had any inordinate conceit of their own beauty.

The Cardinal, after some other short questions, invited West to come near him, and running his hands over his features, still more attracted the attention of the company to the stranger, by the admiration which he expressed at the form of his head. This occasioned inquiries respecting the youth; and the Italians concluding that, as he was an American, he must, of course, have received the education of a savage, became curious to witness the effect which the works of art in the Belvidere and Vatican would produce on him. The whole company, which consisted of the principal Roman nobility, and strangers of distinction then in Rome, were interested in the event; and it was arranged in the course of the evening that on the following morning they should accompany Mr. Robinson and his protégé to the palaces.

At the hour appointed, the company assembled; and a procession, consisting of upwards of thirty of the most magnificent equipages in the capital of Christendom, and filled with some of the most erudite characters in Europe, conducted the young Quaker to view the master-pieces of art. It was agreed that the Apollo should be first submitted to his view, because it was the most perfect work among all the ornaments of Rome, and, consequently, the best calculated to produce that effect which the company were anxious to witness. The statue then stood in a case, enclosed with doors, which could be so opened as to disclose it at once to full view. West was placed in the situation where it was seen to the most advantage, and the spectators arranged themselves on each side. When the keeper threw open the doors, the artist felt himself surprised with a sudden recollection altogether different from the gratification which he had expected; and without being aware of the force of what he said, exclaimed, "My God, how like it is to a young Mohawk warrior!" The Italians, observing his surprise, and hearing the exclamation, requested Mr. Robinson to translate to them what he said; and they were excessively mortified to find that the god of their idolatry was compared to a savage. Mr. Robinson mentioned to West their chagrin, and asked him to give some more distinct explanation, by informing him what sort of people the Mohawk Indians were.

were. He described to him their education; their dexterity with the bow and arrow; the admirable elasticity of their limbs; and how much their active life expands the chest, while the quick breathing of their speed in the chase, dilates the nostrils with that apparent consciousness of vigour which is so nobly depicted in the Apollo. "I have seen them often," added he, "standing in that very attitude, and pursuing, with an intense eye, the arrow which they had just discharged from the bow." This descriptive explanation did not lose by Mr. Robinson's translation. The Italians were delighted, and allowed that a better criticism had rarely been pronounced on the merits of the statue. The view of the other great works did not awaken the same vivid feelings. Those of Raphael, in the Vatican, did not at first particularly interest him; nor was it until he had often visited them alone, and studied them by himself, that he could appreciate the fulness of their excellence. His first view of the works of Michael Angelo was still less satisfactory: indeed, he continued always to think, that, with the single exception of the Moses, that artist had not succeeded in giving a probable character to any of his subjects, notwithstanding the masterly hand and mind which pervade the weakest of his productions.

In his visits to the Italian galleries of art, Mr. West appears to have been more interested by colouring than by contour; and he speaks with warmer admiration of Titian's excellence than of that of Michael Angelo. Sir Joshua Reynolds, on the contrary, was more attracted by contour than by colouring, and expresses an opposite judgment. Yet West drew better than he coloured, and Sir Joshua coloured better than he drew. Is man most prone to admire that which is least within the reach of his attainment? — Mr. West notices the smallness of the horses on Monte Cavallo, when compared with the proportions of the human personages who are leading them; and he suspects that the figures of the quadrupeds were reduced, according to some unknown principle of antient art. The same relative proportion, however, is observable in the Elgin marbles; and it has been supposed that these proportions are strictly natural, conformable with fact, and that the Greeks had in Phidias's time only a pony-cavalry. — A well-managed incident, strikingly told, (p. 119.) first made known to the *cognoscenti* of Rome the powers of Mr. West as a portrait-painter; and the professional advice, given to him in consequence by the celebrated Mengs, was sedulously and thankfully adopted by the young artist.

The heats of August and the various excitements of his mind having greatly impaired the health of Mr. West, and obliged him to quit Rome, he went to Florence, where he was long confined by ill health. After a stay of eleven months,

he accompanied Mr. Matthews, a commercial traveller, into the north of Italy, through Bologna, Venice, and Parma; and then he returned to Rome. On the conclusion of the peace of 1763, he undertook a journey through France to Great Britain;—and here the biographer breaks off.

Of the fragment thus given, we may say that it is truly interesting, and reveals more of the nativeness of genius, and the influence of self-education, than authors can accomplish in biographies to which the hero contributes no record of personal observation. We have omitted (from want of space) to specify several entertaining anecdotes; such as the discovery of the bones of two officers named Halket, who perished in the disastrous action under General Braddock, which occupies the fifth, sixth, and seventh sections of the fourth chapter, and was once intended by Mr. West to form a picture, on which account the narrative, though episodical, is here introduced. The story of the modern *Homer*, a celebrated Roman Improvisatore so named, (p. 114.) is also very impressive. We must not, however, refuse a page to a statement respecting General Washington, which furnishes another proof of the considerateness and firmness that belonged to this great man.

‘ Dr. Smith, Provost of the College at Philadelphia, was himself possessed of a fluent vein of powerful eloquence, and it happened that many of his pupils who distinguished themselves in the great struggle of their country, appeared to have imbibed his talent; but none of them more than Jacob Duchey, who became a clergyman, and was celebrated throughout the whole of the British Provinces in America as a most pathetic and persuasive preacher. The publicity of his character in the world was, however, chiefly owing to a letter which he addressed to General Washington, soon after his appointment to the chief command of the army. The purport of this letter was to persuade the General to go over to the British cause. It was carried to him by a Mrs. Ferguson, a daughter of Doctor Graham, a Scottish physician in Philadelphia. Washington, with his army, at that time lay at Valleyforge, and this lady, on the pretext of paying him a visit, as they were previously acquainted, went to the camp. The General received her in his tent with much respect, for he greatly admired the masculine vigour of her mind. When she had delivered the letter he read it attentively, and, rising from his seat, walked backwards and forwards upwards of an hour, without speaking. He appeared to be much agitated during the greatest part of the time; but at length, having decided with himself, he stopped and addressed her in nearly the following words: “Madam, I have always esteemed your character and endowments, and I am fully sensible of the noble principles by which you are actuated

detuated on this occasion; nor has any man in the whole continent more confidence in the integrity of his friend, than I have in the honour of Mr. Duchey. But I am here entrusted by the people of America with sovereign authority. They have placed their lives and fortunes at my disposal, because they believe me to be an honest man. Were I, therefore, to desert their cause, and consign them again to the British, what would be the consequence? to myself perpetual infamy; and to them endless calamity. The seeds of everlasting division are sown between the two countries; and, were the British again to become our masters, they would have to maintain their dominion by force, and would, after all, retain us in subjection only so long as they could hold their bayonets to our breasts. No, Madam, the proposal of Mr. Duchey, though conceived with the best intention, is not framed in wisdom. America and England must be separate states; but they may have common interests, for they are but one people. It will, therefore, be the object of my life and ambition to establish the independence of America in the first place; and in the second, to arrange such a community of interests between the two nations as shall indemnify them for the calamities which they now suffer, and form a new æra in the history of nations. But, Madam, you are aware that I have many enemies; Congress may hear of your visit, and of this letter, and I should be suspected were I to conceal it from them. I respect you truly, as I have said; and I esteem the probity and motives of Mr. Duchey, and therefore you are free to depart from the camp, but the letter will be transmitted without delay to Congress."

"Mrs. Ferguson herself communicated the circumstances of this interesting transaction to Mr. West, after she came to England; for she, as well as Mr. Duchey, were obliged to quit the country."

We exhort Mr. Galt to continue his instructive task with every allowable degree of rapidity: since to pages inspected by Mr. West himself an authenticity attaches, which no posthumous continuations can be expected to attain.—A something of superstition, or belief in omens, seems to characterize several passages of the narrative.

ART. V. *Memoir on the Ruins of Babylon.* By Claudius James Rich, Esq., Resident for the Hon. East-India Company at the Court of the Pasha of Bagdad. With three Plates. 8vo. pp. 71; 8s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1815.

It was remarked by Major Rennell, in his work on the Geographical System of Herodotus, that the curiosity of the learned might in all probability be amply gratified respecting the antiquities of Babylon, if researches were diligently pursued for that purpose; and he justly added that the

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description of the site and remains would prove one of the most curious pieces of antiquity that had been exhibited in our own times. The Major's own disquisition on the subject is as satisfactory as a fair and laborious comparison of antient writers and modern travellers could possibly have made it: but personal observation was still wanting; and, indeed, from those modern travellers who had visited Babylon previously to the publication of his book, he was enabled to glean much less accurate information than he might have hoped to gain. A French writer, M. Beauchamp, (whose correspondence was translated and published in the *European Magazine* for 1792,) had the fullest opportunity of observing these ruins with undisturbed attention; yet there is little doubt that his personal survey extended only to the division of the city to the east of the Euphrates, by which river Herodotus states that it was equally divided. This was also, according to Major Rennell, beyond a doubt the extent of M. Della Valle's observations. The Père Emanuel, whose communications on this subject are detailed by D'Anville, cannot, if we form our judgment from Mr. Rich's memoir now before us, have been a very accurate examiner of the scenes around him. Niebuhr, the most celebrated of these foreign travellers, was prevented from making any very close inspection of these regions by his fear of the Arabs. M. Otter, another foreigner, is either incorrect himself, or has been rendered so by his translators, since he describes large spaces of ground as covered with coppice-wood, and rendering undistinguishable the ruins which they conceal, whereas Mr. Rich positively states that the only wood discoverable near this place consists in the date-gardens of the town of Hellah. In addition to these modern authorities, Major Rennell had the travels of Messrs. Ives and Evans to compare with the antient descriptions; and the results which he has drawn from such a comparison have satisfied the literary world, and will probably continue to be decisive with that portion into whose hands Mr. Rich's unambitious memoir may never fall. From the premises before him, indeed, the Major made the only fair conclusions that could be deduced; and it did not seem very likely that these would be shaken by the accounts of travellers still more recent, when we read in a late publication that two such travellers remained a week at Hellah, in the immediate vicinity of which is the undisputed site of Babylon, without making any discovery that could even lead them to the certain conclusion that they were then treading on the ruins of the earliest and one of the most stupendous works of civilized man.

The geographical position of antient Babylon has been settled by Major Rennell, first, on a comparison of the traditions of oriental writers in general; 2dly, by notices found in antient authors, such as Herodotus, Diodorus, Strabo, Q. Curtius, and others, corresponding with those traditions; and, 3dly, from the description of its remains by modern travellers, compared with these earlier accounts; — and, however the latter may have erred in their theories respecting some of the ruins, they agree in the only point that is essential to the geographical question, that such ruins do exist in a space corresponding to that which is represented by the authors of antiquity. Mr. Rich considers the site of Babylon to be thus satisfactorily established in the environs of Hellah; a town, as most of our readers know, situated in a district still called *Babel* by the natives, on the *western* side of the Euphrates; and containing, according to Mr. Rich, about 7000 inhabitants, consisting of Arabs and Jews, and such Turks only as are employed in the government.

This unassuming and sensible memoir was originally published, as the preface informs us, in a literary journal at Vienna, intitled “*Mines de l’Orient*,” and ‘is now republished without any instructions from the author, and without the benefit of his correction.’ It is modestly described as only the first fruits of imperfect research: but the writer’s residence at Bagdad, and his consequent familiarity with the customs of the neighbouring countries, have undoubtedly afforded him more facilities in the prosecution of his inquiries, with less chance of interruption from casual and external circumstances, than can fall to the lot of the general traveller; and we regard the result of these investigations as sufficient to redeem the expectations which might be naturally engendered by such opportunities.

It will be our object, first, to notice a few of Mr. Rich’s remarks on the country in his progress from Bagdad to the scene of his researches; 2dly, to state the points on which his personal observations have led him to differ from the conclusions of Major Rennell, or rather from those modern travellers from whose writings that gentleman made his deductions; and, lastly, to examine very briefly how far those of the present writer’s statements, which are contradictory to the now generally received opinions on the remains of Babylon, are consonant to the accounts of antient authors, some of whom undoubtedly saw that city while it still possessed no inconsiderable share of magnificence.

Mr. Rich describes the whole country from Bagdad to Hellah as perfectly flat, and, with the exception of some small

environs of the latter place, as an uncultivated waste. This contrast to its former state he fully ascertains by traversing the lines of many canals now dry and neglected, the sure signs of former cultivation; and by the observation of mis-shapen masses of earth strewed with broken brick and other building-materials, the equally indisputable traces of former population. The only inhabitants of the region through which he passed were Zobeide Arabs; and at convenient distances he found khans for the accommodation of travellers, to each of which was attached a small colony of Fellahs. The general direction of the road was N. and S.; the whole distance, about forty-eight miles, estimated by the ordinary pace of a light caravan, in which Mr. R. could not be much deceived; and the greatest distance of these khans from each other was between eight and nine miles, and the shortest about four. Between the second and third of these stations, he passed the Naher Malcha, or *fluvius regius*, said to be the work of Nebuchadnezzar; which he found quite dry, although it could be proved that it had been used for the purposes of irrigation as late as the times of the Bagdad Caliphs. At somewhat more than half the distance of his journey, he arrived at Iskenderia, a large and handsome khan, all around which the vestiges of antient buildings were very clearly distinguishable: indeed, the caravansera itself was built of bricks dug up on the spot; and the whole scene indicated the former existence of a large town on the site. When he had gone nine miles from Hellah, and was proceeding in a direction due south, every thing, says the writer, announced the approach to the remains of a large city. Lest, however, any of our readers should misconceive the nature of the remains of Babylon now exposed to the eye of the traveller, we will quote the few lines by which Mr. Rich obviates the possibility of such error. 'Before entering into a minute description of the ruins, to avoid repetition, it is necessary to state that they consist of mounds of earth, formed by the decomposition of building, channelled and furrowed by the weather, and the surface of them strewed with pieces of brick, bitumen, and pottery.'

It seems scarcely necessary to remind the reader, especially if he be acquainted with Major Rennell's celebrated work, that the cause of this decomposition of materials is to be found in the nature of the substance of which they were formed. We have the testimony of antiquity that much of Babylon was built of *sun-baked bricks*; a material not more durable than those hard mud-walls much used in cottage-buildings in the west of England, which, however strong while secured from wet descending vertically, are soon resolved into their original

ginal earth when exposed in that direction. The Euphrates at Babylon is said by Strabo to be a *stadium* in breadth. Modern writers have varied in their opinion of the extent which this term comprehends: but Mr. Rich found the river at Hellah about 450 feet wide, which is less by forty feet than the scale of Strabo as explained by Major Rennell: the depth he states to be two fathoms and a half, and the current to run at the medium rate of about two knots: 'when lowest being probably half a knot less, and when full a knot more.'

As we have thus accompanied Mr. Rich to Hellah, let us now follow him in his researches in its vicinity. In the first instance, he contradicts the statement of ruins still existing in the gardens of that town, which preceding travellers, Niebuhr in particular, had described as visible; and he accounts for their error by presuming that they mistook the high embankments of some neglected canals for the remains of former buildings. The ruins of the eastern quarter he found to commence about two miles above Hellah, and to consist of two large masses or mounds, connected with and lying N. and S. of each other; many of less magnitude crossing the plain at different intervals. At the northern extremity of these remains, or about five miles from Hellah, is the last mass, which Rennell (on the authority of Della Valle and others) concludes to have been the tower of Belus: an opinion which, as it is the main point of difference between Mr. Rich and his learned predecessor, we will notice in a subsequent part of our remarks. The whole area occupied by these remains, or rather by the occasional recurrence of them on the eastern side of the Euphrates, is said to be two miles and six hundred yards in breadth from E. to W., and about six hundred yards more in length from N. to S.; and if some land apparently gained from the river, since the existence of Babylon as a city, be added to the width, this area will be nearly a square. In ascending it from the south, and passing through the centre, the traveller leaves the two chief longitudinal mounds on his right hand, they forming the eastern boundary. They have been dug open in various parts, but have yielded few or no fine whole bricks; whence it would appear that the buildings, which occupied this portion of the city, were not formed of the *furnace-baked brick*, which was the material employed in the edifices of consequence, and from which, procured by mining in other portions of the ruins, Hellah is stated to be almost entirely built. On his left hand, between himself and the river, the traveller finds another mound running parallel with those already mentioned; which Mr. Rich terms the *embankment*, although he does not believe that it was raised

for any such purpose. These mounds may be considered as the outline of the area under consideration. In a progress from the south, the first grand mass of ruins which occurs is one thousand and one hundred yards in length, and eight hundred in its greatest breadth; rising at its utmost elevation to about sixty feet above the level of the plain; and this, in compliance with an absurd Turkish tradition, may be distinguished by the name *Amran*. Proceeding in a northerly direction, the traveller arrives at the second grand mass, of a much more interesting nature than that of *Amran*, the description of which will best be given in the author's own words:

'To this succeeds the second grand heap of ruins, the shape of which is nearly a square, of seven hundred yards length and breadth, and its S. W. angle is connected with the N. W. angle of the mounds of *Amran*, by a ridge of considerable height, and nearly one hundred yards in breadth. This is the place where *Beauchamp* made his observations, and it is certainly the most interesting part of the ruins of Babylon: every vestige discoverable in it declares it to have been composed of buildings far superior to all the rest which have left traces in the eastern quarter: the bricks are of the finest description; and notwithstanding this is the grand storehouse of them, and that the greatest supplies have been and are now constantly drawn from it, they appear still to be abundant. But the operation of extracting the bricks has caused great confusion, and contributed much to increase the difficulty of decyphering the original design of this mound, as in search of them the workmen pierce into it in every direction, hollowing out deep ravines and pits, and throwing up the rubbish in heaps on the surface. In some places they have bored into the solid mass, forming winding caverns and subterranean passages, which, from their being left without adequate support, frequently bury the workmen in the rubbish. In all these excavations, walls of burnt brick laid in lime-mortar of a very good quality are seen; and in addition to the substances generally strewed on the surfaces of all these mounds we here find fragments of alabaster vessels, fine earthen ware, marble, and great quantities of varnished tiles, the glazing and colouring of which are surprizingly fresh. In a hollow near the southern part I found a sepulchral urn of earthen ware, which had been broken in digging, and near it lay some human bones which pulverized with the touch.'

Having been told that an Arab, in digging, had discovered a large *idol* in this mass, (an appellation given by the natives to most stones carved with figures or letters,) and had afterward covered it up again, Mr. Rich ascertained the spot; and one day's labour of a few men disclosed the figure of a lion, of colossal size, of coarse granite and rude workmanship, with a circular aperture in the mouth into which a man might introduce his fist.

About

About two hundred yards to the north of the ruin last mentioned, is a ravine formed by miners for bricks; on one side of which Mr. Rich found a few yards of wall, the face of it clean and perfect, and all the bricks having writing on them. Near the same spot, is a subterranean passage, the roof of which was constructed of bricks laid in bitumen, of the application of which we are informed by Herodotus and others: but in adjoining places they were laid in mortar-cement. A little to the west of the ravine that has been noticed, occurred the next conspicuous object, called by the natives *Kasr*, or the palace; which, unlike most of the other remains, disclosed several portions of walls and piers not obstructed with rubbish, built of fine burnt brick 'still perfectly clean and sharp, and laid in lime-cement of such tenacity, that those whose business it was had given up working for bricks, on account of the extreme difficulty of extracting them whole.' Mr. Rich imagined that he could trace, in some portion of this ruin, the effects of an earthquake. Omitting any notice of inferior mounds, the traveller reaches the most northern, called by the natives *Mujelibè*, or *overturned*; the building which Della Valle considered as the far-famed tower of Belus, and whose opinion, as we have already said, has been adopted by Major Rennell. M. Beauchamp called this place *Makloubè*, giving a similar interpretation; and Niebuhr was *told* that the greatest remains were to be found in this position, but did not visit them. It somewhat surprises us, however, that Mr. Rich did not observe the discrepancy between these writers on the one hand, and himself on the other, as to the distance from Hellah at which the *Mujelibè* is said to stand. Mr. R.'s statement is 'full five miles;' while Della Valle and those who followed him called it "about three miles." If the identity of the place visited were to depend on measurement of distance only, the *Kasr* of Mr. Rich would correspond most nearly with the *Makloubè* of Beauchamp, since the *Kasr* is one mile less to the north: but there are, we think, other points sufficient to establish the fact that the *Mujelibè* of the present author is the building intended by the former writers. The ensuing passage contains an account of the general appearance of this mass:

'It is of an oblong shape, irregular in its height and the measurement of its sides, which face the cardinal points; the northern side being two hundred yards in length, the southern two hundred and nineteen, the eastern one hundred and eighty-two, and the western one hundred and thirty-six; the elevation of the S.E. or highest angle, one hundred and forty-one feet. The western face, which is the least elevated, is the most interesting on account of

the appearance of building it presents. Near the summit of it appears a low wall, with interruptions, built of unburnt bricks mixed up with chopped straw or reeds, and cemented with clay-mortar of great thickness, having between every layer a layer of reeds; and on the north side are also some vestiges of a similar construction. The S.W. angle is crowned by something like a turret or lantern: the other angles are in a less perfect state, but may originally have been ornamented in a similar manner. The western face is lowest and easiest of ascent, the northern the most difficult. All are worn into furrows by the weather; and in some places, where several channels of rain have united together, these furrows are of great depth, and penetrate a considerable way into the mound. The summit is covered with heaps of rubbish, in digging into some of which, layers of broken burnt brick cemented with mortar are discovered, and whole bricks with inscriptions on them are here and there found: the whole is covered with innumerable fragments of pottery, brick, bitumen, pebbles, vitrified brick or scoria, and even shells, bits of glass, and mother of pearl.

Thus much for the remains of Babylon on the eastern side of the Euphrates. Major Rennell regretted that the western has been little explored by European travellers; and D'Anville imagined that very considerable remains might be found there also: but this is not the case. Mr. Rich describes it as a flat tract of ground, intersected by canals, containing no vestiges of antient buildings, but two small mounds at right angles with each other, not exceeding a hundred yards in extent: with a few small villages on the river-side. Though, however, Mr. R. failed in discovering ruins in the vicinity of the river, at the distance of about six miles from Hellah to the S.W., on the same side, he visited by far the most stupendous remain of all that appertained to Babylon; called by the Arabs *Birs Nemroud*, and by the Jews *Nebuchadnezzar's prison*. The missionary Père Emanuel saw this ruin, and his remarks were communicated to D'Anville through some intermediate persons, who would have supplied the word *palace* for *prison*, in the Jewish name. Niebuhr likewise saw a ruin on this side of the Euphrates. Major Rennell imagined that the places seen by these two travellers were not the same, but Mr. Rich treats them, and on satisfactory grounds, as the same spot. He visited the *Birs* under the most favourable circumstances. The morning had been very gloomy, but, as he approached the object of his research, the clouds rolled away, and presented to him the ruin frowning over a vast extent of plain, bearing the appearance of a circular hill, crowned by a tower, with a high ridge extending along the foot of it. He thus describes this mass:

‘ The

'The Birs Nemrôud is a mound of an oblong figure, the total circumference of which is seven hundred and sixty-two yards. At the eastern side it is cloven by a deep furrow, and is not more than fifty or sixty feet high; but at the western it rises in a conical figure to the elevation of one hundred and ninety-eight feet, and on its summit is a solid pile of brick thirty-seven feet high by twenty-eight in breadth, diminishing in thickness to the top, which is broken and irregular, and rent by a large fissure extending through a third of its height. It is perforated by small square holes disposed in rhomboids. The fine burnt bricks of which it is built have inscriptions on them; and so admirable is the cement, which appears to be lime-mortar, that, though the layers are so close together that it is difficult to discern what substance is between them, it is nearly impossible to extract one of the bricks whole. The other parts of the summit of this hill are occupied by immense fragments of brick-work of no determinate figure, tumbled together and converted into solid vitrified masses, as if they had undergone the action of the fiercest fire, or been blown up with gunpowder, the layers of the bricks being perfectly discernible, — a curious fact, and one for which I am utterly incapable of accounting. These, incredible as it may seem, are actually the ruins spoken of by Père Emanuel, who takes no sort of notice of the prodigious mound on which they are elevated.

'It is almost needless to observe that the whole of this mound is itself a ruin, channelled by the weather and strewed with the usual fragments and with pieces of black stone, sand-stone, and marble. In the eastern part, layers of unburnt brick are plainly to be seen, but no reeds were discernible in any part: possibly the absence of them here, when they are so generally seen under similar circumstances, may be an argument of the superior antiquity of the ruin. In the north side may be seen traces of building exactly similar to the brick-pile. At the foot of the mound a step may be traced, scarcely elevated above the plain, exceeding in extent by several feet each way the true or measured base; and there is a quadrangular inclosure round the whole, as at the Mujelibè, but much more perfect and of greater dimensions.'

As the other vestiges of antiquity in the vicinity of Hellah were neither numerous nor important, nothing remains to detain us from what may be called the second part of Mr. Rich's memoir; viz. his inferences from the examinations which he had prosecuted.

The temple and tower of Belus, and the palace, citadel, or castellated palace, according to Herodotus, were the two most stupendous structures in antient Babylon; and it is therefore to be supposed, more especially as Babylonian magnificence consisted greatly in extent, that the ruins of two such edifices would be more easily distinguishable than those of any others. Major Rennell has decided, from a comparison of antient authors with modern travellers, that the
Mujelibè,

Mujelibè, the most northern remain on the eastern side of the Euphrates, is the tower of Belus. This building is described by Herodotus, who states (Clio, 181.) that the palace was in the centre of one division of the city, and the temple of Jupiter Belus, as he calls it, in the other: but in which division they respectively stood, he does not say. Diodorus, Major Rennell thinks, implies that the tower of Belus stood in the eastern division, because he asserts that the palace was on the west; and consequently, if Herodotus be correct, the other must have stood in the east. Now, on reference to the second book of Diodorus, we do not find that he places the palace so decidedly in the eastern quarter. He mentions two palaces, one on each side of the Euphrates; under which river, he adds, Semiramis caused a tunnel to be made, for a communication from one of those buildings to the other: but it is difficult to decide which of these two castellated palaces should be called *καὶ ἐξοχὴν the palace*, since Diodorus says of them, ἀμφότερα πολυτελεῶς κατεσκευάσθαι. In his account of the site of the temple of Belus, he is very vague when he describes it as standing ἐν μεσῇ τῇ πόλει. This edifice had been in ruins long before the age of Diodorus, and he professes to speak on the subject from tradition only; observing that historians differed much in their descriptions of it. He adds: ὁμολογεῖται ὑψηλὸν γεγενῆσθαι κατ' ὑπερβολήν, καὶ τὰς Χαλδαίους ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς τῶν ἀστῶν πεποιησθαι παραλήψεις. This latter fact, although generally known, is not without some interest on this occasion; because, from the description of the Birs Nemroud given by Mr. Rich, we can scarcely doubt that the building which that ruin represents must have been excellently adapted for the purpose of an observatory, whether it was ever applied to that purpose or not. Major Rennell conceives that Diodorus draws a sufficiently strong distinction between the two palaces, to allow us to consider that which stands on the western side of the Euphrates as the greater palace or building to which Herodotus referred: but, though such an *impression* is doubtless to be received from Diodorus, yet, after having analyzed the passage, we do not think that we can apply a stronger word;—taking Herodotus in conjunction with Diodorus, this impression is much strengthened. Notwithstanding this obstacle, Mr. Rich is greatly inclined to believe that, in viewing the enormous mass of the Birs Nemroud, he was contemplating the remains of the celebrated tower of Belus; and, if this were the only topographical difficulty, it needs not be considered as insurmountable. A general agreement prevails among the authors of antiquity that the temple of Belus stood in a
central

central situation; that is, central to one half of the city according to Herodotus, and to the whole according to Diodorus: now the position of the Birs at so great a distance west of the Euphrates, and so very far to the south of all other ruins on either side of that river, renders the idea at least very improbable that it had ever stood in the centre of the city. Mr. Rich fairly allows the weight of this objection; confessing that it would be necessary to extend the enormous area of eighty square miles assigned to Babylon by Strabo, (according to Rennell's computation of the stadia,) if the Mujelibè and the Birs Nemroud were each to be inclosed even within the extreme precinct: but the difficulty would not end here, since, if these buildings are to be made to occupy central positions in deference to the descriptions of antiquity, we must increase the area of Babylon, at present almost incredible, allowing portions of it only to have been covered with buildings to an amount absurd even in imagination.

The present author does not combat these geographical difficulties with any effect; nor do we see how it is possible to overcome them, but by discrediting the writers of antiquity on whom they rest. If, however, we were to disregard these weighty objections, very strong grounds indeed might be urged for the presumption that the Birs is in fact the supposed building. First, for the plain question: If this monstrous pile be not the tower of Belus, what, in the name of wonder, can it be?—it cannot be the palace or citadel, because neither the form nor the vicinity to the river, nor the supposed site of the hanging gardens, described by Strabo as near the river, will permit such a supposition. The very appearance of this immense mass, while it accords in many points with such as we might presume the remains of the tower of Belus to be, throws discredit on any surmise of the opposite tendency. If it were never included within the area of Babylon, the Birs must have been in the immediate vicinity of that city, and, from the flatness of the country, always visible from at least those quarters of it that were on the western shore of the Euphrates: it must have been an edifice of vast dimensions, and very extraordinary elevation; and of its antiquity we can have no reasonable doubt, the vestiges in proof of this point being as incontrovertible as in the Mujelibè and other remains, if not more so. Does it not, therefore, under all these circumstances, appear highly surprising that no author of antiquity, among those who visited or described the wonders of Babylon, has made the slightest mention of so stupendous a work of man, as the Birs Nemroud clearly must have been? Yet, unless this was in truth

truth the tower of Belus, (a presumption much at variance with the generally received chorography of the site of Babylon,) it passed without any notice from the writers of antiquity who have descended to us; although we cannot doubt that it existed in their times, and was, if we may judge from the ruins, the most likely object to have attracted the notice of even an incurious traveller.

This is in reality a question so beset with difficulties, that it would be highly presumptuous in us to offer any decisive opinion respecting it. Our readers may form their own judgment by comparing Mr. Rich's memoir with Major Rennell's work, and with those passages in Herodotus, Diodorus, &c. to which his investigation led that gentleman to refer. We are not, however, without hope that, as Mr. Rich viewed his essay only 'as the first fruits of imperfect research,' he may have future opportunities of adding to the present very deficient data for forming any satisfactory hypothesis on the subject. No gentleman, we are convinced, possesses the requisites of patience, accuracy, and modesty in a higher degree; and, should he in any other visit to the same spot, be able to find vestiges of the exterior walls of Babylon, (for one wall appears to have been contained within another,) the discovery might not only be conclusive in settling the question about particular masses of ruin, but might lead to ascertain the contested extent of the area of this once famous city.

The general supposition, that the tower of Belus recorded by the Greek historians is the same structure with the tower of Babel which, we learn from Genesis, (ch. xi.) was built in a plain in the land of Shinaar, has greatly augmented the interest of the scholar in discovering the site of a fabric allied to so many of the recollections of mankind: but we are not aware that the identity of these two buildings rests on any other grounds than general probability, similarity, or vicinity of the site, and strong coincidence in point of name; and evidence such as this cannot be deemed conclusive, although certainly founded on very plausible conclusions. In the present instance, we submit it to the reader, whether the separation of these two structures would not tend to elucidate the question relative to the *Birs Nemroud*. Could we suppose the *Birs* to be in reality the remains of the tower which the descendants of Noah constructed, and the temple of Belus to have been altogether a distinct fabric, we should have no difficulty in finding a site for this latter in a quarter of Babylon correspondent with the writings of antiquity; and some presumption would be entertained as to the original purpose of those stupendous ruins so far to the west of the Euphrates.

Euphrates *. Nevertheless, such a speculation as this has endless difficulties to encounter, independently of the strong reasons for arguing the identity of these buildings. We find from Genesis that a city was connected with the tower of Babel, and we have our old obstacle to surmount in the absence of all notice of any such fabric in the more antient classical authors.

We have dwelt so long on this interesting memoir, in proportion to its extent, that it will be impossible for us to follow the author into the few remaining topics of his pages. They refer to the materials of which Babylon was built; and which consisted exclusively of timber, and the two species of brick already noticed. An Englishman, accustomed to brick-built cities, will readily imagine that a city so constructed, whatever masses of building it may have contained, could have exhibited but few specimens of refined or delicate architecture. The cement was of more kinds than one. At the Birs, the best mortar had been used, and of so durable a nature as to render it impossible to detach the bricks without breaking them. Specimens of clay and bitumen are still visible; the former had layers of reeds laid between it and the brick; the latter appears to have been difficult in the preparation, of very inferior utility when applied, and more used in the interior than the exterior of buildings.

Mr. Rich's knowledge of the Chaldee, and of some modern oriental languages, gives him advantages over the majority of other travellers in researches of this nature, and we therefore confidently anticipate much future amusement and instruction from his exertions.

* Diodorus says that Semiramis built the temple of Belus, to whom the foundation or re-edification of Babylon (it is doubtful which) is assigned by antient authors. It is scarcely possible to fix the era of this wonderful woman, but we may easily conclude it to have been subsequent to the erection of the tower of Babel by the descendants of Noah. If, therefore, she really did found the tower of Belus, and in the age in which she is usually placed, the presumption of the identity of the two buildings would be weak indeed. We must allow, however, that the age of Semiramis is removed into the regions of fabulous history; and that probably many works were attributed to her with as little reason as to Hercules, or any god, demigod, or hero of fabulous ages.

ART. VI. *Devotional Exercises and Prayers for the private Use of reflecting and sincere Christians.* From the German of the Rev. George Joachim Zollikofer, Minister of the Reformed Congregation at Leipsick, by the Rev. William Tooke, F.R.S. 8vo. pp. 524. 12s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1815.

IT has been generally agreed that the Germans are peculiarly successful in those departments of literature and science which require habits of persevering and intent application; and that, less lively in their manners and character than their neighbours the French, and less brilliant in their genius than the Italians, they surpass them both in patient industry and temperate reasoning. Nature, it is true, has not to them been particularly prodigal of her favours. Unenlivened by a splendid sky, a genial climate, rich and varied scenery, or even great fertility of soil, the German literati are contented to pass "the livelong day" in the closet or the book-room, and are never happier than when they find themselves, with the pipe in one hand and a commentary in the other, engaged either in the collation of a Greek manuscript or in the developement of a mathematical theorem. Hence, in every branch of philosophy they have become eminent; and hence their merit as editors of the antient classics: but in the fine arts, in painting, in poetry, in sculpture, in architecture, they have hitherto made little proficiency; and a really fine German artist would be a phenomenon worthy of record in their national annals. Lessing, Schiller, and even Klopstock himself, celebrated as they are in their peculiar departments, may be considered rather as meteors than fixed constellations in the horizon of German poesy: but Leibnitz, Euler, Xylander, Grævius, Gronovius, and many others, have long been among the most successful competitors for the palm of scientific and literary fame.

The same happy constitutional temperament particularly qualifies the Germans for distinction in the province of theology. Questionable as may be the motives which first prompted Luther to undertake the mighty project of reforming the abuses of papal superstition, it is to his indefatigable industry, and his patient severity of temper, that we are indebted for the success of it: while the same may be said of Melancthon, and almost all the earlier reformers of the church; whom nothing but this inflexible constitution of mind, unruffled by the heat of controversy, and unsubdued by the arm of persecution, could ever have enabled to withstand the torrent which revenge and animosity brought down against them. These estimable qualities continue in the present day, and form the brightest ornaments of the national character of their countrymen. It is impossible to travel through Germany without

without being struck with the simplicity of the reformed Protestant church, and without rejoicing in that silent tranquillity in which all the religious controversies of past ages are now apparently buried and forgotten. The solemnity of true devotion has succeeded to that turbulence of the public mind which inflammatory contests must ever produce, and the result of the change has been the manifest promotion of the true interests of religion and virtue.

Among the most enlightened as well as the most generally admired of German theologians, is the author of this volume of '*Devotional Exercises and Prayers*,' which his former translator, Mr. Tooke, now offers to the attention of the public in an English dress. We have frequently made our readers acquainted with the principal features of M. Zollikofer's style as an author, and with the peculiar excellences of his character as a Christian minister. It appears that he is one of the favourite preachers of his day; particularly celebrated not only for that close and perspicuous mode of reasoning which convinces the judgment, but for that energy and animation which speak to the heart; and we should indeed have gathered thus much from his writings, even if it had not been confirmed to us by the concurrent testimony of many of his countrymen. The present volume, it will be seen by the title-page, is principally intended 'for the private use of reflecting and sincere Christians;' and to such persons, we doubt not, it will prove very acceptable; more especially as the companion of those hours of retirement which may be devoted to religious exercises, and to the important, though often ungrateful, duty of self-examination. Much seriousness of mind, however, and much more perhaps than the generality of mankind possess, as well as a certain adaptation of the mental powers to habits of grave contemplation, will be requisite preparatives for a due apprehension of the work; of which the author himself appears to be so fully aware, that we cannot refuse to quote his own sentiments on the scope and intention of the volume:

'These devotional exercises and prayers are designed for reflecting and sincere Christians, and for them alone. Because they alone are properly capable of devotion and prayer. They alone can cordially unite in my thoughts and sentiments, which I have here endeavoured to express for them. And even if some of these should think more profoundly and feel more vividly; yet I hope and trust they will find nothing here that is at strife with their mode of thinking and feeling; nothing that is not interesting, more or less, to their understanding and their heart.

'It will be proper, however, somewhat more accurately to define that class of readers, which I imagined and frequently held up to my mind while engaged in this work.

'By

‘ By reflecting Christians I mean such as are not satisfied with the instruction, more or less correct, which they received in their early years, do not blindly and without examination adopt the dogmas of the church-fellowship to which they belong, but reflect themselves upon what they have read, heard, learnt, and endeavour to gain a continually greater proficiency in the knowledge of the truth. Such who perhaps have frequently and long doubted; and now, setting aside all points of controversy, those different opinions, which divide Christians, adhere simply to the essentials of religion and Christianity, or to what all Christians with one consent confess and believe; and endeavour to confirm themselves more and more in them, and to combine them more strictly from day to day with their whole system of thought and affection. As reflecting Christians they lay greater stress upon accurately defined, correct ideas, than upon obscure metaphors, though perhaps adapted to excite stronger sensations. As reflecting Christians they leave undecided many propositions which surpass their comprehension, or of which they cannot acquire sufficient evidence; and this without letting either their peace of mind or their virtue be a sufferer by it.

‘ By sincere Christians I understand those to whom religion and Christianity are truly important, and of indispensable necessity to the mind and the heart; who reflect upon them, and employ themselves in exercises of devotion, not as a matter of duty, but from inclination: such whose prevalent dispositions are truly correct and proper; with whom reason has the controul of sensuality; in whose bosoms the love of God and of man, the love of whatever is true and beautiful and just and right, has got the ascendant over all other inclinations and propensities; who therefore indeed err and fail, but never purposely sin, who may sometimes be languid and indolent in good, but never become positively supine and indifferent to duty and virtue; and who, whenever they have the misfortune to sin, that is, knowingly and deliberately to transgress the divine laws or the dictates of their conscience, yet but rarely trespass so far; and as soon as they are aware of it immediately return from their aberrations.’

In conformity with this design of assisting the powers of the reflecting mind in the discharge of the several duties of a Christian station, the first chapter sets out with explaining what it is in which reflection consists, what are its ingredients, what is the distinction between thinking and reflecting, and whence it happens that our thoughts are so frequently defective in light and vivacity, in truth and certainty, in method and consistence; and that knowledge and conduct, belief and practice, are so seldom found in unison.

Reflection generally signifies, as the word itself imports, to think again on what we have already thought, already conceived, to think on it more circumstantially, more steadily, more extensively, and to do this on set purpose and with consciousness, in the design of dwelling longer on these thoughts, in order to dissect and analyze them, to obtain a clearer conception of the proposition

we have conceived or thought upon, to study it in its several parts, in its principles and consequences, to compare it with others, to observe its analogies to us and to other objects, and thence to draw conclusions with regard to our conduct or to our happiness.

For example: God is good. This is a thought which certainly we have often had, often conceived, but on which we perhaps have not often reflected. Would we do so, would we reflect on this thought, we must stop short at it, view it on all sides, see what it contains, and enter upon these or the like considerations; what means then being good? Wherein consists, whereby is shewn, the goodness of an intelligent being? How is it disposed towards others, how does it relate to others? What impression does the sight of the misery or the happiness of others make upon it? And in what instances has God revealed his goodness? Have I received any proofs of his benevolence and his beneficence towards myself? What are these proofs? How are they reconcilable with the pains and sufferings that have sometimes befallen me? Ought not the goodness of God to have great excellences over that of man? Will it not be much wiser, more impartial, more active, more persevering? And if it be so, what am I to conclude from it? What appearances will it enable me to explain? Will it not embrace far more objects, far greater views, than I am able to survey? Will it not frequently in the distribution of its benefits follow such principles and methods, as to me seem extraordinary? Will it not very often be obliged to refuse me and others things which we hold good and desirable? &c.'

Having thus shewn the nature of reflection, and its principal and most important ends, the author proceeds to direct our attention to the chief objects on which it is the prerogative, as well as the duty, of man to employ the efforts of his intellectual faculties. From the primary direction of human inquiry, and consequently first principle of human reflection,—namely, the nature and appointment of man's earthly condition,—we are immediately led to fix our contemplations on the existence of the Deity, on the providence and protection of a superior Being, and on the relations which his creatures bear to Him. The abundant train of religious meditation, which arises from so copious a source, is here ranged in the second class of 'Objects most worthy of Reflection.' Next follow reflections on Christ and Christianity,—on the consequences of virtue and vice,—on the worth of things,—on happiness and misery,—on the moral quality of our heart and conduct,—on mortality and immortality.

M. Zollikofer considers the great impediments to reflection as arising principally from various causes. First, from an erroneous mode of educating the young; by which, in his opinion, every art is put in practice to restrain them from the free use of their reason, and to stifle in them all inclination

and capacity for exerting it. It appears to him an injudicious mode of treatment to employ only the memory of the child, in making him repeat, by rote the ideas of others, without at the same time teaching him the due exercise of his own; and he regards it as the duty of instructors of youth to endeavour to habituate their pupils to independent reflection, and rather to follow the march of their own ideas, though it should not be precisely the direct and proper one, than force them to observe the methodical train of theirs. On this question, which has been so often and so ably discussed, we shall only observe that a blind adherence to *either extreme*, without due distinction being made between the dispositions and talents of different pupils, may justly be considered as an injudicious mode of education. It is impossible to lay down any fixed and determined rule which will, in every case, be found applicable. Ideas may be instilled to the advantage and improvement of the pupil, without infringing on that liberty of opinion which should always, even in youth, be held sacred. The judicious instructor, therefore, will act as circumstances direct.

A second impediment to reflection is stated to be the want of practice in it. A third is a dissipated mode of life. A fourth is caused by misguided and turbulent passions being suffered to predominate in the mind over rectitude of feeling, and just impressions of truth. A fifth depends on the consciousness of sin, and a dread of those reproaches of the heart which would infallibly result from serious meditation. A sixth is the mistaken idea that seriousness and enjoyment are incompatible; and that, by addicting ourselves to much grave reflection, we inevitably become sullen, morose, and unsocial. On all of these points, the author argues with a considerable degree of earnestness; and he not only succeeds in making out his own case, that such are in fact the great obstacles to reflection, but in a most able and judicious manner he points out the means and the assistance by which they may be removed.

This subject concludes the first portion of the volume. The second contains the application of the above general principles to the purposes of devotional exercise, and is intitled, 'Materials for daily morning and evening reflections and meditations, and particularly daily self-examination, for a Christian, who would walk circumspectly, and successfully endeavour at the attainment of that Christian perfection, whereof he is capable.' We shall present our readers with an extract from both the morning and the evening meditation, in order to give them a general idea of the nature of this part of the work.

MORNING.

MORNING.

What relations do I bear to God? What is God respecting me, and what am I respecting him? How ought I therefore to behave to him to-day and every day of my life? And what may I to-day and every day of my life promise myself from him?

In what relative situations do I stand to Jesus, the founder of Christianity? What are his designs upon me, and what am I with reference to him? How and whereby must I as a Christian distinguish myself from those who are not, or only bear the name of Christians? How can I, how must I, as a Christian be the light of the world, the salt of the earth, the substitute of Jesus amongst his brethren?

In what relations am I situated to mankind in general. What are they to me? What am I to them? How must I view and judge of them? How be disposed toward them? How behave toward them? How perform the great duty of universal charity and Christian brotherly love?

In what relations do I stand to those individuals in particular, with whom I am associated in domestic and civil life? What owe I to them as spouse, as head of a family, as brother [as sister], as friend, as tutor, as master [as servant]? What may they justly expect of me? How and wherein can and ought I to be useful to them to-day?

In what relations do I stand to the present and to the future? What is the one to me? and what should the other be to me? Which of the two is means, and which is end? Which merits my greatest attention? Which is deserving of my most ardent endeavours? How must I use and enjoy the one, if I would have the other prove soothing and blissful to me?

How can and should I blend religion with my whole tenour of life? How can and should it be even to-day my instructor, my guide, my comforter? How can and should I by it dignify my affairs, alleviate my duties, sweeten my satisfactions, and render the several hardships and burdens of this day tolerable, nay even beneficial to me? What lessons, what precepts, what grounds of consolation in these respects does it give me?

How can and should I so pass the present day, that I may rejoice in the evening and need never be ashamed of it? What may probably await me to-day? What affairs? What pleasures? What sufferings? What obstacles and difficulties? What companies? What opportunities to good? What temptations to evil? How must I act with a view to these several objects, that they may be innocuous and profitable to me?

EVENING.

How have I spent this day? Have I reason to be satisfied, with the application and the use of it, with my sentiments and my conduct? Dare I promise myself the approbation of God, my sovereign master and overseer?

Does my conscience accuse me of no intentional sin, no intentionally omitted duty, no wilfully neglected opportunity of good? No intemperance in the gratifications of sense? No im-

patience in suffering? No imprudence and no petulance in converse? No base self-interest and no vanity in my dealings? No indifference and insensibility respecting God and religion?

Have I erred to-day: in what circumstances did it happen? What gave occasion and inducement to it? In what frame of mind was I? What preceded this fault? What attended it? Of what must I in future most assiduously beware? How must I avoid that offence, or surmount this obstacle?

Have I done any good to-day: what gave me inclination and ability to it? What thoughts, what sentiments, what maxims, what precepts of religion urged and led me to it? What must I therefore imprint most deeply in my memory and oftenest call to mind? And what outward circumstances lent facilities to this good act, or to this victory over myself? How can I best avail myself of the same resource for the time to come?

Have I to-day done that, have I to-day been that, have I to-day afforded that, which in my station and calling, in my place, agreeably to the will of God I ought to do and to be and to afford? Am I therefore advanced more nearly to the proper end of my being, or have I receded farther from it? Will this day have to me and to others good, or bad consequences in futurity?

Have I performed the works and businesses of this day with a calm, untroubled mind, with reference to God and from obedience to his wise constitutions and settlements: have I performed them with conscientious punctuality? Have I been actuated therein by universal charity and officiousness? Have I dignified and alleviated them to myself, by considering them as the work, that the Father in heaven has given me to do for the benefit of his family upon earth? Have I willingly and cheerfully applied my capacities and abilities to them, and not been alarmed at any unavoidable pains and exertion?

Have I executed that, which I had to do, with success? Or have my undertakings miscarried, and my honest designs been frustrated? Whom have I to thank for that success? To what was this miscarriage owing? Was it to myself? Was it to the want of attention, of prudence, of industry, of method? Or is it Providence that does not approve of my purpose, that determined I should not accomplish it? How must I in the former case act otherwise and better? How console myself in the other?

What observations may I have made to-day, on myself and my moral condition, or on what I have seen and heard in converse with others? What experiments have I made? What particular accidents have perhaps occurred to me? What may I learn from both the one and the other? How apply the one and the other to my own improvement?

Some well-written forms of prayer then follow, which are applicable both to the Sabbath and to the other days of the week, and adapted to the necessities and conditions of every class of persons. Under the head of *Daily Devotions*, the author has drawn up a set of essays on the different duties of

life; together with a course of reflections not only on the obligations of Christianity, but on the hopes and the happiness arising from it. The clear and methodical arrangement, which is particularly visible in this portion of the volume, merits our warmest approbation. The evening-reflections are usually either a continuation or the application of those of the morning; and both are equally calculated not only to make the reader acquainted with the general principles of moral good and evil, but to teach him to investigate the several minutiae of his own private character and conduct.

Whether the public will be of opinion that the merits of this work are so particularly pre-eminent as to rank it above all others of a similar nature, and especially that old standard-book, "The Whole Duty of Man," we know not: but we might venture to anticipate that all readers will feel particular satisfaction in that irresistibly convincing manner, in which M. Zollikofer brings facts and statements to their notice. He does not leave us to form vague speculations on the moral fitness of things, or on the opposite tendency of virtue and vice; every thing is correctly defined; the scope and intent of every argument are accurately and specifically stated; every illustration is brought to bear on the main object in view; and every inference is deduced from the premises in the simplest and most natural form of reasoning.

Sect. III. contains 'Exercises of Devotion and Prayer, on the most important Points of Religion,' subdivided into exercises of faith, of repentance, of virtue, and of consolation. We shall make one extract, as a characteristic specimen of the author's animated style,

EXERCISE OF FAITH IN GOD.

Where is the eternal, inexhaustible fountain of light, whence light and life stream forth upon all worlds and beings, and also upon me?

Where is the all-embracing, all-animating, ever active primordial energy, from which all energies proceed, and by which they are all preserved?

Where is the principle, the cause of all that I perceive and feel? All around me I see only effects that originate in other effects. One constantly following the other, one existing always for the sake of the other, all mutually depending upon one another. Does not this conduct me to a first, eternal cause, which depends upon nothing which is self-subsistent, which has for ever been and will for ever be? Where is the first link of the immense chain of things which I behold, and the almighty hand by which it is upheld?

And must not that first cause be consummately intelligent, consummately wise, consummately benevolent? Do I not perceive on all sides clear, infallible vestiges of intelligence, of wisdom,

dom, of kindness? Do I not every where see beauty, order, harmony, ends, and means for attaining those ends? Who assigned to the sun, to the moon, to the stars, who to the countless host of worlds that surround us, their places, their situation, their courses, and stationed all in that relative position to each other in which they can move and act in the most complex and diversified manner, in the most opposite directions, and yet entirely free and unimpeded? Who so magnificently adorned the earth the place of my abode; and distributed so much life and gladness among its inhabitants? What a multitude and variety of plants, of insects, of animals, I perceive upon it, whose structure, whose instincts, whose mode of life and occupations, whose relations and connexions attest the most admirable ingenuity and wisdom, and which constantly are propagated and preserved and maintain their nature and station from age to age, by the same unvarying laws of order! What violence must I do to my own feelings, were I to account all this the effect of hazard or a blind unintelligent agent!

And where is the first, the sovereign mind, the Father of all spirits, from whom I and all that thinks and is conscious of thinking, proceed? For I have not always, have only a few days since first thought; I feel that I am and think not of myself; that my being and my thinking has its origin without me; that I owe them not to the immediate authors or causers of my terrestrial life, who understand as little of it as myself, and no more subsist of themselves than I do. All nature tells me, that my being and thinking cannot be the work of chance, not the effect of the visible objects around me, not the dull mass of earth with which I am connected; for in my being and my thinking, order, design, harmony preside. No; I am sensible that that which thinks within me, that my understanding is of a superior origin, of a nobler nature and frame, than the body with which it is clothed, and the earth which bears and feeds it; that it must be the creature of a superterrestrial, of a celestial Father, of a first all-perfect mind, by whom it is and lives and thinks, and with whom it is intimately connected at every moment of its existence!

The fourth division bears the title of 'Devotional Exercises and Prayers, respecting the several relative Situations of Mankind,' the enumeration of which is thus given; 'Married persons, — Parents, — Children, — the Youth, — the Man, — the Old Man, — the Minister of State, — the Judge, — the Magistrate, — the Advocate, — the Subject, — the great Man, — the mean Man, — the rich Man, — the poor Man, — the learned Man, — the unlearned Man.' The relative duties attached to these stations are discussed at some length, and enforced with every power of eloquent language, and displayed in a most exalted strain of piety. We may indeed safely affirm that all, who are really and earnestly in search of self-improvement, and not afraid of weighing their characters in the

the accurate and impartial scale of truth, will find in these admonitions a most powerful source of assistance to their meritorious endeavours.

In the conclusion of the volume, the author supplies us with reflections on the sacrament of the Lord's supper, or 'Devotions proper to the Communion.' Although M. Zollikofer does not consider a circumstantial preparation for the holy table as absolutely necessary for all persons, but for those only who 'by continued avocations and distractions, by successive errors and deviations, are grown cold towards religion and Christianity,' he does not omit to state his views of that previous discipline of self-examination, which in the case of such persons he readily admits to be an essential introductory step. 'How must I prepare myself for it?' is the main question, which he proposes to the consideration of those who design to become communicants. The reply is thus stated:

'1st, I must ascertain the views, and reflect upon the views, in which I intend to celebrate this solemnity. 2dly, I must examine, whether I am in such a frame and temper of mind, as qualifies me for performing this solemn act in a rational manner, profitable to myself, and well pleasing to its founder. 3dly, I must make myself thoroughly acquainted and conversant with the ideas and thoughts, which should principally occupy my mind during the celebration of the sacred supper. 4thly, I must awaken and strengthen within me those godly, Christian sentiments, and emotions, which are suited to this sacred act. 5thly, I must well consider, what I profess at the sacred supper, what I there declare myself to be, and to what I there bind myself, that my professions may be the more sincere, and my obligations the more sacred and inviolable to me.'

To the preceding analysis of this volume, it would be superfluous to make farther additions. We can safely recommend it to be put into the hands of all who, with the best intentions and the most upright dispositions, may yet occasionally find themselves in need both of a monitor to remind them of duty, and of a guide to direct them in its paths. Even those who are of opinion that the religion of the heart is alone sufficient for the Christian, and who may be unwilling to fetter their devotions by the limited prescription of established formularies, would not derive any disadvantage from a work which blends useful instruction with fervent piety, and deduces the necessity and benefits of public and private worship from the most rational principles of sound philosophy. The persons, however, for whose use it is principally intended; 'reflecting and sincere Christians,'—those whose main object in life is the attainment of true perfection and happiness, and only as

elementary to a state of farther perfection and unlimited enjoyment, — will be the most likely to consider it as intitled to their encouragement and favour.

Of the translation, we shall only observe that the occasional stiffness of expression, which we have at times perceived in the body of the work, does not greatly diminish our sense of gratitude to the person who has presented this, as well as similar publications, to the perusal and attention of his countrymen.

ART. VII. *Report, together with the Minutes of Evidence, and an Appendix of Papers, from the Committee appointed to consider of Provision being made for the better Regulation of Mad-Houses in England.* (Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 21th July 1815.) Arranged by J. B. Sharpe, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons. 8vo. pp. 400. Baldwin and Co. 1815.

ART. VIII. *The first Annual Report on Mad-Houses, made in the Year 1816, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, April 26. 1816, &c. &c.* 8vo. pp. 158. 7s. Clement.

ART. IX. *Observations on the Laws relating to private Lunatic Asylums, and particularly on a Bill for their Alteration, which passed the House of Commons in the Year 1814.* 8vo. pp. 112. Conder. 1816.

ART. X. *Practical Hints on the Construction and Economy of Pauper Lunatic Asylums; including Instructions to the Architects who offered Plans for the Wakefield Asylum, and a Sketch of the most approved Design.* By Sam. Tuke. 8vo. 1s. Darton and Co.

ART. XI. *A Letter to Sir R. C. Glynn, Bart., President of the Royal Hospitals of Bridewell and Bethlem, on the Treatment and Dismissal of the late Medical Officers of those Establishments.* By James Upton, Esq. 8vo. pp. 16. Rivington 1816.

WE place these five publications in the same article because they refer to the same question, and are, in several respects, connected with each other. The subject is indeed highly interesting, and addresses itself most warmly both to the feelings and to the understanding of every person. The evidence laid before the House of Commons must carry full conviction to the mind, that a necessity exists for the enactment of some more powerful laws for the better regulation of mad-houses; and we feel a sanguine hope that the disclosure of the facts, which are thus brought into view, will effectually

effectually rescue the unhappy sufferers from the state in which they have been retained, partly through the interested motives and partly through the ignorance of those to whose care they were consigned.

The first publication contains the evidence laid before the Members of the Committee, their report on the same, and an appendix of miscellaneous papers. We shall not be able to take a detailed view of the minutes of evidence, which extend to above 350 closely printed pages; nor should we wish to fill our pages with copious details of so melancholy and revolting a nature: but we shall make a few observations on some particular parts, and especially on the general result of the whole as it is stated in the Committee's Report. We fully agree with them in asserting the urgent necessity for farther legislative interference: that no set of persons stands more in need of legal protection than the insane; and that even in asylums established for individuals in the higher classes of life, and still more in work-houses, or in the different receptacles for the insane poor, the neglect and abuses have been much greater than any body could have imagined, or believed, had the evidence of the facts been less decisive. Although we meet with some exceptions to these remarks, they are unfortunately not numerous; for even in those situations in which the afflicted have been treated with personal kindness, and the masters and keepers seem to have been humane and disinterested, it is seldom that the most effectual curative means have been employed, the patients having been regarded as objects rather for restraint than for medical treatment.

The Committee have classed their observations under nine different heads, which we shall quote, premising that on almost every one of them we entirely coincide in their opinion:

1st. Keepers of the houses receiving a much greater number of persons in them than they are calculated for; and the consequent want of accommodation for the patients, which greatly retards recovery; they are, indeed, represented by the President of the College of Physicians, and the physician acting as secretary to the visiting Commissioners, who must be considered as the most competent judges on the subject, to be better calculated for the imprisonment than the cure of patients.

2dly, The insufficiency of the number of keepers, in proportion to the number of persons intrusted to their care, which unavoidably leads to a proportionably greater degree of restraint than the patients would otherwise be under.

3dly, The mixing patients who are outrageous with those who are quiet and inoffensive; and those who are incapable of the calls of nature, with others who are cleanly.

4thly,

4thly, The want of medical assistance, as applied to the *melady* for which the persons are confined; a point worthy of the most serious attention, as the practice very generally is to confine medical aid to corporeal complaints; which circumstance the Committee are the more desirous of inforcing on the House, as an opinion has been given, by a respectable physician and another person of great experience, that where the mental faculties are only partially affected (stated by them to be so in seven-eighths of the cases,) medical assistance is of the highest importance.

5thly, Restraint of persons much beyond what is necessary, certainly retarding recovery, even beyond what is occasioned by the crowded state of the House; of which many instances were stated to the Committee. In the course of the evidence there will be found opinions unfavourable to the use of strait waistcoats, as more oppressive to the patient even than irons; which induce your Committee to observe, that a waistcoat has been invented, under the view of one of the members of it, which appears likely to be quite as secure as the one now in use, and infinitely less distressing to the wearer.

6thly, The situation of the parish paupers in some of the houses for insane persons; respecting the care of whom, when confined in parochial work-houses, the Committee also made some inquiries, as connected with the matter before them, although not expressly included in the reference to them.

7thly, Detentions of persons, the state of whose minds did not require confinement:—on this ground of complaint, your Committee had very slender means of information.

8thly, Insufficiency of certificates on which patients are received into the mad-houses.

9thly, The defective visitation of private mad-houses, under the provisions of the 14 Geo. III. c. 49.

The condition of Ireland, with respect to the management of the insane, is still more deplorable than that of the other parts of the British empire. It would appear that, with the exception of two public establishments and some private asylums in Dublin, no places are appropriated for the reception of the insane in the whole island. When we recollect, also, that no parish work-houses are known in that country, we may readily conceive what misery must be endured by the unhappy sufferers, and what disgraceful outrages must be committed on the feelings of common humanity.

A curious circumstance is mentioned by the Committee, which, while it shows the difficulty of detecting an abuse when it is connected with a public establishment, must make every person still more grateful to them for the labour which they have bestowed on this investigation. During the previous session of parliament, a bill was in progress, the object of which was to establish better regulations for the management of mad-houses; when the Governors of the Asylum at York

York presented a petition praying that, in consequence of the good management of that institution, it might be exempted from the provisions of the act, and the Governors of Bethlem actually succeeded in obtaining a special clause in their favour to the same purpose. The Committee observe on these circumstances, that they are 'desirous of directing the attention of the House to the parts of the evidence which relate to these two establishments.' We shall strongly enforce the above recommendation, since we prefer a reference to the original to any attempt which we could make to quote or abstract this part of the evidence. The account of the York Asylum is given by Mr. Higgins, a respectable magistrate of the West Riding of Yorkshire; who, in consequence of an accidental discovery, was the means of disclosing the scenes of wretchedness which had been, for a long time, concealed within its walls. The obstacles which he experienced in the progress of his inquiry are strong confirmations of the truth of his statements; — and, which is perhaps the most important of all the facts that have been brought to light, it appears that the medical officers of the institution, men of apparent respectability, have been appropriating to their own use large sums of money which were conceived to have been devoted to public purposes.

On the subject of Bethlem Hospital, the evidence is not less material than that which respects the York Asylum; and, considering it as a great national establishment, to a certain degree open for public inspection, and situated in the centre of the metropolis, the details lead even to more important reflections. We regret to observe that they discover an almost entire disregard to the comfort or feelings of the patients; a dreadful want of accommodation both in the arrangements of the building and in the mode of disposing of its unfortunate inmates, and nearly a total want of any professional treatment, or of any appropriate means of relieving their mental diseases. Patients in all stages of derangement were promiscuously crowded together, chains and fetters were heard and seen in all directions, persons of both sexes were almost in a state of nakedness, and those who were of delicate habits and of mental refinement were compelled to associate with such as were coarse and brutal. A plan like this was better calculated for destroying the understanding of those who were previously sane, than for restoring the reason of such as had experienced a partial or temporary derangement.

Perhaps the most remarkable evidence is that which is given respecting the medical treatment of the patients in Bethlem

Bethlem Hospital; and on this head we make a quotation from the examination of Mr. G. Waller, steward to the institution:

‘Do you know whether it is the practice to bleed at a particular season of the year? — I believe it is, periodically.

‘At what season of the year? — I fancy about this time. [May.]

‘Is the bleeding begun? — No; and I believe they are also physick’d periodically.

‘Is that practice general through the whole ward? — I understand it has been the general practice.

‘Is bathing periodical too? — Yes.’

It is impossible that by any detailed commentary we can add to the effect of this short dialogue. That in this enlightened and scientific age, — in this country, where medical science is so assiduously cultivated, — and in the great national establishment of the metropolis, — such a plan should be permitted, must indeed excite our amazement, regret, and compassion. What was held up to ridicule, nearly a century ago, and supposed to be an extravagant burlesque, is now proved to be a reality! — We farther learn that Mr. Haslam, the apothecary, lives some miles from the hospital, that he comes pretty regularly every day, and ‘stays half an hour, or sometimes longer,’ that ‘he passes along the galleries, and if there be a patient he has a particular desire to see, he sees that patient.’ The physician’s duty is still more lightly performed. He comes to the Hospital and ‘attends the Committee every Saturday;’ and he visits the patients ‘if there is any case reported to him,’ but only when ‘there is a case which requires attention:’ — so that, on the whole, we learn that he never notices the general condition of the patients, that no means are practised by him for removing the mental diseases, and that he only attends to their bodily complaints under particular circumstances. We farther learn that ‘there are patients who have been in some time, and that have not had any thing done for them;’ that there is no warm bath in the hospital; and, with respect to the cold bath, that ‘it is in a very inconvenient situation indeed, it is a long way off.’ With regard to the periodical bleeding and physicing, we must advise our readers to peruse the evidence of Dr. Monro himself; which, after all the *softening down*, and all the exceptions that he must have been anxious to introduce, still leaves an impression on the mind that can never be effaced. Indeed, the best defence that he can make must be that he left all the duty to be performed by the apothecary.

Another subject, which occupies a large portion of the reported evidence, relates to the house for the reception of Naval Maniacs at Hoxton. This also may be regarded as a
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national receptacle, and as one that was furnished with what might appear a sufficient safeguard against abuses, in the regular establishment of medical superintendents and commissioners, whose duty it was to visit it at certain periods, and report to the public boards any circumstances which might require alteration or redress. We do not, indeed, discover in this institution any of that deliberate or wilful cruelty which prevails in some other cases: but we have too much reason to lament that the brave defenders of their country, who are suffering under the privation of reason, and some of them persons of rank and education, are crowded together in apartments so small 'as to contaminate the air, and render it unfit for respiration;' that the number of servants or attendants allowed to them is 'utterly inadequate to the duties required, in keeping them clean and comfortable, and in rendering them every other assistance necessary to men in their unhappy situation;' and, which is to be deplored and deprecated in the strongest manner, that *they receive no medical treatment whatever for the cure of their insanity.* It farther appears that 'both frantic and mild cases are mixed indiscriminately;' a practice which we think Dr. Weir justly designates 'as cruel and improper in the extreme, and which must retard the progress of recovery.' On the whole, it is but too evident that, in this establishment, the object has been to crowd the utmost number of persons into the smallest space; to have the fewest attendants to wait on them; and, in every possible way, to diminish the expense of their support, without any regard to their cure, comfort, or accommodation. Most of the observations which we have quoted from the Committee's Report apply but too forcibly to the Hoxton Asylum.

As some relief to the mind, after all these melancholy details, we have the gratification to learn that the labours of the Committee of the House of Commons have already produced some beneficial effects; and that the very magnitude of the evil has operated favourably, by awakening in the public mind a sensation which cannot be repressed but by a reform of the abuses. We also hope and trust that some permanent plan will be adopted, by which the recurrence of such abuses may be prevented in future. Amid the evils which so painfully press on our attention on all sides, it is some alleviation to find that they are, in most instances, obviously productive of some good, and it appears as if the good could not be effected without the preceding evil. In the present case, we apprehend that the dreadful abuses and neglect, which have prevailed in the receptacles for insane patients, must necessarily

erily attract the attention of professional men to the medical treatment of mental diseases; that the routine which originated in ignorance, and has been perpetuated by negligence, will be discarded; and that the unfortunate sufferers, under a privation of reason will be no longer fettered as criminals, or punished as delinquents, but will be regarded as proper objects for the exercise of medical skill, and will not be precluded from the advantages which have accrued to the other departments of the science from the increased experience and improved knowledge of the age.

Influenced by these opinions, we have perused with very great satisfaction the evidence of Sir Henry Hallford, given in the 'First Annual Report;' in which he states his sentiments respecting the degree of benefit that is likely to be derived from medical advice in cases of insanity. We shall quote a passage from the answers of this intelligent physician, in every respect interesting and gratifying; interesting from its high authority, and gratifying as conveying a pleasing prospect to the sufferers under this malady.

'I consider insanity to be connected with bodily indisposition, throughout its course, though this be less apparent in some cases than in others. It is obvious in the instances of females who become deranged after lying-in; this is, perhaps, the most remediable specimen of the disease; it is obvious also in that modification of the malady which we see in females of a particular temperament, at a certain period of life, when they sometimes become melancholy; and it is striking in the cases of sailors, after a great sea-fight, where there had been previously great earnestness, much personal exertion, protracted watchfulness, and, after the conflict, an improvident indulgence in spirituous liquors. These combined causes produce great irritation of the brain, and derangement; but such patients generally get well. I remember to have seen at least twenty sailors in a state of derangement, in one house of reception of lunatics, after Lord Howe's victory on the 1st of June. I have stated that medicine is essential in the progress of insanity, more especially where the disease is wrought up into paroxysms, and recurs with violence in that form; in such paroxysms there is an appeal to the skill as well as to the humanity of the physician, beyond what arises in almost any other disease, for the body labours in this unhappy predicament until it is destroyed; I have seen several patients die in this painful manner. If medicine be less useful in the confirmed periods of insanity, it is as little so in the advanced stages of other chronic disorders. In cases of incapacity of the joints, with painful swellings upon them, from chalk stones, after repeated fits of the gout, medicine has no effect upon these depositions; yet this is no argument against the use of medicine in the first attacks of gout, to prevent, if possible, such dismemberment and deformity. Again, in the instance of palsy, when a patient has lost the use of half his body;

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in this stage of his complaint medicine has very little sensible effect upon it; but, if the patient be assisted in the earliest attack of his malady, whilst under apoplexy, which generally precedes palsy, not only may his life possibly be saved, but the paralytic symptoms prevented altogether, or at least considerably mitigated. And we have much to learn on the subject of mental derangement; and I am of opinion that our knowledge of insanity has not kept pace with our knowledge of other distempers; from the habits we find established, of transferring patients under this malady, as soon as it has declared itself, to the care of persons who too frequently limit their attention to the mere personal security of their patients, without attempting to assist them by the resources of medicine. We want facts in the history of this disease; and if they are carefully recorded, under the observation of enlightened physicians, no doubt they will sooner or later be collected in sufficient number to admit of safe and useful inductions.

We cannot conclude our brief account of the first and second works which are specified at the head of this article, without offering our most heartfelt thanks to the House of Commons, for the assiduity and intelligence which they have exerted in the investigation. The benefit which must accrue from it is neither temporary nor partial; it is not one of those problematical improvements in which a plan of future or remote benefit is purchased by present suffering; nor is it of the nature of those splendid triumphs respecting which we all agree in the importance of the object, but which is necessarily connected with much evil, so that we have only to boast of a *balance* of good. — We should not be less grateful to the private individuals, whose benevolence led them to visit the scenes of wretchedness which had so long remained secluded from the public eye, and whose spirit and perseverance forced them on the attention of the legislature.

The pamphlet intitled ‘Observations on the Laws relating to private Lunatic Asylums’ consists of an abstract and remarks on the two Acts of Parliament that have been passed on this subject; the first in the 14th year of the present reign, the second in the 55th; and the author gives a perspicuous account of their provisions, with the effects which were supposed by the framers to be likely to result from them. These intentions, as far as the first is concerned, were but partially fulfilled, although it certainly was productive of considerable utility. In the subsequent opinion we entirely concur.

It is from the public hospitals which were unfortunately excepted from its influence, that have been gathered the melancholy and disgusting tales, lately transcribed into our public prints. In many of them, the management seems to have been unimproved from the most barbarous times; they having continued the same
 8* government

government of terror and violence, the same system of oppression and contempt, formerly so general. They form a striking contrast with the state of most of the private asylums.

The second Act, it is asserted, 'seems to have been a production of great haste,' and was passed by the House while the feelings of the members were warmly excited by the dreadful abuses which they had detected. They were anxious to guard against a repetition of such evils, and consequently enacted many clauses for this direct object, but, as the writer conceives, not the most happily contrived for the end in view. In their anxiety to curb the undue thirst after gain, or to repress the sallies of passion, in which the keepers of asylums have indulged, they imposed on them many burdensome restraints, which are said to be both unnecessary and unjust, and which must tend to degrade the character of the professional man who is subjected to them. We scarcely feel ourselves competent to decide on all the points in discussion: but we think that the remarks are worth the serious attention of those who are concerned in the discussion. On the following point there can be but one opinion, that, as the law now stands, it forms the most extraordinary anomaly:

'It will without doubt have been perceived by the reader of the bill, that all its provisions extend to public as well as private houses, except St. Luke's and Bethlem Hospitals in London, and these are only subject to be visited. Bethlem Hospital is I suppose exempted on account of some late regulations in its management. Yet it is singular that the place, the proceedings in which must have been one of the principal causes of the numerous oppressive restraints intended to have been put in force; and where such cruelty and barbarity were permitted as must attach lasting infamy to the names connected with it, should be deemed almost the only hospital in the kingdom where the new regulations are unnecessary.'

The 'Practical Hints' of Mr. Tuke cannot be too highly commended; and when we reflect that he is a private individual, unconnected with the medical profession, deriving no emolument from his labours, and actively engaged in a regular employment of a totally different kind, for the support of a numerous family, we cannot sufficiently admire his benevolence and disinterestedness. Fortunately for the advantage of his fellow-creatures, Mr. Tuke unites to his benevolence a large portion of knowledge; and consequently his exertions are all directed into the proper channel, and not lost on fruitless projects, or frittered away on theoretical improvements. His pamphlet is not a work for critical examination: but it contains a body of most valuable matter, which

we strongly recommend to the notice of those among our readers who may wish for information on the subject.

We cannot say much in commendation of Mr. Upton's attempt to vindicate Dr. Monro and Mr. Haslam, or to prove that they were unjustly dismissed from their situations at Bethlem Hospital. On the contrary, we very decidedly affirm that no impartial person can read the evidence at full length, the accusations against them, and their defence, without forming the conclusion that they had essentially neglected their duty, and were therefore unworthy of the public confidence.

Ann. XII. *Jonah*. The Seatonian Prize-Poem for the Year 1815. By James W. Bellamy, M.A. of Queen's College, Cambridge. 8vo. 3s. 6d. sewed. Rivingtons. 1815.

Ann. XIII. *Jonah*. A Poem. By Edward Smedley, Junior. 8vo. 3s. 6d. sewed. Murray.

"Victrix causa Deis placuit, sed victa Catoni!"

AMONG the many occasions on which this well-known line has been applied to the consolation of an unsuccessful candidate for his chosen species of honour, we do not recollect one that more justly demands it than the present. How, indeed, it *could* have happened that such an application of the passage should be excited, at a learned University, in a case to our minds of such obvious and easy decision, we are at a loss to conceive. So, however, it is; and Mr. Bellamy has strangely and unexpectedly, we should think, snatched from the brow of his rival his former honours;

"Hærentem capiti multâ cum laude coronam."

The "Saul and Jonathan," and the "Jephthah," (see Rev. Vol. lxxvii. p. 100.) of Mr. Smedley, the two Seatonian prizes which preceded the last, were certainly popular among that comparatively limited class of readers who delight in the perusal of poetry on sacred subjects. We shall not repeat what we have so often urged on this topic: but, addressing ourselves now to the class above mentioned, we shall leave the majority to enjoy their opinions alike undisturbed and unconfirmed by any fresh argument of our own.

In instituting a comparison between the little works before us we will be guided as nearly as we can by a reference to passages, in either poem, on the same or similar branches of the subject: but this will not be in our power throughout; because the views taken of that subject by Mr. Bellamy and Mr. Smedley are essentially different. The latter seems to

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have

have conceived (and we think that his conception is natural) that there was something in the dark, mysterious, and concise story of Jonah, according to its literal narration, which required a delicate and rapid touch, if attempted to be embodied in poetry; while the previous denouncements of destruction on Nineveh; and the application of the events of the Prophet's life to the New Testament, would more fairly afford a theme on which verse might dwell. Mr. Bellamy, on the contrary, goes *right an end* (to use a vulgar but expressive phrase) with the story, and is neither turned aside by the squeamishness of selection, nor stopped by the fear of bringing forwards, and placing in the centre of his canvas, objects which might perhaps be better softened down into shade and distance. Our readers, however, shall decide this knotty point; and we shall proceed to quotation, reserving to the conclusion our remarks on the passages selected, and on other detached portions of the rival productions.

‘Lo! through each street the Prophet raises high
The warning voice, and pours the accusing cry.

“He that hath ears to hear, attend my call:
Ere forty days proud Nineveh shall fall! —
All Nature arm'd obeys the mighty God
Who smites the nations with His lifted rod.
Thick clouds and darkness veil His awful form,
His way the whirlwind, and His scourge the storm:
He bids the subject streams forget to flow,
And ocean's angry waves His mandate know.
As fallen is Bashan, Carmel's glory gone,
As droops in death the flower of Lebanon,
So shall, proud Nineveh, thy turrets fall,
So sink the levell'd ruin of thy wall.
Ne'er on thy waste shall camp the Arab horde,
Nor the fierce robber sheath his sated sword;
But, trooping, desert beasts shall throng the ground,
And the wild satyr dance his wanton round;
There shall the owl in screeching horror fly,
And the lone bittern raise her fearful cry.
O'er thy broad ways shall roll a whelming flood,
And bathe the beauty of thy groves in blood.
No more thy harps shall swell the airy strain,
Nor aged minstrels wake the song again;
No more thy sons shall know the rapturous hour,
Pillow'd by love in beauty's roseate bower,
No more thy boastful banners, wide unfurl'd,
Shall float the pride and terror of the world:
Dimness of anguish, horror, and dismay,
Shall burst in blackest ruin on thy day.
“Lo! the destroyer, in his iron car,
Braves thy bold front, and spreads his havoc far.

Vain

Vain is the fenced gate, the frowning tower,
Thy vaunt of valour, and thine arm of power;
God shall rebuke the Assyrian in his pride,
The boaster dash beneath the crimson tide;
Raise the fallen branches of His chosen vine,
And bid the drooping tendrils firmer twine;
Repay the heathen's scorn, who taunting tell
Of Jacob's sighs, the tears of Israel.

“Thou, Queen of Nations, shalt be captive led,
The haughty slave of some stern victor's bed;
Or, oft from distant springs the water's weight
Shalt weeping bear, and curse thy bitter fate:
Thy maids the while their Sovereign's fall shall wail,
As the lone dove that tells her mournful tale.

“Woe to thee, Queen of Nations! at whose gate
Falsehood, and rapine, and foul murder wait:
The Almighty God, the Lord of Hosts His name,
Will shew the world thy nakedness and shame;
The assembled nations shall behold thy woe,
Spurn thy complaint, and mock thine overthrow;
Insultant raise o'er Nineveh's forlorn
The laugh of triumph, and the smile of scorn.
Say — does thine arm a fiercer combat claim,
Blossoms on thy brow a fairer wreath of fame,
Than many-peopled Thebes, puissant, brave,
Her mound the ocean, and her wall the wave?
Majestic she, through hundred portals wide,
Rolled the red torrent of her martial tide,
Yet fell, unpitied, from her giddy stand,
Nor found a willing tear, a helping hand.
On thee shall God His phial'd fury pour,
Dread, as the fiery sulphurous rain of yore:
Lo! the stern foe uprears his blood-red shield,
His warrior garments dyed in many a field;
Swift are his chariots as the lightning's glance,
And strong his arm to shake the gleamy lance:
Her savage hordes see desolation bring,
And weltering slaughter flap her vulture wing;
On his pale horse, Death sweep along the plain,
And hurl his murderous dart, and lead his hell-born train.”

Thus far Mr. Bellamy. We now beg the attention of our readers to his rival:

‘Woe to the bloody and adulterous Queen,
The harlot Ashur with her careless men!
Woe to thee, Queen of waters! though the tide
Of lordly Tigris gird thy crested pride;
On the bright surface of its shifting wave
Though glance thy bulwarks powerful to save;
And far as eye can reach the embattled length
Of tower and rampart frown in seemly strength;

U 2

Woe

Woe to thee, mighty city ! for the day
Is come when all thy might shall pass away ;
A day of clouds and darkness ! when the Lord
Bares his uplifted arm, and girds his sword.

' Where is the dwelling of the lion ! where
The unconquered monarch of the forest lair !
The den with rayin heap'd ; the spoiler's shade ;
The kingly whelps whom none could make afraid !
Void, waste, and empty now ! the avenger's spear
Has flesh'd its point, the sword has glutted here.

Blood ! all is blood ! there is no more to drain,
The steel must pause, it cannot slay the slain.
Blood ! all is blood ! no stir of living thing,
No sound which any thought of life can bring,

No voices e'en of agony : the breath
Thick-drawn, the rattle, the deep groan of death,
All now is hush'd — in mingled horror lie
Banner, and plume, and shatter'd panoply,

The pomp and garniture of battle pride,
Horseman, and horse, confusedly side by side,
And youth, and age, and sex — one ghastly heap
Of general death, one charnel-house of sleep !

Yet, where the helm was lifted, or the pale
And gory visage burst the clasped mail,
If haply feature still remain'd to show
Aught of the look which once was life below,

It bore no warrior shape : — not there the eye
Born to command, the glance of victory,
The brow's defiance, and the smile assur'd
Of triumph though by death to be secur'd.

There, in the stead, distrust and gloom appear,
And the half boldness of reluctant fear ;

Or if in one there scowl'd a fiercer air,
'Twas the last working of confirm'd despair.

The Lord was set against them, and their heart
Wax'd chill and feeble for the warrior's part.

Near lay the midnight reveller, from his board
Of festive dalliance hurried to the sword :

Still fresh the lotus on his odor'd crown,
His heated brows with nard still dropping down,
The flush of riot on his cheek, his lip

Moist with the cup whose brim he did but sip.
More horrid mockery of the life than all

The varied horrors of that people's fall.

Though there the locks which time had silver'd o'er
Were red and dabbled in some infant's gore ;

And close upon her stiffening child was press'd
In its expiring pant the mother's breast ;

There by her lov'd, the new-betrothed bride,
And the dead orphan by the widow's side.

It was a nation's obsequy ! the Lord
Was wroth, and gather'd them beneath his sword.

' Red

' Red is the buckler of the brave ! the spear
Is red with dropping in that day of fear !
Strong is the raging of the chariots then !
Strong the first onset, fierce the rush of men !
Where are the numberless ! the wide-spread herd
O'er whom the gales of yester evening stirr'd !
Where now the uncounted hosts whose proud array
Shone, as the locusts, to the close of day !
Lo ! when the sun ariseth who can tell
Where those uncounted hosts of locusts dwell !

' Nipp'd is the rose of Ashur ! in its breast
The canker-worm has made his withering nest :
Spoil'd all its fragrance, ravish'd all its bloom,
Drain'd e'en the memory of its dead perfume.
They too, the Gods who twin'd in mazy fold
The scaly terrors of their imag'd gold,
Belus, and Thalath, and that other Queen,
Queen of the laughing eye, and lightsome mien,
Fallen are their temples ! — Yea, as once the fane
Which he, the accursed, heaped upon the plain,
The mighty hunter ; stage on stage was dight,
Tower above tower, height succeeding height,
Circuitous ; and from the lowest mound
The labouring eye could scarcely reach the ground,
Or, when below, its summit ; so amid
Immeasurable clouds the mass was hid :
A mountain fram'd by man, who in his pride
Sought heaven, and God's great infinite defied ;
Chose in the skies a loftier dwelling-place,
And hop'd to force the eternal bounds of space.
Impious and blind, but hurried on his doom,
And what he deem'd a palace, found a tomb !

' Yea ! Nineveh is fallen ! — but not before
The Lord had shewed her that his wrath was sore ;
Not till his finger pointed out the thread
By which the vengeance quiver'd o'er her head.
There spake the son of Cush in his might ;
There roll'd the thunders of the Elkoshite ;
And there Amittai's trembling seed obey'd
The call reluctantly ; as if afraid
Of man, yet fearless to endure the wrath
Of heaven, which follow'd blasting on his path.'

" Look here, upon this picture, and on this !"

Well may Mr. Smedley exclaim,

—— " *Agimus, proh Jupiter ! —*

Ante rates causam, et mecum confertur Ulysses !"

As, however, his modesty would probably decline any such exclamation, (for he printed his poem only in consequence of

the request of the judge or judges, in the Cambridge-paper,) we deem it highly necessary to make it for him; and to ask our readers whether they have not already decided, or rather, in the name of good taste and common sense, whether it be possible to hesitate in the decision?

'He that hath ears to hear, attend my call —
Ere forty days, proud Nineveh shall fall!'

A couplet worthy of Moore's *Almanack*. — Really we cannot suppose that the most enthusiastic admirers of the *Bible versified* can approve of such an *enseblement*, such a degradation of it, as the foregoing: — but what will they say to the *heathen* image in the following line?

'The wild *Satyr* dance his wanton round.'

What of

'*Pillow'd by Love in Beauty's roseate bower,*
in a Scriptural poem?
Such verses as

'Dimness of anguish, horror, and dismay,
Shall burst in blackest ruin on thy day,'

we are convinced might be made by any school-boy of the slightest promise, with the Bible and a rhyming dictionary at his elbow. We are ashamed to couple such incongruity, but our writers and readers of *sacred poetry* (as it is called) are answerable for the discordant union.

'The *boaster* dash beneath the crimson tide,'
instead of *shall dash the boaster*, &c. is kept in countenance by twenty other awkwardnesses of the like description.

'The maids the while their sovereign's fall shall wail.'

Does Mr. Bellamy mean the *Maids of Honour*? His language seems to imply a reference to that interesting class of beings; since it is equally soft, gentle, and sentimental, with their own.

'As the lone dove that tells her mournful tale.'

Yes: Mr. Bellamy *must* mean "the Maids of Honour."

'Repay the Heathen's scorn, who taunting tell
Of Jacob's sighs, the tears of Israël.'

To the "crack of doom" might a man go on, inditing such distichs as these!

We would ask our readers, dispassionately, whether they can endure the moulding of such phrases as the following into a verse?

'The

'The Almighty God, the Lord of Hosts his names'
but we had rather quit this part of the subject; and we will;
only hoping that we have made our own ideas on it plain
enough to prevent any misunderstanding.

'Blooms on thy brow a fairer wreath of fame
Than many-peopled *Thebes*, *puissant*, brave,' &c.

The last line may be read by pronouncing *Thebes*, *Thē-bēs*;
or *puissant* may, according to old usage, be called *puissant*;
and, with regard to the meaning of the line, *Thebes*, which came
into the passage we know not how, is here said to be a wreath
on the brow of Nineveh!

'Weltering Slaughter flap her vulture wing'
is one of those examples of caricatured terror which abound
in the annals of the false sublime.

'Lord of all Power and Might! whose plastic hand'
is not an unhappy specimen of the bathos; to say nothing of
the fault which we have condemned before, and to leave the
author in undisturbed possession of his privilege of laying
even the collects under contribution.

Nothing can be more out of character in a poem on the
subject of *Jonah*, than the series of *personifications* at page 16.
of Mr. Bellamy's publication. Indeed, not only the cast and
tone of Scriptural poetry are destroyed by such a string of
mental qualities clothed with *personal attributes*, but even
our translations from the classics, and our imitations of them,
lose much of their propriety and of their true character by
similar violations of correct taste. We have here, 'in Nis-
roch's secret grove,' 'Lawless Love,' 'Learing Lust,' 'Youth,
and tottering Age,' 'Silken Sloth,' 'Pride,' 'Suspicion,'
'Jealousy,' 'Envy,' 'Treachery,' 'Ingratitude,' 'Revenge,'
'Friendship,' 'Glozing Flattery,' and 'Faction':—a goodly
company! but we cannot, seriously, approve of this sort of
"modern antique" representation; this grafting of Le Brun
upon *Jonah*.

We now turn to Mr. Smedley. We are far from regard-
ing this author's composition as free from faults. On the
contrary, we frequently see too close a step in the track of
Lord Byron; and some other modes of expression, which we
shall point out, are in our judgment exceptionable: but we
think that it is scarcely possible for any reader to fail in observ-
ing the superiority of the last extract over the first. The one
displays a compression, a force, and an occasional originality,
for which we vainly look in the other; where all is diffuse,
feeble,

feeble, and common-place, exactly of the character so often quoted, but so unequalled in merited contempt.

“ Lord Fanny spins a thousand such a day !”

When Mr. Smedley makes powerful a trisyllable, surely he leans too much to the over-scrupulous enunciation of our Elizabethian ancestors ; and by the same example he ought to write passion, motion, &c. &c. longer words than modern use sanctions. Still less do we approve the Miltonic licence of

‘ Vainly he wander'd, for the Spirit of God,’ &c.

‘ The innermost secrets of this upper ground ;’

and, again, ‘ Stage on stage was *dight*,’ can never be allowed in any thing but a professed “ *Romant.*” These, however, are specks on which we cannot in justice dilate ; and we revert to the more worthy, though the invidious office of comparison.

Almost the only remaining point of contact in the two poems is to be found in that dangerous passage, in which they both allude to Jonah's ‘ living tomb.’ Mr. Smedley thus expresses himself :

‘ Strange was the mystery which the Lord prepar'd
To save the Prophet whom his mercy spar'd.
Three days, alive, and yet as in the grave,
He died new death each moment ; and the wave
Unceasingly he heard about him roll,
Depth above depth, encompassing his soul.
There the dank sea-weed round his living head
Wrapped its green folds, like shroud upon the dead.
Earth with her bars inclos'd him ; ever down,
Down to the mountain bottoms he was thrown,
The flood-springs, and the eternal roots which bound
The innermost secrets of this upper ground.
Three days in bitterness of Hell he lay,
The fourth the monster yielded up his prey.’

Mr. Bellamy's description is so much extended, that we find it difficult to lay it along side of the preceding :

‘ But from those depths, with Hades near to view,
Leviathan the recreant prophet drew ;
His guard, commission'd by divine command,
To bear the wanderer to his destin'd strand.
Cast on that shore,—wild ocean's raging wave,
The tempest's stormy roar, the living grave,
The mighty arm to rescue and to spare,
Wak'd his full soul to penitence and prayer.’

Again,

“ How rose the waves, and dash'd in wrath around,
And hurl'd me, trembling, to the gulph profound ;”

While

While in dank folds the weeds around me spread,
And bound with humid wreath my guilty head!
Plung'd where the giant mountains take their stand,
Fetter'd by earth's eternal bars, Thy hand
From the deep pit, to foul corruption given,
Brought me again to life and upper Heaven."

We must, however, bring this *parallel* to a conclusion; and, assuring our readers that we find nothing in what Mr. Belamy says of the '*Gourd*,' or of any other portion of his minutely-detailed subject, which can be considered as equal to the subjoined extract from Mr. Smedley, we shall leave that gentleman to enjoy his deserved although not his conferred honours, and to raise a blush, if such things are within the statute, on the faces of his academical umpires.

The poet, by a bold but natural transition from some impressive reflections on Death, and on Him who triumphed over Death, passes on to this vivid and touching description:

— Their hands have borne him from the cross; and laid
His mangled limbs beneath the marble shade.
The blood has clotted on his wounds, and died
The fleshy nail-prints, and his gaping side.
And round his livid brow the piercing thorn
Still presses with its coronal of scorn.
Death has been busy here, and with stern eye
Greedily brooded o'er his agony;
Glutted on every pang, and o'er the last
Linger'd unwilling life should ebb too fast;
Unwilling, for he knew his falling sway
With that great victim's breath must pass away.
Yet all is finish'd now; his eyes are clos'd
Gently, as if in slumber they repos'd;
The clammy dews are dried upon his brow,
And on his lip no suffering quivers now;
For, as he bow'd his head, upon it rose
The smile which spake forgiveness to his foes.
His look is peace; as if the Natural shar'd
The glory for the Spiritual prepar'd;
And all his heavenly essence would not quit
The mould of clay which once embodied it.

Above him, as in marble trance, there stands
One mute, though not unmov'd, with clasped hands,
And look uprais'd to Heaven, where her rapt sight
Intently dwells, thinking in beams of light
To see the Holy One her hope pursued,
Newly enthron'd in his beatitude.

It is a mother's look: but not a tear
Falls, or of feminine weakness, or of fear;
Pass'd is her passion, and her fever'd eye
Must burn before it weeps.— She saw him die!—

Not yet she knows the mystery, that the earth
 Short time shall hold her first miraculous birth;
 But the same Spirit by whose breath she rose
 A Virgin Mother, still within her glows;
 And on her bosom yearnings oft would press
 A high, involuntary, consciousness,
 And Faith scarce understood, that when apart
 She treasur'd all his wonders in her heart,
 She thrill'd with keener than a woman's joy,
 And nurs'd a hope no suffering could destroy!
 'Near her a second, but with heaving head,
 And more of human sorrow; on the dead
 She dwells with rivetted eye, whose beams can see
 Nought but his lifeless corpse, and at its knee
 Herself who mourns him; matting in her hair
 Her hands fast clench'd and palsied with despair.
 Tears dew'd her cheeks, and all the softer grace
 Of that which had been beauty; for her face
 One time was lovely, if such charm can be
 When in the bosom dwells not purity.
 Now half its fire was quench'd; and o'er her brow
 Dark looks of anguish sometimes pass, which show
 A spirit chastening, and remember'd sin
 Bitterly knowing with keen tooth within;
 Till all the foulness of her grosser sense
 Be purg'd away by pray'r and penitence.
 Her soul is riven now — the single tongue
 Which spake of blessing when the curse was strong;
 The hand which chas'd her bosom-fiend, and gave
 A hope which ceases not beyond the grave;
 Which rais'd her from the gulph, whose touch awak'd
 The flame in pleasure's slumberous chalice slak'd,
 Kindling with holy sorrow — can they die!
 Can that she lov'd with such intensity,
 Such sainted fervour of the soul, be ta'en
 Away from being, and yet she remain!

'Another, in the full and ripen'd pride
 Of perfect manhood presses near their side.
 Majestic in its gentleness his eye
 Beams meekly, though the look of victory
 Towers on his forehead — him the Lord had lov'd
 Even as a brother, and the Immortal, mov'd
 By that pure sympathy which lifts the tone
 Of mortal feelings, cherish'd as his own.
 So that in either's features you might trace
 A mutual character, but that the face
 Of one the height of earthly beauty wore,
 The other, even in its death, was more.
 Whether familiar converse could create
 Communion too of souls, and elevate

The bodily semblance, as it rais'd the mind
 From fleshliness, and the dull sense refin'd.
 He, on his friend first cast a sorrowing eye,
 Then rais'd it to his God triumphantly;
 His God, His Saviour! for He knew the plan
 Completed, and Redemption won for man.
 Such heavenward faith he cherish'd from the day
 When upon Tabor, 'mid the level way
 Of Esdraelon, he beheld his Lord
 Transfigur'd, and the glory round him pour'd.
 Such shall he cherish when his spirit, past
 In ecstasy, shall see the First and Last,
 The One I Am, and hear the awakening sound
 Of the seventh trump, and nations gathering round.
 He in his bosom's inmost cell had stor'd
 The last injunction of his dying Lord:
 And long time o'er the mourning Mother stood
 With the affectionate and watchful mood
 Of a dear son; till that her thoughts again
 Fell upon earth; and when he mark'd her pain
 Of soul return, he knew the time was come,
 And took her from that hour to his own home.
 ' So They — but He for whom they mourn'd had gain'd
 The limit of this Being,' &c. &c.

It will be needless, after all that we have said, to point out the lines which we do not intend to praise in this extract.

' And took her from that hour to his own home'

is certainly one of them: but, on the whole, the passage is well imagined, and nervously expressed; and it must clearly be by Mr. Smedley's aid, if by the aid of either of these Seatonian candidates, that, as far as English poetry is concerned,

—— ' Blazon'd on its everlasting shrine,
 Beams to our eyes the Prophet Jonah's sign.'

ART. XIV. *Report from the Committee on the State of the Police of the Metropolis.*

[Article continued from page 204.]

WE suspended our account of this very important work, in our last Number, after having discussed the question respecting the expediency of what are called *Flash-Houses*. The increase of *Gin-Shops* is another serious abuse, to which the Committee has also turned its attention; and certainly the number of houses, appropriated exclusively to the sale of that pernicious liquor, proves either that the law is ineffectual, or that those who dispense it render it useless by not carrying its provisions

provisions into effect. When the legislature required that a beer-licence should be granted by the magistrates before a spirit-licence could be obtained from the Excise, it did not intend that the first should be a mere matter of form:— but such an enactment was made in order to discourage a vicious propensity which is too prevalent in this country. How, then, does it happen that so many persons are allowed to evade the intention of the law, and to use the beer-licence, which Mr. Evance states that they do, ‘merely as a cover to authorize the sale of spirits?’ If these spirit-shops are, as Mr. Gifford says, ‘decidedly illegal,’ why are they not suppressed? The latter is a question to which this intelligent magistrate acknowledges he cannot give an answer. He sees, with others, that ‘one of the great causes of the depravity of public morals arises from extensive spirit-drinking,’ and he joins in the wish that the evil should be entirely eradicated: but, having been dissatisfied with the conduct of the licencing magistrates in his district, he feels himself obliged in a great measure to absent himself from their meetings, and his judgment is therefore lost. However well founded his dissatisfaction may have been, we deprecate its effect;— a magistrate ought not to neglect his public duty. In answering a question of the Committee, ‘At what hours are the public-houses and spirit-shops shut up in your division?’ Mr. G. says, ‘The public-houses have orders to shut up at eleven o’clock; but knowing the spirit-shops to be illegal, the police-magistrates take no cognizance of them whatever as to giving directions.’ Now beer either is or is not sold at these liquor-shops; if it be sold, (or, which is nearly the same thing, if no information be lodged that it is not sold,) then they are to be considered as subject to, and they ought to receive, the same directions which govern a common public-house: if, on the contrary, beer be not sold in them, and they are exclusively appropriated to the sale of spirits, then they are indeed ‘decidedly illegal,’ and should be punished accordingly. The law is sufficiently clear on this head, and it seems to us that the proof might be easily supplied. The statute 16 Geo. II. c. 8., after having provided that no person shall retail spirituous liquors without a licence, to be renewed annually, enacts that “no licence shall be granted to any person or persons whatsoever selling by retail any spirituous liquors, or strong waters whatsoever, except to such persons only who shall keep taverns, victualling-houses, inns, coffee-houses, or ale-houses; and if any such licences shall be granted to any other persons than as aforesaid, the same are hereby declared void to all intents and purposes.” In the following session, by

17 Geo.

17. Geo. II. c. 18., it was enacted that "in any case where a licence shall have been granted for retailing spirituous liquors to any person who shall at the time of granting such licence keep a tavern, victualling-house, inn, coffee-house, or ale-house, if such person so licenced shall afterwards during the term of continuing such licence exercise the trade of a distiller, grocer, or chandler, or keep a brandy-shop or shops for sale of any spirituous liquors, the licence granted in every such case shall be void, and such persons retailing such spirituous liquors afterwards shall forfeit 10*l.* for every such offence, notwithstanding such licence so obtained as aforesaid."

Mr. Colquhoun gives the following history of the former of these acts, in answer to a question, 'Are you not aware that the number of spirit-licences which have been granted have very much increased?'

'On or about the year 1744 or 1745, when multitudes of men and women were rolling about the streets drunk, in consequence of the number of gin-shops, the physicians were consulted upon it, and then an act was passed that no person should be entitled to a spirit licence that could not previously produce an ale licence. The object was, that there should be *no gin-shops whatever*. In spite of this, however, when the magistrates were less vigilant than they are now, they found means to get ale-licences, merely to entitle them to obtain a spirit licence from the excise, and thereby enable them to open gin-shops. We are, in this district, (and the magistrates who licence in other divisions of the metropolis,) particularly attentive to this object: and it is a rule very generally established, to refuse ale licences to every person, unless where a considerable quantity of beer is sold as well as spirits, and unless also there is a bar in the centre of the tap-room, so that no person shall come into drink gin without being seen by every body there; no private bar is allowed in this district. When I first acted as a licencing magistrate, in 1792, in the great district of the Tower Hamlets, I found 1100 public licenced houses, and, I think, in two years we suppressed eighty-seven gin-shops.'

If Mr. C. could in 1792 suppress 87 gin-shops, the question naturally arises, why in 1816 were any suffered to exist; and if Mr. C. found no difficulty in effecting that improvement, why should his brother-magistrates complain of the inefficiency of the law? They have an uncontrouled power to grant or withhold a beer-licence, without which a spirit-licence cannot be procured; and, even if they should want evidence sufficiently clear to warrant them in imposing the penalty under the 17 Geo. II. they can surely have enough to satisfy their own minds that the licence ought not to be renewed. There can, indeed, be but one opinion on the subject; and Mr. Raynsford truly remarks that 'it is not the laborious, hard-

hard-working, honest, labouring man, that resorts to dram-shops, he generally is content with his porter, but it is the loose and dissolute who are in the habit of drinking drams, and they drink to such excess, as to reduce themselves to a state of mental madness, when they often commit the most desperate crimes.' Mr. Owen * also considers "the spirit-shops as a great national evil, and therefore a scandal to the government that permits their continuance; and the chief immediate cause of temptation to intemperance, idleness, vice, and misery among the poor and working classes." The lamentable extent to which the practice of dram-drinking is carried is exemplified by a fact contained in a question put by a member of the Committee; viz. that these houses have sometimes 'two doors, the one for entry and the other by which they go out, passing by a bar, where they take their glass of gin, deposit their money, and take their departure; the consequence of which has been that, on a Sunday morning between half past 6 and 8 o'clock, an opposite neighbour counted 165 persons pass through one house: being at the rate of nearly two persons in every minute.

It is curious to remark that, though all the magistrates who were examined condemn the evil, it continues to stare them in the face as if in defiance of their opinion. The increase of these receptacles of profligacy seems indeed to be universally allowed, and in the parish of Shadwell it is proved that they have advanced from 80 to 83 during the last year. The evidence, however, of one of the Borough-magistrates states that, at last, they 'were aware of the ill consequences of having so many gin-shops;' and that, at several meetings on that very point, they came to certain resolutions, which were afterward printed and stuck up in the different houses; with notice that those who did not change the front of their houses from being mere gin-shops, and have a tap-room for people to go in and take beer, should have their licences rejected when they applied for a renewal of them. Several of the other magistrates examined also express their determination to put the laws in force: but, however zealous individuals may be, what can we expect when we have such glaring facts before us as the following? Mr. Gifford, in explaining a previous answer that licences are granted [in the Borough] with great facility, far beyond what appears necessary for the

* The benevolent proprietor of the Great Mills at New Lanark, and the author of some essays in which he explains the system of management adopted in them, already noticed in our Review.

public accommodation, and in some instances in direct violation of the laws of the land, says;

'I mean licences to shops known to be purely liquor-shops, where the sale of beer has been proved not to exist. I was present at the Quarter Sessions last year, where this subject was taken into consideration by the magistrates of the county; it there appeared, that two magistrates had gone to a liquor-shop in the Borough, for the express purpose of ascertaining whether they really sold beer, or not, when the landlord confessed, that if any body applied for beer, he sent out for it to another public-house, and that he kept none in his house; a magistrate then present declared, that if that very individual who kept that house were to apply to him for a renewal of his beer licence, if he could get any other magistrate to join with him, he would, even with a knowledge of that fact, grant the licence; and he was one of the magistrates who had visited that house.'

Shortly afterward, he relates this disgraceful transaction:

'I was present at the Licence-Meeting, I think, in the year 1813, when an application was made to licence a house, to be called the Lord Wellington, in Morgan's Lane: most of the parish officers and many very respectable inhabitants appeared to oppose the licence, and it was unanimously refused, it appearing that the local situation of the house was particularly objectionable, and that it could only be supported by the lowest orders of the populace and by prostitutes; information came afterwards to the magistrates, that, notwithstanding the refusal of that licence, the house was opened and the trade carrying on; and on inquiry it appeared that a man of the name of Pannel, who had formerly kept a public-house, called the George, on Cotton's Wharf, which house was pulled down, had taken the licence granted to him for the George to the house in Morgan's Lane, and had with that licence in his hand applied at the Excise Office for a spirit licence. Representations were made, by the two magistrates who had signed his original licence, to the Excise, explanatory of the fraud committed by Pannel; proceedings were consequently instituted against him by the Commissioners of the Excise, and he was fined. At the next licencing meeting this man petitioned for a new licence; I opposed it on the ground of his conviction for a fraud; but it was carried, and he received the licence.'

The licencing day, at which various improvements were to be made, has again passed; and our London readers may see that they still continue unaffected in many districts of the metropolis.

We cannot conclude our notice of this subject without entering a serious protest against what one of the members of the Committee calls leaving the trade 'as open as the trade of butchers and bakers,' subject to certain penalties for misconduct. What would this be but to revive the evil which the

the 16 Geo. II. was intended to suppress? We should have gin-shops at every third house, and the penalties would become, as so many penalties do, a dead letter. Rather let every impediment be placed in the way of a habit which leads at once to the corruption of morals and the decay of health. We conceive that the law in this respect needs no alteration, but requires only that the licencing magistrates should insist, as they can most effectually, on its provisions being carried into execution according to their spirit and intention.

We shall not occupy much space in our notice relative to the granting of licences to brothels; because it is a subject which does not require an argument to prove its illegality, and is not fit for discussion in our pages. The evidence of Sir N. Conant (p. 36.) and of Mr. John Stafford (p. 61.) contains a clear proof that beer and spirit-licences are continued to the 'higher kind of hotels' coming under this description.

Let us now turn to the consideration of one of the causes producing several of the abuses on which we have animadverted; viz. *the undue Influence which is often exercised in favour of particular Brewers.*

We before stated that one of the evils of the licencing system is that, from the number of magistrates who have voices in the decision, every new licence for which an application is made becomes a matter of previous canvass and solicitation: indeed, the discussion is even conducted as a personal question; and the point is decided in favour of the applicant whose interest can command a majority of the votes. The only licencing meetings which have yet come under the inquiry of the Committee are those of the Borough and the Tower Hamlets. With regard to the former, Mr. Gifford mentions several curious facts. He first states that some of the magistrates 'are themselves dealers in spirits by wholesale;' that 'one of the magistrates is himself a brewer; and that the son of another magistrate who constantly attends the licence-meetings is a partner in the same house.' If we do not much mistake in our reading of the law, the statute 26 Geo. II. c. 13. makes it illegal for any such persons to have a vote at the meeting, and renders all licences granted at a meeting, where any such interested persons shall be present, null and void. It is impossible, while such an abuse exists, that the decisions can be just or impartial; and the actual consequence appears by the evidence. Mr. Gifford heard 'that as many as eleven licences have been granted to new houses belonging to that house, in which a magistrate, and the son of another, are partners, in the half hundred of Brixton, or in the Borough of Southwark, in one day.'

day,' and the two facts mentioned in a preceding page occurred in the same district. We do not know to whom those two houses belonged: but, if there be vice in one part of the system, it will spread itself over the rest. It is no wonder, therefore, that 'the number of spirit-shops in the Borough is very great indeed,' and 'greatly beyond what is requisite for the public accommodation,' (p. 147.):—no wonder that to the question (p. 137.) 'Is great attention paid there to the correction of any abuses that may arise in the public-houses, by refusing to renew licences where complaints of such public-houses have been laid before them?', Mr. Gifford felt compelled to answer with an unqualified negative.

Enough appears in the facts already produced to awaken inquiry; and we doubt not that the Committee will sift the matter to the bottom in this district, and examine the licencing magistrates themselves, as they have done in the district of the Tower Hamlets, — to which we must now turn our attention. Here so many charges of preference and injustice are made, that we will shew the evidence in support of some of the cases, adverting also to the defence of the magistrates charged, when any such appears. The evidence of John Thomas Barber Beaumont, Esq.,* though by no means the strongest instance, we shall state at some length, because it exposes more of the practice than any of the others. Having mentioned that he has been present when the licences were given in the districts of the Tower Hamlets and Kensington Division, and that he thinks that the magistrates do not in either district 'make a vigilant examination into the claim of the new candidates,' nor 'into the conduct of those who applied for a renewal of their licences,' he proceeds thus in his examination:

'Can you state to the Committee any particular case or cases in which such negligence on the part of the magistrates appeared to you? — I can state several; I will state one, of which I have an intimate knowledge. I have considerable freehold and copyhold estates in the neighbourhood of Stepney, upon which I have lately built, and caused others to build, nearly 100 houses, besides two large manufactories. Part of my land lying between the Mile-end Road and Stepney Church, is planned into streets capable of containing about 500 houses. White-horse-lane, a great thoroughfare, passing through these streets, is without any public-house in or near to it, although there are more than 350 new and inhabited houses in and by the line, which is about three furlongs in length.

* Author of the Essay on Parish Banks, mentioned in our Number for September last.

Rev. Nov. 1816.

X.

At

At the pressing desire of my tenants, and misled into a belief that my extent of houses would entitle my tenant to a licence as a matter of right, between three and four years since I ordered a public-house to be built midway on this line, to supply the reasonable wants of the neighbourhood. While I was having it built, I was applied to by several persons, the friends or agents of Messrs. Hanbury the brewers, and Mr. Stables and Williams the spirit dealers.

Who are Messrs. Stables and Williams?—They are both near relatives of Sir Daniel Williams; I have heard Sir Daniel speak of Mr. Stables as his nephew.

Is Mr. Williams his relation too?—I have always understood so.

How long have they set up the spirit trade?—About five or six years since. I was asked to enter into an engagement with Messrs. Stables and Williams, for the supply of the house, intimating, that if I complied, my house would be immediately licenced, but not otherwise. Conceiving that the wants of the neighbourhood, and my own property there, must ensure a licence for the house without such condition, and being desirous that the house should be a free house, I rejected all these applications. But when the licencing day arrived, in 1813, the house was not even noticed. I then shut up the house for a year, until the licencing in 1814. It was again refused. I shut it up another year, and applied again in 1815, but with no better success. My house still remains unlicenced; and from further applications that have been made to me, and from facts that have come within my own knowledge, independent of general notoriety, I am persuaded that the house will not be licenced, unless I comply with the condition, or previously selling it, or letting it for a term, and much under its value, to Messrs. Hanbury, or use other exceptional means. In illustration of what I have here asserted, I will name two instances, one of either kind, from among many that may be adduced and proved. In 1813, Mr. Humphreys, now a publican near Stepney, applied to me, and offered to introduce me to a Mr. Stables, who had interest to procure a licence, and would do so if the spirit trade of the house were secured to him; I declined the offer. Mr. Stables, I am informed, is a clerk to the Commissioners of Sewers, a very near relative of Sir Daniel Williams, brought up at his expense, who, about three years previous to this application, under the support of Messrs. Hanbury was set up as a dealer in their bottled porter, and in spirits; in which trade he was shortly afterwards joined by a Mr. Williams, another near relative of Sir Daniel's; they have since met with extraordinary success, as I am informed, among the publicans in Sir Daniel Williams's division. In August last, I spoke to Mr. Robson, a leading magistrate in the Tower Hamlets division, and the confidential friend of Sir Daniel Williams, expressing my hope that a difference which had subsisted between me and the magistrates in that neighbourhood would not be the means of preventing the public-house, of which I was the owner, from being licenced.

Mr. Robson said, that as a friend, he would advise me to engage the trade to Messrs. Hanbury and Co., for that it was expected the magistrates wished to serve them. Seeing that it was in vain to contend against this issue, I therefore offered to sell the house to Messrs. Hanbury for what it cost me out of pocket, without interest, or to let it to them on a long lease; at a rent yielding me between 5l. and 6l. per cent. interest on what the house cost building; with this they seemed willing to close. I then went to Mr. Robson, at the Whitechapel-office, where he was sitting with Mr. Rice Davies, and told him what I had done, and that I conceived my offer to be accepted. Upon this Mr. Robson expressed his satisfaction, and intimated there would be no difficulty in licencing the house; he freely stated that three of them (whom I understood to be Sir Daniel Williams, Mr. Merceron, and Mr. Robson) met previous to the licencing day, when they predetermined what houses should be licenced: and he added, "if necessary, our friend here (Mr. Rice Davies) will attend." He then proceeded to explain to Mr. Davies the necessity of licencing the house; its remoteness from any other public-house; the very great number of new and inhabited houses around it; the large property I had on the spot, and the circumstance that I had taken down an old public-house, the Marquis of Granby, on the same estate in the Mile-end Road, where public-houses were too crowded, while in Whitehorse-lane, the situation of the new house, there was not one: so that the public were greatly benefited by the exchange of place, and obliged to Mr. Beaumont; and he, Mr. Robson, particularly desired that the circumstance of my having pulled the old public-house down should be mentioned in the memorial for licencing the new one. Mr. Davies concurred in all that was said, promised to attend if necessary, and added, it would be a great shame if, holding so much property on the spot, I could not get a house licenced. On the following day, I saw Sir Daniel Williams, and stated to him the terms on which I had offered to part with the house to Messrs. Hanbury, remarking, that I should still lose the interest of my money for three years. Sir Daniel entered with seeming zeal into the argument for licencing the house, and observed that it was no bad thing to get my principal back. A few days before the licencing, Messrs. Hanbury declined taking the house on the terms offered, saying, that an inferior house would be more to their interest. On Monday the 18th of September the justices met on the business of licencing; present, Sir Daniel Williams, Mr. Rhode, Mr. Story, Mr. Merceron, Mr. Robson, Mr. Windle, Mr. Flood, Mr. Mashiter. The licencing was opposed by Sir Daniel Williams and Mr. Robson, in which they were followed by Messrs. Merceron, Flood, Windle, and Mashiter, who usually vote with them, as I am informed and believe. Mr. Rhodes and Mr. Story appealing strongly against the decision, were shortly answered by Mr. Robson, that it was a better house than necessary, and perhaps never would be licenced. The connection here evinced, between these magistrates and Messrs. Hanbury, is made no secret of by the agents of the latter:

I had heard it freely avowed by them. At a licensing meeting in 1824, a Mr. Ventom, the broker of Messrs. Hanbury, was introduced to me by Mr. Hubbard, a lieutenant in the Tower Hamlets Militia, saying, "This is the gentleman to get your house licenced;" Ventom said, it would be licenced directly, if I gave Messrs. Hanbury the trade; and in answer to a question, added, "Messrs. Hanbury would not of course be at the expence and trouble of using their influence with the justices, unless the trade were made sure to them."

Does Major Jackson act in that division? — He does.

Does he take any part with Mr. Williams and others in licensing? — Yes, he does; they occasionally differ when there is a collision of interests; but in general he gives way to Sir Daniel Williams; he has a nephew who set up in the spirit trade.

Do you state it distinctly to the Committee as your opinion, that in the case which you have just laid before them, if you had sold your house to Messrs. Hanbury, or engaged to take their spirits and liquors, there would have been no difficulty whatever in obtaining the licence? — I am thoroughly persuaded of that.

Sir D. Williams declares that he does 'not recollect any such conversation,' and denies having 'heard that terms were proposed for the parting with the house;' adding that he has 'very little intercourse with Mr. Beaumont.' (P. 168.) The Rev. Edward Robson acknowledges (p. 235.) the application by Mr. Beaumont, but positively denies that he recommended him to give the trade to Messrs. Hanbury and Co. He also denies that he advocated in the presence of Mr. Davies the licensing of the house, and adds, 'Indeed I always blamed Messrs. Hanbury's house for having any dealings with him at all.' It seems obvious that a prejudice prevailed against Mr. Beaumont, which is rendered more clear by the Rev. Magistrate's evidence, given in no very elegant strain. The charge, however, made by Mr. Robson against Mr. Beaumont, and so unnecessarily introduced before the Committee, is rebutted in a most satisfactory manner by the latter gentleman; who, in his subsequent evidence, exposes the conduct of these magistrates of the Tower Hamlets division, and accounts for the differences subsisting between him and them: but we have not room to quote the details. If half of the facts here stated be true, and we see no reason for doubting the truth of them, ample room exists for reformation in this district. A few more instances will farther prove the necessity.

William Stocker, who held *The Admiral Vernon* public-house in Bethnal Green for five years, under Mr. Mercer, a licensing magistrate, was refused his licence without any complaint being made against his house; because, as he was told by the clerk of the Court, he 'held the estate over in contempt,' that is to say, because in fact he had refused an application

caused by Mr. Merceron to give up his house to another man, who at the same time gained a licence for a house that had not been licenced before, on the opposite side of the way, about five doors off. (P. 110.) Stocker also purchased the lease of a house in Bethnal Green, but was told afterward by Mr. Merceron that, unless he paid 100l. to the ground-landlord for his interest for the licence, he could do nothing; and this ground-landlord was no other than Mr. Whitling, the surveyor for Mr. Hanbury's brewhouse. (P. 111.)

Joseph Huxen built a public-house, *The Lord Hood*, and 'strained every nerve for six years and upwards' to get it licenced, without effect. He was then recommended to apply to Messrs. Trueman and Hanbury, who at last said that, if he would enter into an agreement to give them a lease of the premises, they had no objection to try what they could do. He then consented to give them a lease for 21 years, they covenanting to grant him an under-lease, with a condition, 'to deal with them.' The house was not even then licenced, and the poor fellow was obliged to mortgage it to them for 250l. Still it was not licenced. Some time afterward, they told him that they must have the mortgage-money within two months, or they must sell the house to pay themselves. He then proceeds thus:

'Accordingly I advised with a person, who turned out to be their attorney, Mr. Thomson, the licencing clerk, and he persuaded me to leave it to their generosity to do as they pleased; accordingly I did, so they agreed to give me 700l. for it, and in two months after that it was licenced, and they said if it was licenced they would give me something more. When I went to apply, Mr. Aveling said, Why you have soon found out it is licenced now; I said, Yes, I had; I said you promised a something more, I hope you will be as good as your word now; he said, That is another consideration; the fact is, you sold us the house, and we have sold the house again to liquor-merchants, in the city, Messrs. Stables and Williams. I had a house joining, a little house I had built, as I had leisure time to do it, and they wished for this house; this was not a freehold house, but a lease I had taken (having bought this lot of ground, and then thinking there was not sufficient ground) from a friend of mine, who had bought the other ground; they would not give me any thing, unless I would sell them that house alongside of it.

'Did you do that?—I did.

'What did you get for the whole?—They gave me 250l. for that.

'Did Mr. Hanbury's clerk ever call upon you and solicit your orders for spirits, for Messrs. Stables and Williams? — Yes, Mr. Hanbury's clerk called, and left a card of Messrs. Stables and Williams; I believe he is a relation, and that he is in the distillery now.

From William Simpson's equivocating and unwilling testimony, we collect that he built a public-house, and was constantly refused for three or four years in his applications for a licence; that he was at last successful; and that he then put the house in Messrs. Hanbury's trade. (P. 130.) Mr. Gifford elucidates this fact by proving that a clause was inserted in the tenant's lease, compelling him to buy his beer of that house for 14 years. (P. 329.)

A public-house called *The Globe* was rebuilt at an expence of 2000l. by Mr. Thomas Harrison, who was refused a licence: but it was granted in the next year, on his entering 'into an engagement that Messrs. Hanbury and Co. should serve the house seven years.' (P. 149.)

William Crush applied during five years for a licence for a house which he was induced to buy by the encouragement of the Rev. Mr. Robinson, (is this a mis-print for *Robson*?) whom he solicited before he purchased the house in the shell; but he was disappointed in a manner that shews so clearly the connection between the magistrates and the brewers, that we shall extract a part of his evidence:

'When I got it finished, I made application for a licence. I tried in September, I forget the date, and it was not obtained. I then took another public-house, and that was shut up for fifteen months. I then tried again on the following September; the licence was not obtained then, the reason was, because I did not live in it: I went and I lived in it, and tried again the following September, and made sure of it from the encouragement that I had met with from the magistrates, for I attended them all; I had a list of their names, they all gave me good encouragement, and as I was living in the house I fully expected the licence; however it was not obtained: I tried again on the following September, and I then made personal application to more of the magistrates of the Tower Hamlets, and they all encouraged me very much; I waited upon Mr. Jackson in particular; he was a gentleman that pretended to be my friend, and recommended me; I told him I was reducing my circumstances by living there, and that I must be obliged to sell it; he recommended me not to sell it, and asked me who was my brewer; I told him, from being out of business I had no brewer in particular; I told him I had made application to Mr. Calvert's house for their assistance; he told me *I had done wrong, and that I should have gone to Mr. Hanbury.* "Sir," said I, "I have been to Mr. Hanbury, and likewise to Mr. Aveling, and Mr. Hanbury seemed not to wish to have any thing to do with it; unless the house was his *in toto.*" He said, "*You must go to him again, and give my compliments to him, and tell him he must interfere, and the house must be licenced.*" I accordingly went to Mr. Hanbury again, and I delivered the message from Mr. Jackson to Mr. Aveling, who said, he had no disposition to have any thing to do with it. I then went to another magistrate, whose name I do not recollect, who said he had nothing to do with it.

"The

"The time," I said, "is not yet arrived; it will be on such a day." Says he, "I have nothing at all to do with it: but let me put you to rights; all houses are determined on to be licenced." "Sir," said I, "you do not comprehend me; the day is not arrived for houses to be licenced." Says he, "I must put you to rights; all the houses have been surveyed, and they have determined in the Tower Hamlets what houses shall be licenced." "Sir," says I, "you have set me to rights, for I saw Mr. Aveling surveying the houses on such a day;" and then I bid him good morning.

It is needless to increase examples of a fact which is rendered so clear. Notwithstanding, therefore, the denial of Sir Daniel Williams, the senior magistrate at the Whitechapel Police-office, and of his coadjutor Mr. Merceron, that any such preference exists, we must place some belief in the homely proverb, "where there is much smoke there must be some fire." We cannot, consequently, avoid the conclusion that some foundation subsists for the almost universal testimony of the other witnesses that Messrs. Hanbury's influence is improperly exerted, and that, on account of some connection between them and the Magistrates, 'for years past there have been very few houses licenced except in their interest.'

We do not state the evidence as to the renewal of the licences to the three houses in Shadwell which had in the previous year been suppressed; and we will not dwell on the granting of a licence to a publican who had been in the preceding 11 months convicted five times of tippling, in direct opposition to the representation of the convicting magistrates; nor will we even mention several other flagrant instances which are recorded: the above fact once established, any addition to it is rendered unnecessary, and all arguments become superfluous. When the administrators of a power so unlimited are guilty, or live under the general imputation of being guilty, of such a deviation from the plain line of duty and common fairness, the public interest requires that one course alone should be adopted. From our ignorance of the causes of their forbearance, we feel a disinclination to question the conduct of the Committee in not making a Special Report to the House of Commons on this subject: but who that contemplates the picture before us can refrain from feeling regret, that persons are continued in office who are charged with misconduct of which their own evidence does not acquit them? The reader of the present volume will fully understand and see ample occasion for this remark, and on ground which we have not yet touched: but we must again interrupt *our* Report.

[To be concluded in the next Review.]

ART. XV. *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. Canto the Third. By Lord Byron. 8vo. pp. 79. 5s. 6d. sewed. Murray. 1816.

SOME years since, when it was more the custom than it now is to *drink toasts* after dinner, we often heard in literary parties this fanciful combination of political terms into a "moral sentiment;" — "*The Republic of Letters, the Aristocracy of Talents, the Monarchy of Virtue, and the Despotism of Genius.*" Now this superior power of genius has, we think, been exemplified, in the Republic of Letters, in the case of Childe Harold: who, though certainly a *wayward* child, has remarkably "found favour in the eyes" of the public, and has excited a general wish for a continuation of the first musings of his Pilgrimage. That continuation is now presented to us; and, aware of the eagerness with which our readers will court acquaintance with it, we hasten to convey to them some report of its nature and merits: although we thus allow ourselves a very short time for our own perusal and consideration of it, and although, as far as we can hence form our judgment, we are disposed to an opinion that some disappointment will arise from it.

When we reviewed the former cantos of the Childe's song, we observed that the ideas and adventures of this imaginary youth were singularly interwoven with those of the noble writer himself, though we were cautioned not to suppose that any real person was thus designated. This peculiarity remains, and receives, indeed, added strength from new circumstances of identity. It is well — too well — known to the world that Lord Byron is again a wanderer from his native land; and the canto before us is not only a chart of his course, but commences and closes with a direct and most tender allusion to the domestic circumstances under which he has so unhappily quitted the British shores. We remarked, too, that it was to be hoped that Harold would, in his future progress, "do something more than think and feel:" but this propensity continues, with increased exacerbations and undivided empire; and on the whole, we conceive, it is less redeemed than heretofore by beautiful descriptions and forcible passages, though we shall manifest that such are here to be found. The poem is still, also, "without plan, unity of story, connection of incidents, or distinctness, attractiveness, and variety of character." — With regret we add that the former exceptions to Harold's verse, on the score of prosaic or unmetrical lines, inadequate perspicuity, and grammatical licences of expression, may yet be urged, again and again. Really it is unpardonable that compositions of so much merit should be tarnished by the

the blemishes of mere haste and carelessness. What should we say of the possessor of some of the finest paintings of the old masters, who suffered them to be so obscured by dust and cobwebs, and so spotted by flies, that their beauty could be discerned only through perpetual interruptions? Yet the brush of criticism, and the "Waters of Reflection," applied by Harold himself, might as easily remove these specks from his poetry, as similar materials might again give to us the canvas of Salvator and Poussin in all its native perfection.

The Childe having spoken of his passage, 'once more upon the waters,' and of his renewed discontents and griefs, we are next conducted to the plains of Waterloo. He records the festive ball at Brussels on the night previous to the departure of the troops for the contest, — the watchful energy, the forward zeal, and the untimely fate, of 'Brunswick's fated chief-tain,' — and the march of the allied forces: not forgetting to specify, with the affection of early recollections, the gallant host of Scotia's sons. The death of the brave victims of war is then hymned; and the fall of Major Howard, (of the 10th Hussars,) son of the Earl of Carlisle, is particularized,

'Partly because they blend me with his line,
And partly that I did his sire some wrong,
And partly that bright names will hallow song.'

In coming to the issue of this dread conflict, the poet thus records the overthrow of its chief cause and object:

'There sunk the greatest, nor the worst of men,
Whose spirit antithetically mixt
One moment of the mightiest, and again
On little objects with like firmness fixt,
Extreme in all things! hadst thou been betwixt,
Thy throne had still been thine, or never been;
For daring made thy rise as fall: thou seek'st
Even now to re-assume the imperial mien,
And shake again the world, the Thunderer of the scene!

'Conqueror and captive of the earth art thou!
She trembles at thee still, and thy wild name
Was ne'er more bruited in men's minds than now
That thou art nothing, save the jest of Fame,
Who wooed thee once, thy vassal, and became
The flatterer of thy fierceness, till thou wert
A god unto thyself; nor less the same
To the astounded kingdoms all inert,
Who deem'd thee for a time whate'er thou didst assert.

'Oh, more or less than man — in high or low,
Battling with nations, flying from the field;
Now making monarchs' necks thy footstool, now
Move than thy meanest soldier taught to yield;

AN

An empire thou couldst crush, command, rebuild,
But govern not thy pettiest passion, nor,
However deeply in men's spirits skill'd,
Look through thine own, nor curb the lust of war,
Nor learn that tempted Fate will leave the loftiest star.

' Yet well thy soul hath brook'd the turning tide
With that untaught innate philosophy,
Which, be it wisdom, coldness, or deep pride,
Is gall and wormwood to an enemy.
When the whole host of hatred stood hard by,
To watch and mock thee shrinking, thou hast smiled
With a sedate and all-enduring eye; —
When Fortune fled her spoil'd and favourite child,
He stood unbowed beneath the ills upon him piled.

' Sager than in thy fortunes; for in them
Ambition steel'd thee on too far to show
That just habitual scorn which could condemn
Men and their thoughts; 'twas wise to feel, not so
To wear it ever on thy lip and brow,
And spurn the instruments thou wert to use
Till they were turn'd unto thine overthrow:
'Tis but a worthless world to win or lose;
So hath it proved to thee, and all such lot who choose.'

Then exclaiming, ' But quiet to quick bosoms is a hell,'
that Conquerors and Kings ' are themselves the fools to those
they fool,' and that

— ' one breast laid open were a school
Which would unteach mankind the lust to rule,'

he describes their nature and their fate in these fine stanzas:

' Their breath is agitation, and their life
A storm whereon they ride, to sink at last,
And yet so nurs'd and bigotted to strife,
That should their days, surviving perils past,
Melt to calm twilight, they feel overcast
With sorrow and supineness, and so die;
Even as a flame unfed, which runs to waste
With its own flickering, or a sword laid by
Which eats into itself, and rusts ingloriously.

' He who ascends to mountain-tops, shall find
The loftiest peaks most wrapt in clouds and snow;
He who surpasses or subdues mankind,
Must look down on the hate of those below.
Though high *above* the sun of glory glow,
And far *beneath* the earth and ocean spread,
Round him are icy rocks, and loudly blow
Contending tempests on his naked head,
And thus reward the toils which to those summits led.'

Dismissing

Dismissing such contemplations, the poet turns to the beauties of Nature 'on the banks of the majestic Rhine.' In his reflections on these scenes, we again meet with references to his own circumstances and sufferings; and the *lvth stanza* contains a mysterious allusion 'to one soft breast,' into which we will not attempt to penetrate: but the mention of this unknown beloved gives occasion to a sweet address, or song, which we cannot refrain from quoting:

- The castled crag of Drachenfels
Frowns o'er the wide and winding Rhine,
Whose breast of waters broadly swells
Between the banks which bear the vine,
And hills all rich with blossomed trees,
And fields which promise corn and wine,
And scattered cities crowning these,
Whose far white walls along them shine,
Have strewed a scene, which I should see
With double joy wert *thou* with me!
- And peasant girls, with deep blue eyes,
And hands which offer early flowers,
Walk smiling o'er this paradise;
Above, the frequent feudal towers
Through green leaves lift their walls of grey,
And many a rock which steeply lours,
And noble arch in proud decay,
Look o'er this vale of vintage-bowers;
But one thing want these banks of Rhine —
Thy gentle hand to clasp in mine!
- I send the lilies given to me;
Though long before thy hand they touch,
I know that they must withered be,
But yet reject them not as such;
For I have cherish'd them as dear,
Because they yet may meet thine eye,
And guide thy soul to mine even here,
When thou behold'st them drooping nigh,
And knowst them gathered by the Rhine,
And offered from my heart to thine!
- The river nobly foams and flows,
The charm of this enchanted ground,
And all its thousand turns disclose
Some fresher beauty varying round;
The haughtiest breast its wish might bound
Through life to dwell delighted here;
Nor could on earth a spot be found
To nature and to me so dear,
Could thy dear eyes in following mine
Still sweeten more these banks of Rhine!

Bidding

Bidding adieu to the Rhine, we approach Geneva and the Alps: first, however, celebrating the fall of General Marceau, in the early part of the French Revolution, — the taking of Ehrenbreitstein, — ‘the proud, the patriot field’ of Morat, — and the fate of Julia Alpinula, a young Aventian priestess, ‘who died soon after a vain endeavour to save her father, condemned to death as a traitor by Aulus Oetina.’ — In a note on the view of the Alpine snows, the prodigious height of these mountains is strikingly implied in the curious fact here stated. ‘July 20. 1816. I this day observed for some time the distinct reflection of Mont Blanc and Mont Argentiére in the calm of lake Lemán, which I was crossing in my boat; the distance of these mountains from their mirror is 60 miles.’

More bitter reflections on the world then ensue; and we are most blameably told that

— ‘At length, the mind shall be all free
From what it hates in this degraded form,
Reft of its carnal life, save what shall be
Existent happier in the fly and worm.’

Returning to local scenery and circumstances, we are introduced to the ‘self-torturing sophist, wild Rousseau,’ whose peculiarities and fate are well described. When Harold truly says,

‘But he was phrenzied with disease or woe,
To that worst pitch of all which wears a reasoning show,’

a lesson is here taught which the Childe himself would do well not entirely to neglect. — A night of storm in these sublime regions is then impressively depicted; and the recurrence of morn, ‘with breath all incense and with cheek all bloom,’ again brings us to Rousseau, and to Heloise. A note on this passage must be quoted, in part:

‘In July, 1816, I made a voyage round the Lake of Geneva; and, as far as my own observations have led me in a not uninterested nor inattentive survey of all the scenes most celebrated by Rousseau in his “Heloise,” I can safely say, that in this there is no exaggeration. It would be difficult to see Clarens (with the scenes around it, Vevay, Chillon, Bôveret, St. Gingo, Meillerie, Erian, and the entrances of the Rhone,) without being forcibly struck with its peculiar adaptation to the persons and events with which it has been peopled. But this is not all; the feeling with which all around Clarens and the opposite rocks of Meillerie is invested, is of a still higher and more comprehensive order than the mere sympathy with individual passion; it is a sense of the existence of love in its most extended and sublime capacity, and of our own participation of its good and of its glory: it is the great principle of the universe, which is there
more

more condensed, but not less manifested; and of which, though knowing ourselves a part, we lose our individuality, and mingle in the beauty of the whole.

‘If Rousseau had never written, nor lived, the same associations would not less have belonged to such scenes. He has added to the interest of his works by their adoption; he has shewn his sense of their beauty by the selection; but they have done that for him which no human being could do for them.

‘I had the fortune (good or evil as it might be) to sail from Meillerie (where we landed for some time) to St. Gingo during a lake storm, which added to the magnificence of all around, although occasionally accompanied by danger to the boat, which was small and overloaded. By a coincidence which I could not regret, it was over this very part of the lake that Rousseau has driven the boat of St. Preux and Madame Wolmar to Meillerie for shelter during a tempest.

‘On gaining the shore at St. Gingo, we found that the wind had been sufficiently strong to blow down some fine old chesnut trees on the lower part of the mountains. On the height is a seat called the Château de Clarens. The hills are covered with vineyards, and interspersed with some small but beautiful woods; one of these was named the “Bosquet de Julie,” and it is remarkable that, though long ago cut down by the brutal selfishness of the monks of St. Bernard, (to whom the land appertained,) that the ground might be inclosed into a vineyard for the miserable drones of an execrable superstition, the inhabitants of Clarens still point out the spot where its trees stood, calling it by the name which consecrated and survived them.

‘Rousseau has not been particularly fortunate in the preservation of the “local habitations” he has given to “airy nothings.” The Prior of Great St. Bernard has cut down some of his woods for the sake of a few casks of wine, and Buonaparte has levelled part of the rocks of Meillerie in improving the road to the Simplon. The road is an excellent one, but I cannot quite agree with a remark which I heard made, that “La route vaut mieux que les souvenirs.”

The residences of Gibbon and Voltaire are next introduced, and the characters of these celebrated men are skilfully drawn:

‘Lausanne! and Ferney! ye have been the abodes
Of names which unto you bequeath’d a name;
Mortals, who sought and found, by dangerous roads,
A path to perpetuity of fame:
They were gigantic minds, and their steep aim,
Was, Titan-like, on daring doubts to pile
Thoughts which should call down thunder, and the flame
Of Heaven, again assail’d, if Heaven the while
On man and man’s research could deign do more than smile.

‘The one was fire and fickleness, a child,
Most mutable in wishes, but in mind,

A wit

A wit as various, — gay, grave, sage, or wild, —
 Historian, bard, philosopher, combined;
 He multiplied himself among mankind,
 The Proteus of their talents: but his own
 Breathed most in ridicule, — which, as the wind,
 Blew where it listed, laying all things prone, —
 Now to overthrow a fool, and now to shake a throne.

• The other, deep and slow, exhausting thought,
 And hiving wisdom with each studious year,
 In meditation dwelt, with learning wrought,
 And shaped his weapon with an edge severe,
 Sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer;
 The lord of irony, — that master-spell,
 Which stung his foes to wrath, which grew from fear,
 And doom'd him to the zealot's ready Hell,
 Which answers to all doubts so eloquently well.

Then, again, Harold himself re-enters; and, casting a forward glance on Italia, he reiterates the oft-told tale of misanthropy that he has not loved the world, nor the world him: proceeding

———— ‘ in a theme
 Renewed with no kind auspices; — to feel
 We are not what we have been, and to deem
 We are not what we should be;’

and closing with the second invocation to the noble author's infant daughter, to which we have before alluded, and the pathos of which will excite universal sympathy, regret, and wonder.

The ungracious but necessary task remains, of pointing out some of those literary blemishes at which we have already hinted, and two or three of which have appeared in the preceding citations.

Of prosaic composition, the whole of the xiiith stanza may be taken as an instance; and, to place it fairly in proof, we transcribe it into prose-text, not altering a word or even a point. ‘ But soon he knew himself the most unfit of men to herd with man; with whom he held little in common; untaught to submit his thoughts to others, though his soul was quelled in youth by his own thoughts; still uncompelled, he would not yield dominion of his mind to spirits against whom his own rebelled; proud though in desolation; which could find a life within itself, to breathe without mankind.’ If a person reads this passage without a previous idea that it is intended for poetry, will he have any such idea afterward?

The xxxiird stanza, also, ends with this line of prose:

‘ Shewing no visible signs, for such things are untold!’

Of

Of lines which are deficient in grammatical accuracy or construction, or inelegant; we may quote the following:

‘Nor feel the heart can never all grow old.’ P. 8.

‘Where a blue sky, and glowing clime, extends,’
(for *extend*.) P. 9.

‘The day drags through though storms keep out the sun.’
P. 19.

‘Even as a broken mirror, which the glass
In every fragment multiplies; and makes
A thousand images of one that was,
The same, and still the more, the more it breaks;
And thus the heart will do which not forsakes.’

———— ‘a fever at the core
Fatal to him who bears, to all who ever bore’ — (what?)
P. 24.

‘Twas not for fiction chose Rousseau this spot.’ P. 57.

———— ‘as it is,
‘I know not what is there, yet something like to this.’ P. 63.

Let, us, however, terminate this selection of imperfections; which we could not bear to make, were it not that we earnestly wish to induce the author to avoid them in future, and to guard the reader against any imitation or toleration of them on the plea of such an example.

We presume from a stanza in this publication, and we understand from report, that the noble poet has proceeded to Italy, and that any farther resumption of his song will lead us to its beautiful and classic scenes. May those “happier climes” bring to him happier hours, — if this can yet be.

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POETRY.

Art. 16. *Monody on the Death of the Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan*, written at the Request of a Friend, to be spoken at Drury-lane Theatre. 8vo. 1s. Murray.

The lines on the death of Mr. Sheridan, which were spoken at Drury-lane Theatre on the first night of its opening for this season, possessed a force and a beauty which were acknowledged by all who heard them, or who saw extracts from them in the news-papers; and it was consequently noticed with some surprise that the author of them had not been avowed. Among those to whom they have been ascribed, Lord Byron has perhaps had most votes; and the present publication of them by his Lordship’s accustomed bookseller,

bookseller, though without his name as their author, added strength to the assignment, — to which we felt much inclined to accede. All doubt, however, is now removed; they have lately been advertized as the produce of his Lordship's pen; and, in our opinion, they not only do not disgrace it; but may in many respects be ranked among its happiest and loftiest efforts. As we did not hear them in the theatre, we are not aware, whether this pamphlet contains any lines that were omitted in the delivery: but it has been stated that some which were *written* were not *spoken*.

We think that all readers of the following passage would be much disposed to name as its author the noble poet above mentioned:

* A mighty Spirit is eclipsed — a Power
Hath passed from day to darkness — to whose hour
Of light no likeness is bequeathed — no name,
Focus at once of all the rays of Fame!
The flash of Wit — the bright Intelligence,
The beam of Song — the blaze of Eloquence,
Set with their Sun — but still have left behind
The enduring produce of immortal Mind,
Fruits of a genial morn, and glorious noon,
A deathless part of him who died too soon.
But small that portion of the wondrous whole;
These sparkling segments of that circling soul,
Which all embraced — and lightened over all,
To cheer — to pierce — to please — or to appall,
From the charmed council — to the festive board
Of human feelings the unbounded lord,
In whose acclaim the loftiest voices vied,
The praised — the proud — who made his praise their pride
When * the loud cry of trampled Hindostan
Arose to Heaven in her appeal from man,
His was the thunder — his the avenging rod,
The wrath — the delegated voice of God!
Which shook the nations through his lips — and blazed
Till vanquished senates trembled as they praised.'

The palliating allusion to those frailties as a man, which have been ascribed to Mr. Sheridan, is very energetically conceived and expressed, whatever be its efficacy in point of fact:

• Hard is his fate on whom the public gaze
Is fixed for ever to detract or praise,
Repose denies her requiem to his name,
And Folly loves the martyrdom of Fame.

* See Fox, Burke, and Pitt's eulogy on Mr. Sheridan's speech on the charges exhibited against Mr. Hastings in the House of Commons. Mr. Pitt entreated the House to adjourn, to give time for a calmer consideration of the question than could then occur after the immediate effect of that oration.'

The

The secret enemy whose sleepless eye
 Stands sentinel — accuser — judge — and spy,
 The foe — the fool — the jealous — and the vain,
 The envious who but breathe in others' pain,
 Behold the host! delighting to deprave,
 Who track the steps of Glory to the grave,
 Watch every fault that daring Genius owes
 Half to the ardour which its birth bestows,
 Distort the truth — accumulate the lie
 And pile the Pyramid of Calumny!

These are his portion — but if joined to these
 Gaunt Poverty should league with deep Disease,
 If the high Spirit must forget to soar,
 And stop to strive with Misery at the door,
 To soothe Indignity — and face to face
 Meet sordid Rage — and wrestle with Disgrace,
 To find in Hope but the renewed caress,
 The serpent-fold of further Faithlessness, —
 If such may be the Ills which men assail,
 What marvel if at last the mightiest fail?
 Breasts to whom all the strength of feeling given
 Bear hearts electric — charged with fire from Heaven,
 Black with the rude collision — inly torn,
 By clouds surrounded, and on whirlwinds borne,
 Driven o'er the lowering Atmosphere that nurst
 Thoughts which have turned to thunder — scorch — and burst.

The concluding lines unfortunately depend on a metaphor which wants effect and attraction because it wants novelty:

Sighing that Nature form'd but one such man,
 And broke the die in moulding Sheridan!

If lovers and mourners may be credited, Nature has so often broken the moulds in which she has cast her favoured sons and daughters, that the old Dame must by this time have acquired a famous *knack at a knock!*

Art. 17. *Farewell for Ever! A Tale of the Last Century.* Dedicated to her Royal Highness the Princess Mary. By a Lady. 8vo. pp. 42. Black. 1816.

A title-page usually contains something that in a degree indicates the qualities of the book to which it is prefixed; and we think that we neither overstate this doctrine when we so express it, nor misapply it to the poem before us. Surely, it is impossible for a person of good taste and good sense to prefix such a title to his work as the foregoing; and especially if it be intended in any way to imitate, or to be mistaken for, a certain celebrated "*Farewell*," of which we could have wished never to have been reminded.

It is scarcely credible that such verses as the subjoined can really be published! We are inclined to believe that the abuse of printing has been carried to an excess in our times, which was wholly unknown to our ancestors; and that things, which even

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the printers of George the First's or George the Second's æra would have rejected with scorn, are unblushingly wire-woven and hot pressed by order of the authors of the new æra.

' A faithful slave *liv'd with the fair*
 Forgot (Irene be) her name;
 And o'er her store of wordly wealth
A Ulemas * of neighbouring fame,
 (Deep in the Koran's mystics read)
 Assumes a titled guardian's claim.'

The claim to compassion, which a suffering female urges, cannot be extended to a presuming authoress; for presume she must on something who publishes her writings. We are ever, we hope, among the foremost to acknowledge and to admire the talents of the fair: but, where no talent is shewn, it would be any thing but *fair* to extend our indulgence.

' How oft on fertile Danube's shores
 His valiant single troop defied
 Catherine's great General Romanzow,
 And Galitzin, the Russian pride;—

and *this* is printed and published!!

" The great Dalhousie, mighty God of War!
 Lieutenant-Colonel to the Earl of Mar!"

BIOGRAPHY.

Art. 18. *The Lives of Alchemistical Philosophers*; with a Critical Catalogue of Books in Occult Chemistry, and a Selection of the most celebrated Treatises on the Theory and Practice of the Hermetic Art. 8vo. pp. 384. 10s. 6d. Boards. Lackington and Co. 1815.

We scarcely expected to have been called, in our critical capacity, to peruse a treatise on alchemy: but it appears that this science, once so celebrated and now so degraded, has still some adherents. To prove the truth of this position, which perhaps may be scarcely credited by the majority of our readers, we shall bring forwards no other testimony than that of the present author himself; and for this purpose we shall transcribe the whole of the introduction, though it is rather long, as it will also afford a fair specimen of the kind of mysticism which forms so characteristic a feature of all the alchemical writings.

' Tubal Cain, the first artificer in brass and iron, was, no doubt, skilled in the preparatory work of finding the mines, raising the ore, and smelting it. The reduction of copper ore to metal, by several calcinations, and its admixture with calamine, to make brass, is not the least difficult among metallurgic operations. Tubal Cain is therefore reputed the first inventor of chemistry, relating to manufactures.

* ——— ' *Ulemas, a Doctor of Laws and Divinity* '!!!

Note of the author.

The

7. * The universal chemistry, by which the science of alchemy opens the knowledge of all nature, being founded on *first principles*, forms analogy with whatever knowledge is founded on the *same first principles*. In this view, Moses, describing the creation, is an universal chemist, and reveals at the same time the creation of the philosopher's stone, in this process: "The earth was without form, and void; 2. Darkness was on the face of the deep; 3. The spirit of God moved on the face of the waters; 4. God said, Let there be light, and there was light; 5. He divided the light from the darkness; 6. He divided the upper from the lower waters, by a firmament; 7. He separated the water from the earth; 8. The earth vegetated; 9. He made the stars, sun, and moon; 10. The waters brought forth animal life; 11. The earth brought forth animal life; 12. He made his own image, having dominion over all."

' The same alchemic knowledge is ascribed to Saint John the Divine, and may be said of all the inspired writers, who were intimately acquainted with the wisdom of God. Saint John describes the redemption, or the new creation of the fallen soul, on the *same first principles*, until the consummation of the work, in which the Divine tincture transmutes the base metal of the soul into a perfection that will pass the fire of eternity.

' The seven churches, or states of regeneration, analogize with the seven days of the creation, and the seven regimens of the stone, the last of which is gold tried in the fire.

' The revelation of the Divine Chemistry, by which the fire of the last day will make a new heaven and a new earth, on the *same first principles*, is, by analogy, equally descriptive of the stone, and the process into which the fallen universe has passed, is passing, and which at last will assimilate with the philosophic transmutation, that of the earth and elements, as described by Saint John.

' Saint Peter speaks of the first creation, of the earth standing out of the water, and in the water, which earth being overflowed, perished, but is now reserved unto fire. And St. John describes the new earth having the light of crystal, cities of transparent gold, stones of jasper, sapphire, chalcedony, emerald, sardonyx, sardius, chrysolite, beryl, topaz, chrysoprasus, jacinth, amethyst; gates of pearls, and water of life or health.

' All the wise observers of nature among the heathen have, in their writings, left traits of the *same first principles*. This produces frequent reference, in the writings of the adepts, to the Heathen Mythology, which has been preserved by the Greeks and Romans. The poem of the Argonauts, by Orpheus, is founded on a Hermetic allegory, that he brought from Egypt, where Hermes Trismegistus, whose name signifies a spiritual trinity in Mercury, was celebrated as the founder of religion and the sciences.

' Alchemy is called Hermetic philosophy, from Hermes, the author of seven books, and a tablet of alchemy, which are the most ancient and esteemed writings on this subject now extant.

They were found in the Hebrew and Arabic languages, in the year of the Christian era 400, from which date there is literary evidence of the lives and writings of adepts.

The destruction of ancient manuscripts prevents higher research; for, in 296, Dioclesian burned the books of the Egyptians, on the chemistry of gold and silver, *peri chumeias argurou kai chrusou*. Cæsar burned 700,000 rolls at Alexandria; and Leo Isaurus 300,000, at Constantinople, in the eighth century; about which time the Mahometans commenced the work of destroying literature in its principal sources.

As the title-page imports, the volume consists of two principal parts; first, the lives of some of the most noted alchemists; and secondly, a collection of several of their most curious treatises. The lives are 40 in number, and include short biographical sketches, together with an account of the principal works and remarkable opinions, of the individuals specified. They may be read with some amusement; for to a great portion, even of those who are versed in the history of science, the characters which are here introduced will be new, while the doctrines that are maintained will prove interesting from their extreme singularity and absurdity. It would be a dreadful waste of time to be long occupied on such a topic: but it is a part of the history of knowledge, and discovers the human mind under a new aspect; and therefore the most enlightened and philosophical chemist of the present day should make himself acquainted with the general character of those pursuits, that engrossed the attention of some of the first men of the age in which they lived, and who were in possession of all the science that then existed in the world. The reader must not be repelled from the task, if he finds the writings of these learned individuals often impenetrably obscure: because we know that it was a part of their system not to be intelligible; they professed to employ words and phrases which contained some concealed meaning, that was intended to be understood only by a few favoured adepts; and it is not improbable that, if the real truth were known, these words and phrases were for the most part as incomprehensible to the initiated as to the profane vulgar. It may appear at first view to imply a singular state of the human mind, when the same person who endeavours to deceive others becomes the dupe of his own artifices: but we suspect that this has actually been the effect of mysticism, as well scientific as religious.

We do not deem it necessary to enter into any minute examination of the individual parts of this work. As far as we have been able to judge from a general survey, the biography is executed with sufficient fidelity; and, though many of the lives are very short, they are probably copious enough to satisfy the curiosity of the reader. It is not a little amusing to observe in what excessive terms of commendation the author speaks of the learning and acquirements of many of the alchemists. He thus sums up his account of Raymond Lully:

The labours of Raymond are prodigious, when we observe, that his travels, voyages, and public teaching, did not prevent him

him from writing five hundred treatises on various subjects, especially of grammar, rhetoric, logic, analectic, morals, politics, civil and canon laws, physics, metaphysics, music, astronomy, medicine, chemistry, and theology: all have been well written by this learned man.

We may venture to say that Raymond Lully would have conferred more real benefit on science by a single well digested and intelligible treatise, on some one branch of philosophy, than by a whole *Encyclopædia* of mysticism. — We have given our readers a quotation from the commencement of the volume, and we shall conclude with a passage from the termination. It is intitled 'The Emerald Table of Hermes,' and is (we believe) regarded as a kind of concentration of the learning of the celebrated Hermes Trismegistus.

'This is true, and far distant from a lie; whatsoever is below, is like that which is above; and that which is above, is like that which is below; by this are acquired and perfected the miracles of the one thing.

'Also, as all things were made from one, by the help of one: so all things are made from one thing by conjunction.

'The father thereof is the sun, and the mother thereof is the moon; the wind carries it in its belly, and the nurse thereof is the earth.

'This is the mother or fountain of all perfection, and its power is perfect and entire, if it be changed into earth.

'Separate the earth from the fire, and the subtle and thin from the gross and thick: but prudently with long sufferance, gentleness and patience, wisdom and judgment.

'It ascends from the earth up to heaven, and descends again from the heaven to the earth, and receives the powers and efficacy of the superiors and inferiors.

'In this work, you acquire to yourself the wealth and glory of the whole world: drive therefore from you all cloudiness or obscurity, darkness and blindness.

'For the work increasing, or going on in strength, adds strength to strength, forestalling and over-topping all other fortitudes and powers; and is able to subjugate and conquer all things, whether they be thin and subtle, or thick and solid bodies.

'In this manner was the world made; and hence are the wonderful conjunctions or joinings together of the matter and parts thereof, and the marvellous effects, when in this way it is done, by which these wonders are effected.

'And for this cause I am called Hermes Trismegistus, for that I have the knowledge or understanding of the philosophy of the three principles of the universe. My doctrine or discourse, which I have here delivered concerning this solar work, is compleat and perfect.'

NATURAL HISTORY.

Art. 19. *An Introduction to the Natural History and Classification of Insects*, in a Series of Familiar Letters. With illustrative Engravings. By Priscilla Wakefield. 12mo. pp. 200. 5s. Boards. Darton and Co. 1816.

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Encouraged

Encouraged by the success which the *Introduction to Botany* obtained from a discerning public, Mrs. Wakefield has been induced to exhibit, in a corresponding manner, the outlines of Entomology; an alluring branch of knowledge, which even ladies no longer disdain to cultivate. In the first letter, the writer briefly touches on the utility and importance of the study; in the second, on the component parts of insects; in the third, she explains the seven orders into which they have been distributed by Linné; and, in the remaining thirteen, she exemplifies the genera, by noting their leading characters, and illustrating the natural history of each by that of one or two of its most remarkable or most familiar species. The descriptions, which are conveyed in plain and perspicuous language, derive still farther elucidation from the aid of twelve plates; of which the numerous figures are selected with judgment, and executed with sufficient precision for the purpose to which they are destined.—To the letters is annexed a summary recapitulation of the characters of the class, orders, and genera of insects; or, as it is somewhat carelessly intitled, ‘Arrangement of Insects into *Classes*, Orders, and Genera.’

As no unfair specimen of the general style and manner of the performance, we transcribe the following passage:

‘The genus *Forficula* presents you with an object of your detestation, the common earwig; though, before I dismiss it, I hope to convince you that your aversion rests on a false basis, and that, except the injury to which your flowers are exposed by its ravages, you have nothing to dread from this much persecuted insect, but a great deal to admire in its curious structure. The vulgar notion of its entering the human ear is rejected by men of science as absurd, and ranked amongst those opinions that have originated in ignorance, and been confirmed by prejudice.

‘The wings of the earwig are remarkably elegant, and lie in so many folds beneath their small sheaths, as to excite admiration. In proportion to the size of their owner, they are large and transparent; though probably few careless observers know that they have any, for they fly only by night, and it is difficult to make them open their wings in the day-time. Instinct has taught the female to seek some damp place for her eggs, equally secure from drought or heat. Nor does her maternal care stop here, as in most other insects, but when they are hatched she broods over her young, something like a hen over her chickens; the little ones clinging to her sides for several hours in the day. The larvæ are very small at first, and have a great resemblance to the parent-insect, except being of a whitish colour, and not yet having the forceps at the end of the tail curved inwards. The earwig lives among flowers, and feeds upon decayed fruit, and other vegetable substances, unless pressed by hunger, when it has been known to prey upon its own species.

‘Having brought you to the last genus of the first order, I shall conclude my letter, after earnestly recommending you to examine every object with the most diligent attention, that none of those minute parts, appropriated to particular uses, and evincing the design and wisdom of the Creator, may escape your notice; for

be persuaded, my dear Constance, that in studying the book of Nature, delightful as the employment is, amusement is by no means the sole, or even principal object; but rather that we may become better acquainted with the works of God, in the meanest of which, as well as the most magnificent, his wisdom and goodness are strikingly displayed.

We cannot venture to flatter Mrs. Wakefield with the expectation that *children* will prefer the histories of gnats and butterflies to those of Tom Thumb and Woglog the Giant: but, by so happily adapting her pages to the capacities of the young, she has conferred on them a material obligation; and she has thus enabled them to profit by her instructions before they are qualified to relish the more elaborate and scientific work of Kirby and Spence. (See our Review for February last.) Within the compass of this small volume, they will find much accurate information agreeably condensed, without any admixture of pedantic or irksome discussion; and they will rise from the perusal of it with their curiosity rather stimulated than satiated, desirous of pursuing the same line of inquiry with renovated vigour, and under the impressions of every amiable sentiment of piety and humanity.

Mrs. Wakefield has avowedly followed Dr. Shaw and Mr. Barbut as her principal guides: but the writings of Reaumur, Bonnet, Haworth, Huber, &c. might likewise have furnished her with some highly interesting materials. It would, perhaps, have been advisable to have excluded the crustaceous animals altogether; since they are now allowed to form a class by themselves, and they differ from genuine insects in so many particulars of structure and constitution. From a hint that occurs towards the bottom of the third page, we are led to believe that the fair writer considerably under-rates the *intellectual* faculties of the tiny families; and that many of the species manifest more sagacity and more frequent accommodations to circumstances, than she seems to imagine. She has adopted, too, apparently without much examination, the common opinion relative to the *morbus pedicularis*. We may add that the *acarus*, which has been only *occasionally* observed in the pustules of the itch, is probably no more the *cause* of that disorder than the maggot is the cause of tainted meat:—but, hard and callous creatures as we are supposed to be, we really have not firmness enough of nerve to discuss such *delicate* and *moving points* with the ladies. In the confidence, therefore, that this valuable manual will survive a first edition, we hasten to contribute our *mite* to the improved correctness of a future impression. Besides the mis-printings noted in the *errata*, we have remarked the omission of No. 8. in Plate I., which occasions a confusion in a part of the explanation that refers to it. In the explanation of Plate II., *virides* occurs for *viridis*, as *reniform* does for *reniforme*, at page 158. In several instances, the relative pronoun is inelegantly suppressed; and, in a few more, the syntax is deficient. Thus, *each of these sections HAVE*;—*the larvæ of which is distinguished*;—*her size and shape differ in summer, from what IT is in the winter, &c.* The first part of the sentence beginning with 'The eggs' (p. 127.) is also incomplete in its structure, though its meaning is obvious.

Art. 20. *An Introduction to the Study of Conchology*, including Observations on the Linnæan Genera, and on the Arrangement of M. Lamarck; a Glossary; and a Table of English Names. Illustrated with coloured Plates. By Samuel Brookes, F.L.S. 4to. pp. 167. 3l. 10s. Boards. Arch. 1815.

The professed design of this elegant publication is to afford assistance to those who may be desirous of cultivating an acquaintance with Conchology, although they may be, in a great measure, strangers to the other branches of natural history. As it is principally intended for the use of English readers, Latin terms have been discarded wherever they could be avoided, and an alphabetical glossary of such of them as are in most common use has been subjoined.

Mr. Brookes commences with a hurried sketch of some of the most prominent writers on the subject, and of their schemes of arrangement; dwelling more particularly on the plans of distribution adopted by Linné, and by Lamarck: he then proceeds to abbreviated statements of the forms and nature of the animals that inhabit shells, to some general remarks on the structure and aspects of the shells themselves, and to an explanation of the technical phraseology used in describing them. The rest of the work is occupied with a plain systematical exposition of the genera instituted by Linné and his followers, with the enlargements and alterations proposed by Lamarck. To the name of each genus are annexed, first, the Linnæan characters, and then a more detailed account; usually exhibiting the most essential points of difference when they can be ascertained, the varieties of aspect and structure observable among the species belonging to it, their numerical amount, and such critical remarks as have occurred to the author. With a view to elucidate the verbal descriptions, nine very handsome coloured plates, containing 134 figures, and illustrative of most of the families of shells, have been added; besides two uncoloured, which have a more pointed reference to the animal inhabitants of shells. The figures are generally of those shells to which Lamarck refers as examples. It is hoped that those parts on which the generic characters depend are distinctly shown. In some cases where the shells were not easily procured; or were very common, or the genus so small that perhaps only one species is known, the figures are omitted; but in this case a reference is given to a plate in some work of credit. Those which are introduced as examples of the principal genera of the recent shells are intended to make the work more complete; but if a figure of a shell of every genus had been given, it would have added much to the expence; and in the genera in which there are but few shells known, and those chiefly fossil and very rare, as it could only be a copy of a figure already published, it was thought that it would be better to refer to other works.

Having premised thus much, it will not be expected that we should analyse the contents of this volume more minutely, or encumber our pages with elementary definitions and descriptions. It behoves us, however, to state that Mr. Brookes evinces an intimate and learned acquaintance with his subject, that he duly

blends perspicuity with brevity of description, that he has bestowed on his plates an unusual degree of correctness and elegance, and that he has carefully prepared the way for the prosecution of his favourite study, on the most extensive scale. His remarks on the genera *Tellina*, *Comus*, *Cypræa*, *Bulla*, *Voluta*, *Patella*, &c. sufficiently prove that he is no mere copyist, but that he exercises his own powers of judgment as often as the circumstances of the case render it either necessary or proper. The tendency of some of his strictures is to induce doubts of the accuracy of several of the Linnéan generic distinctions. In fact, new discoveries in Conchology, as in the other departments of natural history, daily call for greater nicety of divisions and subdivisions; and, after all, the series of natural productions probably forms such a graduated whole, that the utmost extent of human ability will ever be found inadequate to establish any comprehensive and uniform plan of their distribution on precise and permanent criteria. Hitherto, however, the number of those delicate and imperceptible approximations of genera and species, which have occurred to embarrass the eye of discernment, is far from overwhelming; and no methodical naturalist ought to relax in his efforts of diligent discrimination.

Before we dismiss the present article, it may also be proper to remark that fossil shells have, of late, become a topic of most interesting geological inquiry; and that the student who avails himself of Mr. Brookes's Introduction will be prepared to include them in his future researches, and thus to extend his contemplations beyond the mere structure and appearances of existing generations.

NAVAL AFFAIRS.

Art. 21. *An Inquiry into the Merits of the principal Naval Actions between Great Britain and the United States; comprizing an Account of all British and American Ships of War, reciprocally captured and destroyed, since the 18th of June 1812.* By William James. 8vo. pp. 102. Printed at Halifax, in Nova Scotia. 1816.

Mr. James, we find, is an Englishman, not a seaman, but has been a prisoner in America during a part of the late war, and, like every other Briton, felt both mortified at the naval successes of the Americans and disgusted by the exaggerating gasconade with which they trumpeted them forth. He was consequently induced to undertake the present examination into the real merits of each case of naval action which occurred; and he is intitled to every countryman's thanks for the great pains which he has exerted in accomplishing this object. The circulation of his statements throughout the American colonies must have been serviceable to the cause of truth; and the diffusion of them here may be equally desirable, (though the facts are better known,) while it will also soothe the wounded feelings of a British public. Irritated, however, as those feelings have been, we have always had the consolation of knowing that no imputation has ever been fixed on the conduct of our naval heroes; and that all the blame

and

and all the discredit belong to the mode of arming and equipping our ships of war, under the known circumstances of the case. Severely, indeed, as every man must lament the result of these events, we are sure that he would not exchange his regret for the self-upbraidings which belong to those who were primarily the cause of our losses.

Much has been said here respecting the comparative force of the British and the American ships, and the particular circumstances attending each contest: but, as far as our knowledge goes, no statements so minute and so connected have appeared as are furnished in the publication before us. We wish, therefore, that the writer would prepare a revised edition of it for the London market.

It is known that, *after the mischief had been done*, our naval administration ordered the *building* and equipment of some ships that might be a match for the extraordinary force of the American frigates: but even this measure has been most inadequately and deceptively effected, if we may rely on Mr. James; who instances the *Leander*, as being very unfit to cope with the latter. We suspect, however, that the writer is not sufficiently founded in these observations and this statement; and the *Leander* played so noble a part in the late terrible conflict at Algiers, without (as far as we can learn) betraying any of the weakness of construction here ascribed to her, that the strictures on this subject in the present tract appear to be the more doubtful. Mr. J. would do well to gain positive and unquestionable information on this point, and establish or cancel his present representation of it, in any future impression.

Art. 22. *Substance of a Letter to Lord Viscount Melville*, written in May 1815; with the Outlines of a Plan to raise British Seamen, and to form their Minds to volunteer the Naval Service when required; to do away with the Evils of Impressment, and man our Ships effectually with Mercantile Seamen. Published for the Benefit of the Marine Society. 8vo. pp. 16. W. Phillips.

Art. 23. *A Letter to William Wilberforce, Esq. M.P.* on the Subject of Impressment; calling on him and the Philanthropists of this Country to prove those Feelings of Sensibility they expressed in the Cause of Humanity on Negro Slavery, by acting with the same Ardour and Zeal in the Cause of British Seamen. Published for the Benefit of the Marine Society. 8vo. pp. 22. Kirby. 1816.

Though these pamphlets display no author's name in their title-pages, we find them both subscribed *Thomas Urquhart*, and dated from Lloyd's Coffee-house; and it appears that the writer is a seaman,—the master, we suppose, of a merchant-vessel. He states that he had seen Lord Melville on the subject of his letter, previously to the composition of it, and had his Lordship's permission to address it to him: but we do not learn that any measures have been taken in consequence. Mr. Urquhart is a plain sensible man,

man, evidently acquainted with the matters on which he writes, states many home truths, and offers many suggestions which appear to us to merit attention; the question being of great importance, and the evils of impressment avowedly serious and disgraceful. We cannot, however, enter into a detail of the propositions and regulations which he here submits to consideration; and indeed we would prefer to recommend a perusal of his pamphlets at large to those who are interested in the discussion.

Of the shameful manner in which the practice of impressment is often carried into effect, Mr. Urquhart gives a very glaring instance in his letter to Mr. Wilberforce; by stating the mode in which he was himself attacked, while walking with his wife and her sister in the streets of London, and Mrs. U. also sustained serious bodily injury. We are sorry to learn that he was not able to obtain adequate justice for the outrage.

NOVEL.

Art. 24. *The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins*, a Cornish-Man: taken from his own Mouth, in his Passage to England, from off Cape Horn in America, in the Ship Hector. By R.S. a Passenger in the Hector. A new Edition, embellished with Engravings. 12mo. 2 Vols. 10s. 6d. Boards. Allman. 1816.

This title-page announces that the work does not now appear for the first time, but no intimation is any where given respecting the period of its original publication, or the real character of the narrative itself. We have, however, discovered a report of it in our Review for December 1750: in which we remarked that it was a very strange performance, apparently the illegitimate offspring of no very natural conjunction between Gulliver and Robinson Crusoe; and much inferior to the meaner of those performances in entertainment and utility: having all that is impossible in the one or improbable in the other, without the wit and spirit of the first, or the just strokes of nature and useful lessons of morality of the second. Many things in the work also appear to be derived from hints drawn from the *Arabian Nights' Entertainments*.—Why such a production should be re-published, we do not know: even though Mr. Southey, in his notes to his excentric poem, *The Curse of Kehama*, chose to eulogize it, while he acknowledged that he had borrowed from it the idea of his *Glendoveer*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Art. 25. *The Second Usurpation of Bonaparte; or a History of the Causes, Progress, and Termination of the Revolution in France in 1815; particularly comprizing a Minute and Circumstantial Account of the ever memorable Victory of Waterloo.* To which are added Appendices containing the official Bulletins of this glorious and decisive Battle. By Edmund Boyce, Author of the *Belgian Traveller*, Translator of Labaume's Campaign in Russia, and Giraud's Campaign of Paris, &c. with accurate Maps, Plans, &c. 2 Vols. 8vo. pp. 830. 1l. 4s. Boards. Leigh. 1816.

The

The description of Mr. Boyce's labours conveyed in the title-page sufficiently denotes that they are of that temporary nature, which conduces more to the emolument of the bookseller than to the fame of the author. He deals in translations, abridgments, and compilations; laying the news-papers of the day, both foreign and domestic, under rigorous contribution; and exercising no very scrupulous vigilance with regard to the consistency of the intelligence of which he renders himself the medium. The volumes before us contain in consequence a strange mixture of truth and error, of just remark and of common-place; without suggesting any other favourable conclusion respecting the writer than that, if he would take time to digest his materials and mature his thoughts, he might be capable of much superior composition. At present, he is fond of the inflated style that is usual with authors of little experience; and, as the same remark applies to the majority of the writers, whether news-paper editors, pamphleteers, or pretended historians, from whom he copies, his book is, from beginning to end, little else than a tissue of exaggeration. He relates, with all imaginable gravity, (Vol. i. p. 162.) the pretended interview between Bonaparte and the whole royalist army at Melun on his way to Paris in March 1815; the alleged attempt (p. 179.) to carry off the young King of Rome from Vienna; the secret conference (Vol. ii. p. 176.) between Lucien and his brother at the time of the second abdication; and a variety of other matters equally private in their nature, without ever informing us on what grounds he renders himself the channel of such mysterious intelligence.

Vol. i. begins with an account of Bonaparte in his residence at Elba, and, after having recapitulated the causes of the existing discontents in France, relates his successful attempt in March 1815, with the public proceedings that followed his entry into Paris. These comprize the *Champ de Mai*, the debates of the two chambers, and the preparations for the campaign in the Netherlands. — Vol. ii. opens with the operations against Blücher, and contains a very long narrative (compiled from various sources) of the battle of Waterloo, to which we have already alluded in our article on that subject in the Review for September. We have next a report of the proceedings at Paris after Napoleon's return, of the advance of the Austrian and Russian armies, and finally of the removal of Bonaparte from Paris to St. Helena.

These topics are all so familiar to our readers, and are related with so little novelty in the present work, that it seems unnecessary to make extracts, or to enlarge farther on the merits of the compilation. It is illustrated by two very good maps, one of the Low Countries generally, and the other of the districts adjacent to Waterloo; as also with a plan of that battle, on a much larger scale than we commonly find in such publications. We are thus the more inclined to regret that a writer, who is capable of making a judicious choice of the accompaniments of his work, has not bestowed greater pains on the execution of it. — An Appendix of public papers is added: but, among other examples of carelessness, we must notice that the French official account of the great battle

battle is very badly translated ; while a list of Lord Wellington's conflicts (Vol. ii. p. 99.) is so incorrect as to comprize in the number the actions at Corunna and Barrosa.

A conversation said to have been held by a countryman of our own with Bonaparte in the island of Elba, in December 1814, is inserted in Vol. i. p. 50., and forms one of the most curious passages in the work, if it be authentic: but we find no voucher for it, and therefore we do not quote it.

Art. 26. *Time's Telescope for 1816*; or, a complete Guide to the Almanack. - Containing an Explanation of Saints' Days and Holidays; with Illustrations of British History and Antiquities; Notices of obsolete Rites and Customs; and an Account of the Fasts and Festivals of the Jews; Astronomical Occurrences in every Month, &c. The Naturalist's Diary; and a Description of British Forest-trees, &c. &c. 8vo. 9s. Boards. Sherwood and Co.

We have not had an earlier opportunity of noticing this little amusing and instructive performance, although the present volume is the third of a series which it is intended to continue annually. From the title, the reader will doubtless understand it to be of a very miscellaneous character, and such he will find it: but the arrangement is very natural, and much interesting and some useful information may be gathered from many of its pages. Being intended to form a sort of companion to the almanack, it of course contains an account of all the remarkable feasts, fast-days, and saints' days; the time and reason of their institution, with the forms and ceremonies which are, or have been, observed on them; besides a variety of other particulars connected with antient customs, remarkable events, &c. &c.

Two of the most prominent articles for the year 1816 are the Introduction on the Elements of Botany, and the History of Astronomy. These are both written with considerable perspicuity, and in a popular and instructive manner; well calculated to attract the attention of youth, and to give them a bias in favour of scientific researches. The astronomical history is treated in different sections, or divisions, under the heads of the several months; the first relates to the astronomy of the antients; the second to the state of that science among the Chinese, Persians, and Arabs; and the third to that of modern Europe, including the numerous discoveries which, within a very few years, have been made in astronomy by Herschel, Laplace, Lagrange, Olbers, &c. with the names of the several new planets, their situation, magnitude, periodical revolutions, and every other information that is to be expected in a popular historical sketch. — The only objection which we have to offer, respecting this part of the performance, is its separation into so many detached parts, for the sake of having one under each month.

The other subjects of the work agree very well with this sort of arrangement: particulars which relate to the calendar could assume no other form: the astronomical occurrences are of the same nature; and the parts respecting natural history and the description

description of forest-trees will also easily admit of the same divisions: but the history of astronomy, having no reference whatever to particular seasons, ought to have formed one uninterrupted article.

The volume contains many other interesting and instructive sketches, particularly on some parts of natural history. The author's account of ants is very amusing; and his relation of the trial, condemnation, and execution of Charles I., as well as of the great fire of London, both selected from scarce pamphlets, will be read with interest. It is true that the whole can only be considered as a compilation, but it is made with skill and judgment, and contains much desirable miscellaneous information. We may give a few specimens:

' **MAY-DAY.**—Antiently, all ranks of people went out a Maying early on the first of this month. "The juvenile part of both sexes, in the north, were wont to rise a little after midnight, and walk to some neighbouring wood, accompanied with music and the blowing of horns; where they break down branches from the trees, and adorn them with *nosegays* and *crowns of flowers*. When this is done, they return with their booty homewards, about the rising of the sun, and make their doors and windows to triumph in the *flowery spoil*. The after part of the day is chiefly spent in dancing round a tall pole, which is called a *May-pole*; which being placed in a convenient part of the village, stands there, as it were consecrated to the *goddess of flowers*, without the least violation offered it, in the whole circle of the year."

' To the custom of "going out a Maying," Shakspeare alludes in his *Midsummer Night's Dream*, Act i. sc. 1.

— "If thou lov'st me then,
Steal forth thy father's house to-morrow night;
And in the wood, a league without the town,
Where I did meet thee once with Helena,
To do observance to a morn of MAY,
There will I stay for thee." —

' **SAINT PATRICK.**—The tutelar saint of Ireland was born in the year 371, in a village called *Bonaven Taberniæ*, probably Kilpatrick, in Scotland, between Dunbriton and Glasgow. He spent many years in preparing himself for the holy functions of a priest, studying intensely till his fifty-fifth or sixtieth year. Being successively ordained deacon, priest, and bishop, he received the apostolical benediction from Pope Celestine, and was sent by him, about the beginning of the year 432, to preach the gospel in Ireland. He died at the good old age of 123, and was buried at Down, in Ulster,

' The *shamrock* is said to be worn by the Irish, upon the anniversary of this saint, for the following reason: When he preached the gospel to the Pagan Irish, he illustrated the doctrine of the Trinity, by showing them a *trefoil*, or three-leaved grass, with one stalk; which operating to their conviction, the shamrock, which is a bundle of this grass, was ever afterwards worn upon this saint's anniversary, to commemorate the event. (*Brand.*)

' The Order of St. Patrick was instituted by his present Majesty, in the year 1783.'

Among

Among the descriptions of forest-trees, a very interesting account is given of the oak, but we can allow ourselves only a short abstract from it :

Oaks have obtained (attained) an immense age and size. The Magdalen Oak, which grew close by the gate of the water-walk in that college at Oxford, survived nine hundred years ; but this is not an extraordinary age for an oak. Tradition traces the age of the Fairlop Oak half-way up the Christian era. It is a very noble tree, and, though fast verging to decay, its branches overspread an area of nearly three hundred feet in circumference : the girth of the stem is thirty-six feet. At Worksop grew an oak, whose branches covered the space of ninety feet. The circumference of *Damory's Oak*, near Blandford, was sixty-eight feet at the ground, and seventeen feet above the ground its diameter was four yards. Among other celebrated oaks, may be named *Hern's Oak*, in Windsor Forest, the *Haveringham Oak*, &c. There is now an oak at Blenheim, supported by props, which has stood, at the least, eight hundred years. The *Swilcar Oak*, in Needwood Forest, measures thirteen yards in circumference at its base, eleven yards round at the height of four feet from the earth, and is believed to be six hundred years old. It is situated in an open lawn, surrounded by extensive woods.

The large *Golenos Oak*, which was felled in the year 1810 for the use of his Majesty's navy, grew about four miles from the town of Newport, in Monmouthshire ; the main trunk, at ten feet long, produced 450 cubic feet ; one limb 355, one ditto 472, one ditto 235, one ditto 156, one ditto 106, one ditto 113, and six other limbs of inferior size averaged ninety-three feet each, making the whole number 2,426 cubic feet of sound and convertible timber. The bark was estimated at six tons ; but as some of the very heavy body bark was stolen out of the barge at Newport, the exact weight is not known. Five men were twenty days stripping and cutting down this tree ; and a pair of sawyers were five months converting it, without losing a day (Sundays excepted). The money paid for converting only, independent of the expence of carriage, was 82l. ; and the whole produce of the tree, when brought to market, was within a trifle of 600l. It was bought, standing, for 405l. ; the main trunk was 9½ feet in diameter, and, in sawing it through, a stone was discovered six feet from the ground, above a yard in the body of the tree, through which the saw cut ; the stone was about six inches in diameter, and completely shut in, but round which there was not the least symptom of decay. The rings in its butt were carefully reckoned, and amounted to above four hundred in number, a convincing proof that this tree was in an improving state for upwards of four hundred years ; and, as the ends of some of its branches were decayed and had dropped off, it is presumed it had stood a great number of years after it had attained maturity.

The oak is one of the most valuable and majestic trees ; its leaves are eaten by horses, cows, goats, and sheep ; deer and swine fatten on the acorns, and squirrels and other small animals lay them up for winter repast. A luxurious pasturage is afforded, by the acorns,

acorns, for such *hogs* as are kept on the borders of forests for about six weeks from the end of September. See *Naturalist's Diary* for that month, and T. T. for 1814, p. 249. Its bark, when stripped off, is usefully employed for tanning leather, and afterwards for hot beds and fuel. — Oak timber is well adapted to almost every purpose of rural and domestic economy, particularly for staves, laths, and spokes of wheels. The saw-dust, and even the leaves, have been found useful in tanning: the galls are employed in dying, and various other purposes.

‘The oak (says Mr. Gilpin) is the most *picturesque* tree in itself, and the most accommodating in composition. It refuses no subject either in natural or in artificial landscape. It is suited to the grandest, and may, with propriety, be introduced into the most pastoral. It adds new dignity to the ruined tower and Gothic arch: by stretching its wild moss-grown branches athwart their ivied walls, it gives them a kind of majesty coeval with itself: at the same time its propriety is still preserved, if it throw its arms over the purling brook, or the mantling pool, where it beholds

‘Its reverend image in th’ expanse below.’

We recommend this work to the attention of our juvenile readers, who will find it an agreeable and instructive companion.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The obliging letter of an *Old Friend* (at Bath) does not enable us to ascertain what are the works that have not yet appeared in our pages, to which it alludes: but surely neither he nor his companions can require to be reminded that, of the immense multitude of publications which our presses now send forth, many must, in the nature of things, wait a considerable time for notice in our confined space, and many others must inevitably be passed in silence. — As to Reviews being ‘mere booksellers’ advertisers and puffs,’ all those who know any thing of the *Monthly Review* know that it never was subject to any influence of parties or individuals, political, theological, or commercial; and its perfect *independence* always has been, and we trust always will be, one recommendation to which it may pretend, whatever other claims to public favour it may or may not substantiate.

We intend to report in our next Appendix the interesting Foreign Publications mentioned by *Inquisitor*.

GENERAL INDEX.

In answer to the numerous inquiries and applications which have been made to us, respecting a new GENERAL INDEX, we have now to announce that this undertaking, comprizing the whole of the New Series of the *Monthly Review*, to the end of the present year, is in considerable forwardness, and will probably be put to the press in the approaching Spring. The plan of the former General Index will be observed: but some improvements will be adopted, and greater copiousness of reference be introduced, in the way of duplication, so as to render less likely any failure of search. It is calculated to form two large volumes in octavo.



THE MONTHLY REVIEW,

For DECEMBER, 1816.

ART. I. *The History of the Kings of England and the Modern History of William of Malmesbury.* Translated from the Latin by the Rev. John Sharpe, B.A., Curate of Elstead and of Treyford, Sussex; and formerly Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford. 4to. pp. 628. Three Guineas in Boards. Longman and Co., and Porter. 1815.

THE old English historians were a set of men of whom our countrymen have just reason to be proud: yet, notwithstanding their claims to the gratitude and attention of posterity, they have met with the most constant neglect; and while nearly all the store-houses of literature receive a supply so ample as to produce a glut of many of the commodities, this article alone has been almost wholly overlooked. Not only have we to regret a want of translations of these early and interesting records, without the testimony of which all the researches of our modern annalists would have been vain, and all their eloquence, their taste, and their polished periods useless, but the neglect of the Latin originals themselves has long been, and still is, a subject of reproach to the literary character of our nation. The editions which we do possess of the monkish historians have been but rarely multiplied by the press,—never, indeed, in modern times; and they are in many instances conveyed to us in forms and types so repulsive, that all but the truly hungry student (no common character in our days) have passed them by in search of fare more daintily tricked out to captivate the eye. Yet the Englishman who never has opened these venerable volumes can but meanly appreciate the efforts of his own ancestors, in keeping the lamp of learning fed, although in obscurity, and in periods too which greatly preceded the general revival of literature in Europe. They will teach him that, as early as the Norman conquest, although learning was confined within the walls of monasteries, it was not solely exercised there in abstruse metaphysical subtleties, abstract speculations, or disputatious school-divinity: but that, while historical facts were searched out with indefatigable zeal, they were clothed in a style of language

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that evinced no incompetent knowledge of classical antiquity, and much occasional success in the imitation of its best models. Studies such as these were also the more meritorious in their professors, because their fame could be but little estimated by any of their contemporaries except their brother-churchmen, and the endless labour of transcription was an effectual bar to any very rapid circulation of their works among foreign countries.

This is not the place for entering into the causes of the improvement of learning which began gradually to manifest itself soon after the Norman conquest, but received such checks during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, from the constant civil wars which distracted our country, as almost to annihilate the vital spark. We fully agree, however, with some of our ablest modern historians, that the increase of monasteries for the first century and a half subsequent to the Conquest, much as those institutions might in after times have been perverted, had a most beneficial tendency to this improvement. Not only were they almost the sole repositories of antient learning, but they afforded means of instruction by no means contemptible; and, by employing the more studious youth in the work of constant transcription from antient authors, they insensibly ameliorated his style, his taste, and his sentiments. Dr. Robertson regarded the Crusades as no inconsiderable auxiliary, contrary to the opinion of other authors, who deemed them more likely to excite a military than a literary ambition in the people: but their effects could be visible only in times rather later than those of which we are speaking. Inventions which facilitated writing were also an accessory cause of improvement in the period to which our observations relate. It has indeed been urged that the universal custom of composing in the Latin language, in which all our early annals except that very antient one the Saxon Chronicle are written, was an impediment to the general diffusion of knowledge, because it effectually excluded all those who were not scholars by education from participating in the lights which began to burst on society; and the objection is not without some force. Yet we must consider that this drawback was compensated by the advantages resulting from the use of a language already moulded for ages to all the purposes of composition, in preference to a tongue, whether Saxon, French, or English, that was comparatively barbarous, and deficient in those niceties of grammatical precision which can alone confer perspicuity of style. Posterity should at least be grateful for the choice of these early writers.

Such

Such rare opportunities have ever occurred to us of speaking on this subject, that we shall doubtless be excused for delaying the notice of the translation before us, while we give a brief account of the manner in which the original writings of some others of these fathers of our history, as well as of William of Malmesbury himself, have descended to the present day.

Our first English annalist Bede, more generally known as "the venerable Bede," wrote in the first half of the eighth century. His history is professedly ecclesiastical, and not civil: nor does any history purely civil occur until the close of the eleventh century, with the exception of that often-named but little consulted work, the "Saxon Chronicle," written in the language which the name denotes: but it is to this that all must have reference who inquire into the long and remote period of seven centuries, from the relinquishment of this island by the Romans to the time of Eadmer and William of Malmesbury, and to which they also and their cotemporaries had recourse. An autograph of this work is preserved in the library of Bene't College, Cambridge. We should recollect, however, that it was simply a chronicle and not a history. The first English press was set up in 1474: but no historian whatever was published from it until 1526; and the Saxon Chronicle, justly said to be one of the most valuable remains of antient language that any nation can boast, was not printed until 1644, when it appeared at the end of Wheeloc's edition of Bede, with a Latin version. Bede himself was indebted to foreign countries for his earlier impressions. After the commencement of the twelfth century, the English historians were a far more numerous body; and most of those now extant have been inserted in the following collections, arranged according to the dates at which they appeared in print for the first time: viz. Matthew of Westminster, edited by Parker the first Protestant bishop under Elizabeth, in 1570; and another edition in 1601. Matthew Paris, in part only, 1571: another edition, edited by Watts in 1640. "*Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui*," containing the first edition, and indeed the only one that we know, of William of Malmesbury: also Hoveden, Ethelwred, and Ingulph Abbot of Croyland, published by the accomplished Sir Henry Savile, 1596. Eadmer, an historical writer, rather senior to William of M., and highly commended by him, was printed for the first time in 1623, and edited by Selden. Bede and the Saxon Chronicle have been already noticed: the latter was re-edited by Gibson. *Scriptores decem Historiæ Anglicanæ*, London, 1652, edited by Roger Twysden, with a preface by Selden;

a valuable collection. "*Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores veteres*," by Gale, Oxford, 1684, in two volumes, with a third intitled the *Scriptores quindecim*, 1691, and containing the portion of William of Malmesbury not included in the collection of Sir Henry Savile, in which alone of all the above cited volumes his civil histories find a place.

It is not to be supposed that these collections contain all the antient writers of English history: many have doubtless perished, and many are probably still lying in neglected and worm-eaten manuscript: but two circumstances are worthy of observation with respect to the dates of the editions which we have noticed; 1st, that no one was published until long after the accession of Henry the Eighth; 2dly, that no one has been published since the accession of Queen Anne. A little attention to these two facts will shew us how detrimental to the cause of historical knowlege has been the national neglect which the English have shewn towards their own historians. With respect to the former, it has been observed by Mr. Gibbon, of whose attention to this subject we shall have occasion to speak presently, that "this delay of a century in printing our early historians is the more to be lamented, as it is too probable that many authentic and valuable monuments of our history were lost in the dissolution of religious houses by Henry the Eighth. The Protestant and the patriot must applaud our deliverance; but the critic may deplore the rude havoc that was made in the libraries of churches and monasteries by the zeal, the avarice, and neglect of unworthy reformers." In another place, he eloquently adds: "The losses of history are irretrievable: when the productions of fancy or science have been swept away, new poets may invent, and new philosophers may reason; but if the inscription of a single fact be once obliterated, it can never be restored by the united efforts of genius and industry."

From the indifference that has been manifested towards these writers since the commencement of the last century, we have experienced more inconvenience than absolute loss, but it has long been high time that this reproach should be obliterated from our national escutcheon. Impelled by considerations of this nature, Mr. Pinkerton and Mr. Gibbon projected the publication of a grand national work*, to comprize all the writers of early English history, carefully collated with the best manuscripts now in existence; and to commence with extracts from all those antient foreign authors, who have in any of their writings noticed the earlier

* See Gibbon's Miscellaneous Works, M. Rev. for June last, p. 124.

ages of the British islands *. They justly stated, in their address, that the English had been more negligent than almost any other people in publishing their historians collectively, and in becoming forms. The labours of the Germans in this department have long since adorned the library and facilitated the researches of the student; and the magnificent collection of Muratori, comprizing all writers of Italian history from the year 500 to 1500, instead of setting competition at defiance, was better calculated to rouse the emulation of a wealthy and highly cultivated empire. Other nations also have long since surpassed us in this particular, although not in an equal degree. The death of Mr. Gibbon, however, arrested the arm of his associate in the projected labour, and the scheme was altogether abandoned. Mr. P. appears to have imagined that the protracted contest, in which this country was engaged, so far occupied the minds of the present generation as to promise but a bad reception for a work of such magnitude; an argument which has surely been most amply confuted by experience. It must somewhat surprize this gentleman that now even the Irish, a people whose antient history Mr. Gibbon rather depreciated, have taken the lead of us in the publication of their national historians. The first volume, under the patronage of the late Marquis of Buckingham, was printed at Buckingham, in quarto, in 1814, under the title of "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores veteres.*" Hitherto, those records have been sealed books to all except the few who understood the antient and nearly barbarous language of that country: but they now appear translated into the Latin, which has been chosen for its universality, by Dr. Charles O'Connor. It is not our business here to enter into the justice of the translator's reasons for preferring a dead language, in which, although he is a laborious scholar, he has not always preserved that purity of style which we could have wished: but his work must be deemed a highly valuable addition to the historical records of the British empire.

* A compilation of some extracts such as these was published in one volume quarto by Baron Maseres in 1807, under the title of "Select Monuments of English History," taken from the "*Historia Normannorum Scriptores antiqui*" of Duchesne, 1619, printed at Paris. The editor expresses it to be a collection of tracts relative to the conquest of England in 1066, and to the state of this country for some years previous and subsequent to that event. The history of William I. from *Ordericus Vitalis* forms one of the most useful and interesting portions of the whole. The notices of our island from classical antiquity, to which Mr. Pinkerton referred, would of course lie in a very small compass.

Next to a complete collection of our historians in the original language, worthy of the wealth and literary enterprize of their descendants, we are undoubtedly most anxious to see translations of them, executed by authors of competent ability; and we therefore hail with pleasure the present translation of one who deserves, by his antiquity and his merit as an author, to be placed in the very first ranks. A translation of the Saxon Chronicle, or Chronicles, from their original language, is indeed a very great desideratum; and when we recollect how ably the chair of the Anglo-Saxon professor has lately been filled in the University of Oxford, and that it is now occupied by a gentleman of indefatigable industry of research, we trust that we do not entertain a wish unlikely to be accomplished, when we hope to receive from his hands, or the hands of some of those who have profited by his example and instructions, an English version of the first written records of our civil history. After William of Malmesbury, we would require Hoveden, and Matthew Paris; of the latter of whom we shall have occasion again to speak.

From what has already transpired in these pages, many of our readers, though not absolutely ignorant of the existence of the historian now before us, may, coupling his name with that of his residence, imagine him to be a personage of similar notoriety with John O'Groats; and we will therefore relate to them in a few words the little that can be collected respecting him. William of Malmesbury, called also occasionally William Somerset, from the circumstance of his having been born in that county, flourished during the first half of the twelfth century. The date of his birth is very uncertain: but that it was by many years subsequent to the Norman conquest, in the preceding century, may be collected from some circumstances which he has accidentally mentioned relative to himself. He was descended, he states, from Saxon and Norman parents, the latter of whom probably came over with William I. The generally presumed time of his death is 1143; and, as we have no reason for supposing that he lived to any very advanced age, we may conclude him to have been born in the latter part of the reign of William I. Mr. Sharpe, the author of the translation before us, deems it probable that he was born as late as the year 1095: but this would reduce the term of his life to forty-eight years, unless we extend the assigned date of his death, for which there seems some ground. As the last of his histories was not completed till the year 1142, and it is known that he made several corrections in this and other works subsequently to their appearance in the world, (which has been proved by the variations in manuscripts,) he may, we think,

think, he fairly presumed to have exceeded the year 1143 by some few additional years at least. With regard to his life, it is probable that, if information respecting it could be procured; its uniformity and comparative obscurity, like that of many other scholars of all ages, would afford but little amusement or edification. It appears that, as a boy, he was placed and instructed in the monastery from which he afterward received his name: that a fondness for study developed itself very early in his youthful mind, and increased with his years; and that his progress in Latin literature, both of the purest and of succeeding ages, must have been rapid, and his knowledge of them very extensive, since we observe in his pages the constant adaptation of phrases and expressions from classical authors. Whether he had any knowledge of the Greek language is not so certain. To the study of logic, he himself informs us that he early felt a disinclination; with medicine, he says, he took more pains; and he had so great a veneration for ethics, that he scrupulously examined the several branches of that science. History, however, was his favourite study; and in the pursuit of it he was earnest and indefatigable, as will be seen from his own account of the strength of this propensity, detailed with his usual simplicity.

‘ When, at my own expense, I had procured some historians of foreign nations, I proceeded, during my domestic leisure, to inquire if any thing concerning our own country could be found, worthy of handing down to posterity. Hence it arose, that, not content with the writings of ancient times, I began, myself, to compose; not indeed, to display my learning, which is comparatively nothing, but to bring to light events lying concealed in the confused mass of antiquity. In consequence, rejecting vague opinions, I have studiously sought for chronicles far and near, though I confess I have scarcely profited any thing by this industry. For perusing them all, I still remained poor in information; though I ceased not my researches as long as I could find any thing to read. However, what I have clearly ascertained concerning the four kingdoms, I have inserted in my first book, in which I hope truth will find no cause to blush, though perhaps a degree of doubt may sometimes arise. I shall now trace the monarchy of the West-Saxon kingdom, through the line of successive princes, down to the coming of the Normans: which if any person will condescend to regard with complacency, let him in brotherly love observe the following rule: “ If before, he knew only these things, let him not be disgusted because I have inserted them; if he shall know more, let him not be angry that I have not spoken of them;” but rather let him communicate his knowledge to me, while I yet live, that, at least, those events may appear in the margin of my history, which do not occur in the text.’

He executed the designs, announced in this extract, with industry, and with a degree of ability very surprizing for the times in which he wrote. His first work is a general History of England, divided into five books, commencing with the arrival of the Saxons, A.D. 449, and concluding with the twenty-sixth year of Henry I. A.D. 1126. It was intitled, "History of the Kings of England," and a clear but brief prospectus of it is drawn up by the author in a preface to the first division of it; short introductions being also added to the several books. The second work, commencing at the period at which the former concluded, and called by its writer his "Modern History," is carried down to the escape of the Empress Matilda from Oxford during the civil wars with Stephen for the succession, A.D. 1143. These performances are composed, as all others of character were in those days, in the Latin language; and a translation of them,—the first, we believe, that ever has appeared,—forms the contents of the handsome volume now before us. They were first published in the original by the justly celebrated Sir Henry Savile, in the collection with other histories written in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries mentioned above, and intitled "*Scriptores post Bedam*," London, 1596; as also subsequently at Frankfort, 1601; both of which editions are incorrect, but, such as they are, constituted a very desirable accession to the English library. He wrote also a church-history in four books, including an account of many of the churches, lives of abbots, &c. and some expositions of Scripture; preserved in the collection intitled "*Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores*," by Gale, Oxford, 1684.

This is all that we can learn of this meritorious scholar; to whom the readers, as well as all subsequent writers, of English history are deeply indebted. He passed his studious life as a monk of Malmesbury and librarian of that monastery, in which he had laboured in the *Scriptorium* from his earliest years. Leland says that he was precentor at the time of his death, and had refused the dignity of abbot, which had been offered to him.

It seems requisite to add a few observations on his character as an historian, and on his style as a writer in the Latin language, before we enter on the merits of the translation. //

As an historian, Malmesbury is distinguished by inquisitive eagerness for knowledge, not less than for patient and laborious investigation of the facts which he acquires. Disgusted with the dry chronological detail of events without comment or reflection, and of actions without inquiry into the motives which produced them, such as he found in the Saxon Chronicles, &c.

which he was compelled to have recourse, he adopted the more diffuse and popular modes of historical narration. He has been accused of credulity; and the marvellous tales, in which he indulges, savour of such a blemish: but on this score it may be observed, that he does not always profess his personal belief in the more improbable stories which he records, leaving them to the adoption or rejection of his readers. It was clearly esteemed by him no inconsiderable object to amuse and detain them with variety of entertainment, as well as to inform them in the transactions of the times which he described; and it is difficult now to say how far he sacrificed his own better judgment to their faulty taste, or how far his own judgment is impeachable by the occasional introduction of incredible tales. The present translator has well remarked that such legends as these are always completely separable from the main narrative; and if this be the case, as we believe it to be, such an arrangement must not be considered by any means as fortuitous, but would indicate some policy in the writer, who increased his chance of proving permanently useful by a happy coincidence with the taste of the majority of his readers. After all, it must be confessed that the age in which Malmesbury flourished, and his profession as a monk, combined with the inquisitive turn of his mind, — a disposition which has frequently a tendency towards easiness of belief, — must render him in some measure subject to the imputation of credulity, if compared with writers of a modern date, and of a religion little addicted to the reception of the miracles of saints and relics: but common justice demands that he should be judged according to the circumstances of the period in which he lived.

With regard to the style of our earlier historians, it has been said that Malmesbury imitated Livy, while Matthew Paris followed Tacitus: but the latter we conceive to be a more just observation than the former. Of imitation, there must necessarily be two sorts; 1st, that which is recognized by similarity of plan, turn of thought, arrangement, and method of execution; and, 2dly, imitation of language, easily observable in the usage of words and construction of sentences. If William of Malmesbury imitated Livy, he copied him rather as an historian than as a writer; although in this respect he probably bears a greater resemblance to Herodotus (fortuitously, no doubt,) than to the Roman annalist. The fact is that, in his Latin style, the monk betrays some pride in his extensive classical attainments, and not without good reason; the range of his reading being as wide as his memory was retentive; and, influenced probably in some measure by this feeling,

feeling, but still more by a wish to render his latinity pure by forming his sentences in the exact moulds of antiquity; he adapts the words, the combinations, and the constructions of various antient writers with wonderful facility to his own immediate purposes. We cannot, therefore, say that a person copied the latinity of Livy, who recalls to us Sallust and Horace, Cicero and Lucretius, and other authors poetical as well as prosaic.

The present translator's English style is more difficult to define than that of his original; since it presents a mixture of the formal and quaint language of the earliest English writers with the construction of sentences, and the involution of their parts, that are incident to the Latin tongue. This character has not been adopted without intention or design; nor has it arisen solely from closeness of translation, and the system of rendering sentence by sentence; for the translator himself, while he tacitly confesses the peculiarity, supports the propriety of the style which he has assumed, and the formation of which has evidently not been a work free from labour. 'In giving,' says he, 'an English version of this learned and entertaining monk, such a style has been adopted as, after mature deliberation, appeared to be best calculated to convey the author's meaning; and most suitable to make Malmesbury in an English dress tell his own tale in his own manner.' One point proposed the translator has undoubtedly attained. The author's *meaning* is conveyed closely, and, as far as we have compared the translation with the original, with very commendable fidelity indeed: but we confess that we are not so well satisfied on the second point. The style of Malmesbury in Latin is far from deficient in ease and fluency; while in his English dialect, formed on the model of the other, but unlike it in its effects from the different genius of the language, he is quaint and cramped. Can he, then, be said to 'tell his own tale in his own manner'? The style which the translator has adopted, however antiquated, is of a later date by some ages than the twelfth century, (what our native style then was it would be difficult indeed to say,) and savours of the diction of the early *English* chroniclers; and consequently nothing in it marks any very characteristic propriety, as applied in the present case. One circumstance, however, and not of weak import, must in justice be added in its favour; we mean a very extraordinary air of simplicity which it throws on the whole narration. That Malmesbury's own character partook of this amiable quality, even to a fault, his writings abundantly testify; and, whether legitimately created or not, it is very strongly reflected on the whole face of his work as given in the

the English language. In some instances, we might add, produced occasionally by warmer feelings, or by some other cause, the translator has suffered the mask to slip a little on one side, apparently forgetting the older diction which he had assumed; and though this incorrectness of the chronology of his language is certainly not frequent, it will be found to occur more often as he advances nearer to the completion of his task, as if his original intention began (we might say) to escape him.

It is not our present purpose to compare Malmesbury, as to the facts detailed by him, with Bede who preceded him, or with Eadmer, Ingulph, *Ordericus Vitalis*, and others who were nearly his cotemporaries. How far our modern historians, especially Hume, have drawn from him, may easily be traced by the references annexed to their works; it is the part only of inferior writers to conceal their debts, and omit their acknowledgements: but it is creditable to the industry of the historian whom we have named that, though he allows no niggardly praise to Malmesbury, yet, not contented with his testimony, he has perpetually examined the sources from which even the old monk drew.

In now placing before our readers some passages from Mr. Sharpe's translation, it may be thought that we consult the entertainment only of those who are fond of wild tales of the imagination: but the fact is that insulated quotations from historical narratives are necessarily uninteresting; and the strange superstitious beliefs of our ancestors, eight or ten centuries ago, cannot well be more faithfully delineated than by extracts such as the following: they truly form of themselves a feature in history by no means deserving to be overlooked.

A curious mode of defending a city from hostile attack, and some additional insight into the manners of the age (p. 12), will be found in the annexed passage:

• Charles, the son-in-law of Edward, (the elder,) constrained thereto by Rollo through a succession of calamities, conceded to him that part of Gaul which at present is called Normandy. It would be tedious to relate, for how many years, and with what audacity, the Normans disquieted every place from the British ocean, as I have said, to the Tuscan sea. First Hasting, and then Rollo; who, born of noble lineage among the Norwegians, though obsolete from its extreme antiquity, was banished by the king's command from his own country, and brought over with him multitudes, who were in danger either from debt or consciousness of guilt, and whom he had allured by great expectations of advantage. Betaking himself therefore to piracy, after his cruelty had ranged on every side at pleasure, he experienced a check at Chartres. For the townspeople, relying neither on arms nor fortifications, piously implored

implored the assistance of the blessed virgin Mary. The chief ~~and~~ of the Virgin which Charles the Bald had brought with other ~~re-~~liquies from Constantinople, they displayed to the winds on the ~~sum-~~parts thronged by the garrison, after the fashion of a banner. The enemy on seeing it began to laugh, and to direct their arrows at it through the air. This however was not done with impunity; for presently their eyes becoming dim, they could neither retreat nor advance. The townsmen with joy perceiving this, indulged themselves in a plentiful slaughter of them as far as fortune permitted. Rollo however, whom God reserved for the true faith, escaped, and soon after gained Rouen and the neighbouring cities, by force of arms, in the year of our Lord 876, and one year before the death of Charles the Bald, whose grandson Lewis, as is before mentioned, vanquished the Normans, but did not expel them: but Charles, the brother of that Lewis, grandson of Charles the Bald by his son Lewis, as I have said above, repeatedly experiencing from unsuccessful conflicts, that Fortune gave him nothing which she took from others, resolved, after consulting his nobility, that it was advisable to make a show of royal munificence, when he was unable to repel injury; and, in a friendly manner, sent for Rollo. He was at this time far advanced in years, and consequently easily inclined to pacific measures. It was therefore determined by treaty, that he should be baptised and hold that country of the king as his lord. The inbred and untameable ferocity of the man may well be imagined, for, on receiving this gift, as the bystanders suggested to him that he ought to kiss the foot of his benefactor, disdaining to kneel down, he seized the king's foot and dragged it to his mouth as he stood erect. The king falling on his back, the Normans began to laugh, and the Franks to reprobate the transaction; but Rollo apologized for his shameful conduct, by saying that it was the custom of his country. Thus the affair being settled, Rollo returned to Rouen, and there died.

The dreams of Olympias relative to her son Alexander, or of Hecuba "*face prægnans*" respecting Paris, meet with a very worthy companion in some circumstances reported to precede the birth of the Saxon king Athelstan. We will give the vision in the original language: "*Huic (viz. ovionis filiae) per visum monstratur prodigium, lunam de ventre suo splendere, et hoc lumine totam Angliam illustrari: quod cum mane detulisset ad sodales ludo, ab illis non joculariter exceptum, confestim villicæ auribus, quæ Regis filios nutrire solebat, insonuit.*" Lib. ii. c. 6.—It is scarcely necessary to add that the prediction was verified in its obvious interpretation: but still, we think, the fates were very reprehensible for using such extraordinary types in their developement of mundane affairs. Of all ages in the world, however, no one period seems to have teemed with so many miracles, and every species of super-human agency, as that of Edward the Confessor, immediately preceding the Norman conquest; and the thousand-and-one prodiges, detailed

detailed by Lucan as preparing mankind for strange events after the passage of the Rubicon by Cæsar, sink far below them in fertility of invention. The long story of the witch of Berkeley is, we believe, partially known: but at all events it is much too diffuse for our pages. In defence of its authenticity, the Monk observes; 'No person will deem this incredible who has read St. Gregory's dialogues, who tells in his fourth book of a wicked man who had been buried in a church, and was cast out of doors again by devils.' As we have never read these dialogues, our incredulity is venial: but we fear that this is one of the instances in which the orthodoxy of the Monk and his deference to such sacred authority as that of St. Gregory have 'cast out of doors his better judgment.' The habit of story-telling is very contagious; and the author accordingly no sooner indulges in such a licence, than he proceeds to disburthen himself of all other legends that his memory can supply: but such episodes as these do not affect the main history. The following are excellent specimens:

'At that time the body of Pallas, the son of Evander, of whom Virgil speaks, was found entire at Rome, to the great astonishment of all, for having escaped corruption so many ages. Such, however, is the nature of bodies embalmed, that when the flesh decays, the skin preserves the nerves, and the nerves the bones. The gash which Turnus had made in the middle of his breast measured four feet and an half. His epitaph was found to this effect,

Pallas, Evander's son, lies buried here
In order due, transfix'd by Turnus' spear.

Which epitaph I should not think made at the time, though Carmentis the mother of Evander is reported to have discovered the Roman letters, but that it was composed by Ennius, or some other ancient poet. There was a burning lamp at his head, constructed by magical art; so that no violent blast, no dripping of water, could extinguish it. While many were lost in admiration at this, one person, as there are always some people expert in mischief, made an aperture beneath the flame with an iron style, which introducing the air, the light vanished. The body, when set up against the wall, surpassed it in height, but some days afterwards, being drenched with the drip of the eves, it acknowledged the corruption common to mortals; the skin and the nerves dissolving.'

A recapitulation of royal saints occurs at the close of the Saxon line; among whom a certain St. Edmund, a king of the East Angles, occupies a most prominent situation, and not without reason if his posthumous performances are to be credited.

Here, then, reigned Edmund; a man devoted to God, ennobled by his descent from ancient kings, and though he presided but a short time, yet he left behind him a name which shall live for ever.

over the province in peace for several years, yet never through the effeminacy of the times did he relax his virtue. Hingmar and Hubba, two leaders of the Danes, came over to depopulate the provinces of the Northumbrians and East Angles. The former of these seized the unresisting king, who had cast away his arms and was lying on the ground in prayer, and, after the infliction of tortures, beheaded him. On the death of this saintly man, the purity of his past life was evidenced by unheard-of miracles. The Danes had cast away the head, when severed from the body by the cruelty of the executioners, and it had been hidden in a thicket. While his subjects, who had tracked the footsteps of the enemy as they departed, were seeking it, intending to solemnize with due honour the funeral rites of their king, they were struck with the pleasing intervention of God: for the lifeless head uttered a voice, inviting all who were in search of it to approach. A wolf, a beast accustomed to prey upon dead carcases, was holding it in its paws, and guarding it untouched; which animal also, after the manner of a tame creature, gently followed the bearers to the tomb, and neither did nor received any injury. The sacred body was then, for a time, committed to the earth; turf was placed over it, and a wooden chapel, of trifling cost, erected. The negligent natives, however, were soon made sensible of the virtue of the martyr, which excited their listless minds to reverence him, by the miracles which he performed. And though perhaps the first proof of his power may appear weak and trivial, yet nevertheless I shall subjoin it. He bound, with invisible bands, some thieves who had endeavoured to break into the church by night: this was done in the very attempt; a pleasant spectacle enough, to see the plunder hold fast the thief so that he could neither desist from the enterprise, nor complete the design. In consequence, Theodred Bishop of London, who lies at St. Paul's, removed the lasting disgrace of so mean a structure, by building a nobler edifice over those sacred limbs, which evidenced the glory of his unspotted soul, by surprising soundness, and a kind of milky whiteness. The head, which was formerly divided from the neck, is again united to the rest of the body, shewing only the sign of martyrdom by a purple seam. One circumstance indeed surpasses human miracles, which is, that the hair and nails of the dead man continue to grow: these, Oswen, an holy woman, used yearly to clip and cut, that they might be objects of veneration to posterity. Truly this was an holy temerity, for a woman to contemplate and handle limbs superior to the whole of this world.

We cannot transgress our limits for the miracles performed by the Confessor in person; such as his cure of the King's evil and blindness by the touch, with many similar exploits. In one instance, we confess, we do not see by what mode of reasoning the author draws his inference: when, speaking of a married female hitherto barren, who had been cured of a venereal complaint in her neck by the monarch, he adds, and within a year becoming the mother of twins, she increased

creased the admiration of Edward's holiness,' p. 284. — One extract more, and we have done; and it relates to so singular a phenomenon in natural history, that we well may be excused for its insertion: the rather, indeed, as the story which causes the reflection was related to Malmesbury by a person 'of the utmost veracity.'

I deem this the less wonderful, because it is well known, in Asia, that if a leopard bite any person, a party of mice approach directly, to discharge their urine on the wounded man; and, that a filthy deluge of their water attends his death; but if, by the care of servants, driving them off, the destruction can be avoided during nine days; then medical assistance, if called in, may be of service. My informant had seen a person wounded after this manner, who despairing of safety on shore, proceeded to sea, and lay at anchor; when immediately more than a thousand mice swam out, wonderful to relate, in the rinds of pomegranates, the insides of which they had eaten; but they were drowned through the loud din of the sailors. "For the Creator of all things has left nothing he has made destitute of sagacity; nor any pest without its remedy."

Our readers have now had the opportunity of forming for themselves an opinion on the style of the translation. As the original is not very common, and we have already made some observations on it, one quotation from it seems likely to be no improper supplement to this article: but it shall be altogether of a different character from those which we have hitherto adduced: viz. the account of the battle of Hastings, with a brief view of the conduct of the leaders of the respective armies, Harold and William the First, on that memorable occasion.

"Ita utrinque animosi duces disponunt acies, patrio quisque ritu: Angli, ut accepimus, totam noctem insomnem cantibus potibusque decantes, manè incunctanter in hostem procedant: pedites omnes cum bipennibus, consortâ ante se scutorum testudine, impenetrabilem castrum faciunt: quod profectò illis eâ die saluti fuisset, nisi Normanni, simulatâ fugâ, more suo consortos manipulos laxassent. Rex ipse pedes juxta vexillum stabat cum fratribus, ut, in commune periculo agitato, nemo de fugâ cogitaret. Vexillum illud post victoriam Pape misit Willielmus, quod erat in hominis pugnantis figurâ, aureo & lapideis, arte sumptuosâ contextum.

"Contrâ, Normanni tota nocte confessioni peccatorum vacantes, manè Dominico corpore communicârunt. Pedites cum arcubus et sagittis primam frontem muniunt, equites retrò divisis alis consistunt. Comes et

Harold.

William. He is generally distinguished by this title, answering to our Earl or Count, previously to the Conquest, and not by the appellation of Duke, by which modern historians have uniformly denominated him.

vultu serenus (severus), et clarâ. (durâ) voce, suæ parti utpote justiori Deum affuturum pronuncians arma poposcit: moxque ministrorum tumultu lorica inversam indutus, casum risu correxit; vertetur, inquiens, fortitudo ducatûs mei in regnum. Tunc cantilenâ Rollandi inchoatâ, ut martium viri exemplum pugnatueros accenderet; in clamatoque Dei auxilio, prælium utrinque consertum, bellatumque acriter, neutris in multam diei horam cedentibus. Quo comperto, Willielmus innuit suis, ut, fictâ fugâ, campo se subtraherent. Hoc commento, Anglorum cuneus solutus, quasi palantes hostes à tergo cæsurus, exitum sibi maturavit. Normanni enim conversis ordinibus reversi dispersos adoriuntur, et in fugam cogunt. Ita ingenio circumventi pulchram mortem pro patriæ ultione meruere: nec tamen ultioni suæ defuere, quin crebrò consistentes, de insequentibus insignes cladis acervos facerent. Nam occupato cumulo (qu. tumulo?) Normannos calore succensos, acriter ad superiora nŕentes in vallum dejiciunt, levique negotio in subjectos tela torquentes, lapides rotantes, omnes ad unum fundunt. Item fossatum quoddam præruptum compendiario et noto sibi transitu eadentes, tot ibi inimicorum conculcavere, ut cadaverum cumulo planitiem campi æquarent. Valuit hæc vicissitudo, modo illis, modo istis vincentibus, quantum Haroldi vita moram fecit. At ubi jactu sagittæ violato cerebro procubuit †, fuga Anglorum perennis in noctem fuit. Epicuit ibi virtus amborum ducum.*

“Haroldus non contentus munere imperatorio, ut hortaretur alios, militis officium sedulò exsequebatur. Sæpe hostem cominus venientem ferire, ut nullus impunè accederet, quin statim uno ictu eques et equus prociderent. Quapropter, ut dixi, eminus letali arundine ictus mortem implevit. Jacentis femur unus militum gladio proscidit, unde à Willielmo ignominie notatus, quod rem ignavam et pudendam fecisset, militiâ pulsus est.

“Item Willielmus suos clamore, et præsentia hortari, ipse primus procurrere, confertos hostes invadere. Ideo dum ubique sævit, ubique infrendet, tres equos electissimos, sub se confossos, eo die amisit. Perstitit tamen magnanimi ducis et corpus et animus, quamvis familiari susurro à custodibus corporis revocaretur; perstitit, inquam, donec victoriam plenam superveniens nox infunderet. Et procul dubio divina illum manus protexit, ut nihil sanguinis ex ejus corpore hostis hauriret, quamvis illum tot jaculis impeteret.

“Illa dies fuit fatalis Anglis, funestum excidium dulcis patriæ, pro novorum dominorum commutatione,” &c. Lib. 3. †

This

* Henry of Huntingdon, in his annals, puts a long speech into the mouth of William, before the action: probably more with a view of imitating classical history, than from having ascertained that any oration was delivered.

† According to Huntingdon, the arrow went through the eye into the head.

‡ Vide “*Rerum Anglicarum Scriptores post Bedam præcipui*,” p. 56, 57. Roger Hoveden passes over the battle of Hastings with great rapidity, and more like a chronicler than an historian; but he agrees with Malmesbury in recounting some partial successes of

the

This extract has not been chosen from any peculiar excellence compared with other parts of the work: but it affords a very fair specimen of the writer's style; which will, we imagine, be allowed by all scholars not only to be perspicuous, but to contain fewer traces of barbarous Latin, or indeed of a semi-barbarous æra, than might fairly be expected in the author's age and country. It does not in fact exhibit many constructions to which even the fastidious critic of the present day could make just exceptions. — The author's description of the personal appearance of William, concise as it is, places the man exactly before our eyes, and is drawn, we doubt not, with much fidelity.

"Justa fuit staturæ, immensæ corpulentia, facie ferâ, fronte capillis nudâ, roboris ingentis in lacertis, ut magno sæpe spectaculo fuerit, quod nemo ejus arcum tenderet, quem ipse admissis equo, pedibus nervo extento, sinuaret: magnæ dignitatis, sedens et stans, quam obesitas ventris nimis protensa regium corpus deformaret."

P. 63. Script. post Bedam.

‘He was of just stature, extraordinary corpulence, fierce countenance; his forehead bare of hair: of such great strength of arm, that it was often matter of surprize that no one was able to draw his bow, which himself could bend when his horse was in full gallop. He was majestic whether sitting or standing, although the protuberance of his belly deformed his royal person.’

Translation, p. 351.

We have quoted the translation of this passage because, by the just and ready conception of one or two words in the original, here introduced with rather peculiar usage, the translator has shewn his intimacy with the nicer idioms of the Latin tongue: but we would observe to him that he has neglected to render the words, ‘*pedibus nervo extento*,’ which in some measure describe the means by which this act of William was performed. It cannot be said of him as of the hero of old,

‘Ως ἂν ἀπὸ σπουδῆς τάυτης μέγα τόξον. Il. xix.

Mr. Sharpe has rendered the account of the battle of Hastings not only with very minute accuracy, but at the same time with considerable spirit of language; and we might instance it as one of those passages in which he has been occasionally tempted to break through the trammels of style that he had imposed on

the English. Ingulph, the historian, describes the force which Harold brought into the field as consisting mostly of raw recruits. Harold was suddenly recalled from Yorkshire without his army, on the news of William's landing; and, in the words of Ingulph, “*collecto popularium aliquanti turbâ, confectâque ex iis acie, adhuc rudis nimis exercitum non expectat.*”

Rev. Dec. 1816.

A a

himself.

354 Miss Holford's *Margaret of Anjou*, &c. &c.
himself. — In conclusion, we must acknowledge that we feel ourselves greatly indebted to the person who has made so very valuable an addition to the English library, and we most sincerely wish him success in the farther prosecution of his plan: whether in his projected version of William of Newburgh, the continuator of Malmesbury to the close of the twelfth century, in which labour he announces that he has already made considerable progress, or in translating any other of the more eminent monkish historians with whom his peculiar line of study has made him conversant.

ART. II. *Margaret of Anjou*: A Poem. In Ten Cantos. By Miss Holford, Author of "Wallace, or the Fight of Falkirk." 4to. pp. 474. 2l. 2s. Boards. Murray. 1816.

WE felt considerable pleasure, a few seasons ago, in offering our meed of approbation to Miss Holford's "*Wallace*." (Rev. Vol. lxii. N. S. p. 26.) At the time, indeed, when that poem appeared, the popularity of its prototypes, the metrical romances of Mr. Scott, was ascending to its zenith; and any performance that bore an affinity to those highly favoured productions claimed attention and excited interest. We have, however, more reason every day to suspect that this ardent passion of the public has somewhat cooled; and, as is often the case in these ague-fits of literary enthusiasm, the *shiver* begins to threaten that it may become proportional to the *glow*. It cannot be denied that much of injustice and frivolity belongs to this fickleness: but all such works will have their vacillations; and it will most certainly happen that, wherever constant and violent infractions of the established rules of composition occur, the praise which any publications so offending may obtain will prove to a certain degree ephemeral. The great and vigorous genius of the founder of the modern school of metrical romance will for ever preserve his poems from absolute neglect and oblivion: but his numerous imitators, "whose salt is not strong enough to season their corruptions," must expect gradually to descend into the abyss of silence or contempt. We are far from being so unjust to Miss Holford, or so inconsistent with our former opinions of this lady's poetical powers, as to conceive that her "*Wallace*" will, in any moderate lapse of time at least, share so ignominious a fate: but we are deceived indeed if *Margaret of Anjou* will long survive George Colman's *Cognate-Battle of Hexham*; or, in other words, will obtain a place of distinction in any but the *curious* and *rare* libraries of the twentieth century.

Having

Having allotted so handsome a period for the possible existence of this truly "metrical" quarto, we shall exhibit specimens of its contents with the less forbearance, and criticize them with the less tenderness. We need not trouble our readers with any analysis of a story which, in the outline, is true to history; nor with a delineation of characters so well known: but we shall select some passages either of natural or moral description, point out a few of their blemishes, and leave the rest to general discovery.

' Oh, I do feel thee now! oh, once again
Warm gleams of rapture burst upon my brain!
Quick heaves my lab'ring breast, and to my eyes,
Lo! what strange forms in long succession rise!
Oh, Muse belov'd, I know thee now!
I feel thee glowing in my soul,
I feel thy beam upon my brow,
I feel thee thro' each artery roll
Tumultuous, fierce and bright — impatient of controul!

' Lead on, my Muse! For many a day,
With rapid pulse and uprais'd eye,
How have I chidden thy delay
And woo'd thee from thy sky!
Oh, thou art she who led me forth
'Mid the cold mountains of the north,
Where freezing whirlwinds blow;
She, whose benign and generous glow
Pour'd warmth into my heart even in those realms of snow.'

We by no means allow (as we have intimated above) that the muse of 'Margaret of Anjou' is the *same* with the muse of Wallace, — is *she*

—— ' who led Miss Holford forth,
'Mid the cold mountains of the north.'

Whether the tuneful fair caught a cold in that northern excursion from which she never recovered, or whatever may be the cause, we think that her present effort is tame and insipid when contrasted with the former; very little improved as to correctness, and essentially deteriorated and deadened in spirit. The vehement and self-raised vigour of this exordium is unpleasant to our taste; and we cannot help in some measure comparing it to the lofty passage in one of Fielding's burlesque tragedies, in which a frantic heroine is made to say of her head,

" It aches — like any mad!" —

' I feel thy beam upon my brow,
I feel thee thro' each artery roll,' &c.

A a 2

Though,

Though, on second thoughts, we are not sure that the exordium is not more descriptive of a state resembling that of the ladies who inhaled a portion of Dr. Beddoes's exhilarating gas, and, in consequence, experienced sensations of the most sublime and equivocal character.— We now present our readers with the introductory sketch of Queen Margaret:

' Now, who is she, whose awful mien,
Whose dauntless step's firm dignity,
Whose high-arch'd brow, sedate, serene,
Whose eye, unbending, strong and keen,
The solemn presence hint of conscious majesty ?

' And, lo! she speaks! Her lips severe
Some wondrous secret sure disclose,
For that mail'd form, who listens near,
Bends mute, and fix'd, the attentive ear;
And now he frowns with aspect drear,
And now his cheek with ardour glows;
A burning glance around he throws,
As kindling into rage he shakes his glittering spear.

' But she is calm:— a peace profound
On the unruffled surface rests;
Yet is that breast in iron bound,
And fill'd with rude and sullen guests.
No female weakness harbour'd there,
Relentings soft, nor shrinking fear,
Within its centre deep abide:
The stern resolve, the purpose dire,
And grim revenge's quenchless fire,
The intrepid thought, cold, thawless pride,
And fortitude, in torture tried,—
These are its gentlest inmates now,
Tho' lawless love, they say, once heard its secret vow.

' Mark well that port sublime, that peerless mien!
Then, duteous, bend to earth the vassal knee,
For she it is,— meek Henry's warrior Queen!
Unquell'd by frowning fortune's hard decree,
She stems with royal spirit, unsubdued,
Of many a stormy day the conflict rude,
And meets, with scornful brow, the wrongs of destiny.'

There are only two lines in this passage to which we shall recall the reader's particular attention: the rest may well be left in its unimpressive mediocrity.

' The solemn presence *hint* of conscious majesty,'
a line which we consider as almost unrivalled for the awkward introduction of an improper word; and

— ' Grim *Revenge's* quenchless fire,'
which is as grotesque in phrase as it is in personification.

After

After such a commencement, we are convinced that nothing but the necessary patience of critical perusal could lead a man on to the end. To the end, therefore, we shall immediately convey our readers, and exhibit 'meek Henry's warrior Queen' to them again; having, however, previously recorded the murder of the Prince, who also was her companion in the scene above selected. We hasten then from Hexham to Tewkesbury;

" *Ultima funestâ concurrant prælia mundâ !*"

' In Tewkesbury's walls triumphant York
Refresh'd him from his bloody work,
While Gloster, Clarence, Hastings, Grey,
Blythe sharers in th' eventful fray,
Boast o'er the perils of the day;
And they have wash'd their crimson hands,
And sheath'd their weary swords, when lo!
In helpless plight before them stands
The battle's crown, — their royal foe!
He, who the princely captive held,
A sordid knight, the slave of gold,
Whose bosom, honourless and cold,
No touch of generous pity swell'd,
To win the dross his soul ador'd

Now basely sells the life his cruel care restor'd!

' Alone, defenceless, Edward stood
Encompass'd by those men of blood!
E'en yet a spark of royal pride
Flash'd from his eye, the hectic bloom
Rush'd o'er his features, and defied,
With gallant shew, th' impending doom;
Such mournful, stern, majestic grace
Dwells on the ruin'd prince's face,
That they who hate him half respect
The virtue by their fury wreck'd!
E'en York deliberates, and surveys
His victim's form with troubled gaze, —
Did he relent? No! — From his breast
He drove in scorn th' intrusive guest,
And thus, in thund'ring voice, his captive foe address'd:

" Who art thou, stripling? What impell'd
Thy puny pride to wake the ire
Which has consum'd thee in its fire?
Who taught thy boyish arm to wield
Rebellion's blade? What frantic rage,
What demon was't, who bade thee dare
With fate the desperate fight to wage,
And brave thy sov'reign to the war?
Kneel, stubborn traitor! and confess
What message from below provok'd thee to transgress!"

A a 3

" Dost

‘ “Dost thou not know me, York? ’Tis strange
 How mem’ry fails with fortune’s change!
 But I will tell thee, — I am one
 To whom thy knee, unbid, should bend;
 I came to claim my father’s throne,
 And my fair birth-right to defend,
 And, with God’s favour, to chastise
 Mine own and England’s enemies!
 Now thou art answer’d! — and my tongue
 Would do its royal office wrong
 To parley with thee more! Thou knowest
 Full well, usurping York, to whom that place thou owest!”

‘ Nor needed farther to provoke
 Of fell revenge the savage stroke;
 York rush’d upon the unarm’d youth
 And smote him rudely on the mouth
 With mailed hand; — that outrage borne,
 The rest was easy! Edward’s soul,
 Rejoicing, from its spoils forlorn,
 Escapes to its eternal goal,
 And closes, with a thankful sigh,
 Life’s long and lingering tragedy!

‘ Each noble ruffian claim’d his part
 In the brave exploit; none disdain’d
 To strike an undefended heart,
 Not one did blush to lift his hand
 With that inglorious slaughter stain’d!
 “Behold,” cried Gloster, “overthrown
 The mighty barrier, which alone
 Arose between thee and a throne!
 There lies the red and thorny rose
 Which did thy royal hopes oppose,
 Uprooted like a baleful weed!

God save thy Majesty! for thou art King indeed!”

‘ Scarce had each tongue, with glad accord,
 Re-echoed the exulting word,
 Than from without, a parley rude
 Does on their wond’ring ears intrude;
 York shudder’d, — e’en his callous breast
 Trembled to meet th’ unwelcome guest
 Whose voice claim’d entrance! It was she,
 She who *was* Queen of England! — late
 The people’s gaze, the voice of fate,
 To whom the loftiest bent his knee!
 A fond, fallacious hope had led
 The mother’s frantic footsteps thither, —
 She look’d upon the weapons red.
 She guess’d what blood their points had shed,
 And felt that fond hope wither!

“ Then

“ Then ye have done the deed !” she said :
 “ I come too late ! — Ye might have staid
 One moment longer ! I would fain
 Have kiss'd my living son again,
 And whisper'd somewhat in his ear
 Ere he began th' unknown career
 On which ye sent him ! — Hark ye, Lords !
 I long to feel those reeking swords !
 In mercy kill me ! Will ye not ?
 Ye sons of York, have ye forgot
 How many a deep and bitter debt
 Ye owe the hated Margaret ?
 Where is my child ? Mine only one !
 Oh, God ! Oh, God ! Is this my son ?”

Here also we shall direct our readers to the censure of a few passages alone, consigning the remainder to their own judicious disapprobation ; whether they consider the want of accuracy in many of the separate sentences, the want of musical sound and cadence in many of the separate lines, or that general deficiency in the correctness, force, and harmony of composition, which pervades the whole undignified and inanimate description.

From this severe censure we may except some portion of the preliminary verses, including the reply of Edward to the Usurper : but the part which follows is most singularly wanting in good taste. When York has been described in the act of striking Edward, and we are in expectation of seeing Gloster, Clarence, Hastings, and Grey, rush in with their murderous swords, we are *put off* (no other phrase can express the fact) with such a specimen of the bathos as the subjoined :

— ‘ that outrage borne,
 The rest was easy !’

‘ Not one DID blush to lift his hand,’

as we are told in a subsequent stanza, or nameless division of the poem.

Let us return to the intermediate cantos.

‘ Margaret look'd upwards.’ Page 42.

‘ Yet not alone did Edward smart.’ Page 52.

In the next page, we must read *plaunt* instead of ‘ plant,’ in order to form the rhyme to ‘ vaunt.’

‘ A long faint line of saffron light
 At first the morn's arrival hinted. Page 59.

“ A *hint* will suffice for the wise ;” and Miss Holford doubtless will avoid any farther *hints* of this nature.

— ' My Edward shall not die!
And the compassionating skies
Forgave the mother's blasphemy.' P. 61.

This extraordinary transfer of a passage in the "Sentimental Journey" to Margaret of Anjou, this reference of 'meek Henry's warrior Queen' to my "Uncle Toby," must surely be considered as one of the happiest touches of the modern muse.

The subjoined colloquy, also, between the fair author and her muse seems extremely pretty :

' Oh no ! tho' every Muse but mine
Shall follow yonder plumed train,
Led by a victor, young and vain,
Yet must a nobler task be thine !
Thou shalt not follow in the crowd
Which tracks the footsteps of the proud !
Fear not, my Muse ! enow there be
To dog the heels of victory !
There want not tongues to mingle praise
With every shout success can raise !
We'll sit apart from yonder throng,
And sing our own unchorus'd song !
What shall the burthen be ? We'll sing,
While yet our lyre retains a string,
The brave yet persecuted form

Which fronts the bursting cloud and struggles with the storm.'

We must now be contented to cull some very detached beauties.

' You'd seldom see a browner youth.'

' The spider's dull unvarying tick
Sad token for the old and sick !' — Canto ii.

— ' Sleep had stol'n, in soft surprize,
On the brown sheep-boy's heavy eyes.' — Canto iii.

' Plantagenet and victory !' — Ibid.

We quote this line, one of the most unexceptionable in the whole poem, merely to shew with what little exertion the effect of the octosyllabic measure may be produced ; and how poor and trivial a renown is due to success obtained with such inglorious facility. — We pass over ' Queen,' ' Sheen,' and ' scene,' and various other triplets of equal ill omen in the immediate neighbourhood of our last reference. We omit

' He rubb'd his misty eyes — afraid
Fancy had sent some cozening shade.'

We take no notice of the tacit censure directed against ourselves in the following modest and unconscious appeal :

' Ye genuine followers of the Muse,
Who watch to foster not accuse.'

We *pardon* the rhodomontade of

' It comes from Heaven! — 'tis extacy!
(meaning

———— ' the part,
Where Nature is too strong for Art.')

We *look in admiration* up to the unintelligible sublimity of

' My Prince! this crestless helmet hides
The ABSTRACT of a ruin'd mind !'

and, indeed, considering this last passage to be the very acmé of the modern ballad epic, in its most refined, philosophical, and highly wrought strain of poetry, we shall only ask, " has not the popularity of the metrical romance somewhat declined in England?"

We must add, however, that we by no means deny to this fair poet the praise of some successful common-places; whether they relate to the subjects of sorrow and adversity, or to the contrary themes of mirth and good fortune: but really we have of late seen so much of this namby pamby morality, carried along on its eight-footed Pegasus, that we cannot much sympathize either with its doctrine or its discipline. It is so *very* easy to conceive such thoughts, and to write such verses, that we are persuaded, on mature reflection, that they would form an ineligible exercise even in the lower classes of our schools; from the mere fact of their affording *no exercise*, either to the imagination or to the reason.

An extract of *natural* description may be subjoined: but our readers, we think, must have been fully satisfied with the specimens of the *moral descriptive* already given.

' "'Twas now the season of the year
When heavy nods the ripen'd ear,
When honest labour's dewy brow
Is wont to brave the noontide glow,
Exulting while his peaceful toils
Are crown'd with autumn's tawny spoils;
But now the hoary carl no more
His rustic train to harvest led,
Plunder had reap'd the golden store,
Or, on the stalk, it withered!
Who once the guiltless scythe did wield,
Now fled, dismay'd by war's alarm,
Or, reaping in a bloody field,
Beheld a breathing harvest yield
Beneath his sturdy toil-strung arm!
Alas! in silence and dismay
The desolated hamlet lay,

No

No more the blue and wreathing smoke
 At eve from cottage chimney broke,
 Nor milk-maid on her homeward way
 Pour'd o'er the twilight scene contentment's artless lay!"

This, surely, is sufficiently feeble and faded. Except the phrase '*breathing harvest*,' it presents nothing that has even the shadow of vigour about it; and as to its tenderer touches, they have long ago evaporated in ceaseless transmission. They are in, a word, such thoughts as were often roughly expressed before the days of Pope, and have been constantly done into smooth English since that period.

ART. III. *Travels in France*, during the Years 1814-15. Comprising a Residence at Paris, during the Stay of the allied Armies; (in 1814,) and at Aix, at the Period of the Landing of Bonaparte. 2 Vols. 12mo. pp. 571. 16s. Boards. Longman and Co. 1815.

A CIRCUMSTANCE not very common in authorship distinguishes this production: it consists of two independent parts, the tours being performed by separate travellers, and the narrative composed by different writers. A volume is allotted to each, the first being occupied with a journey in the north of France and a residence of some months at Paris; while the second relates a similar journey in the south, and a stay at Aix, in Provence, from December 1814 to the following March. The authors of both volumes are anonymous, but appear evidently, from the frequency of their allusions to Scottish and sometimes to Highland customs, to come from the north of the Tweed. The plan of combining the labour of two individuals in one publication possesses the advantage of bringing before the reader, at once, the materials which would otherwise have been sought in separate books; and it affords an opportunity of treating the more interesting particulars, such as national manners, the state of political feeling, the tone of society, &c. at considerable length. In the present case, also, the ground travelled over in the two volumes is sufficiently distinct for the purpose of novelty, and yet sufficiently connected for that of conjunction in the mode of publication. The details appear thus considerably better in a combined than they would in a separate form, although much might have been done to improve them in the important points of condensation and order.

Vol. I. opens with the journey to Paris in May 1814, a few weeks after the north-east part of France had been occupied by the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian troops. The travellers,

travellers, on conversing with the peasants, found that the character of Bonaparte, though certainly not in favour, was by no means such an object of hatred as they anticipated. Public affairs occupy the middling and lower orders much less on the opposite side of the Channel than with us; while to analyze the duplicity and detect the manœuvres of the late Ruler would require a stretch of reflection greatly beyond the intellectual patience of a Frenchman. The writer and his friends were more gratified on reaching Paris, and on enjoying an opportunity of seeing the most remarkable Sovereigns and Generals in Europe collected within the walls of that metropolis.

‘ It is fortunately superfluous for us to enlarge on the appearance, or on the character of the Emperor Alexander. We were struck with the simplicity of the style in which he lived. He inhabited only one or two apartments in a wing of the splendid Elysée Bourbon — slept on a leather mattress, which he had used in the campaign — rose at four in the morning, to transact business — wore the uniform of a Russian General, with only the medal of 1812, (the same as is worn by every soldier who served in that campaign, with the inscription, in Russ, *Non nobis sed tibi, Domine*); had a French guard at his door — went out in a chaise and pair, with a single servant and no guards, and was very regular in his attendance at a small chapel, where the service of the Greek church was performed. We had access to very good information concerning him, and the account which we received of his character even exceeded our anticipation. His humanity was described to us as almost unparalleled. He repeatedly left behind him, in marching with the army, some of the medical men of his own staff, to dress the wounds of French soldiers whom he passed on the way; and it was a standing order of his, to his hospital staff, to treat wounded Russians and French exactly alike.’—

‘ The King of Prussia was often to be seen at the Parisian theatres, dressed in plain clothes, and accompanied only by his son and nephew.—He is known to be exceedingly averse to public exhibitions, even in his own country. He had gone through all the hardships and privations of the campaigns, had exposed himself with a gallantry bordering on rashness in every engagement; his son and nephew always by his side; his coolness in action was the subject of universal admiration.—We had the good fortune of seeing the Duke of Wellington at the opera, the first time that he appeared in public at Paris. He was received with loud applause, and the modesty of his demeanour, while it accorded with the impressions of his character, derived from his whole conduct, and the style of his public writings, sufficiently shewed, that his time had been spent more in camps than in courts.—We have often heard Russian and Prussian officers say, he is the hero of the war:—we have conquered the French by main force, but his triumphs are the result of superior skill.’—

‘ We

'We were much struck by the courteous and dignified manners of old Count Platoff. Even at that time, before he had experienced British hospitality, he professed high admiration for the British character.—His countenance appeared to us expressive of considerable humour, and he addressed a few words to almost every Cossack of the guard whom he met in passing through the court of the Elysée Bourbon, which were always answered by a hearty laugh.'—'The other Russian commanders, whom we heard highly spoken of by the Russian officers whom we met, were, the Marshal commanding, Barclay de Tolly, in whose countenance we thought we could trace the indications of his Scotch origin;—he is an old man, and was commonly represented as, "*sage, prudent, très savant dans la guerre.*" Witgenstein, who is much younger, and is designated as "*ardent, impétueux, entreprenant,*" &c. Benigsen, who is an old man, but very active, and represented to be as fond of fighting as Blucher himself.—Count Langeron, and Baron Sacken, the commanders of corps in the Silesian army. The former is a French emigrant, but has been long in the Russian service, and highly distinguished himself. The latter is an old man, but very spirited, and highly esteemed for his honourable character: in his capacity of Governor of Paris, he gave very general satisfaction.—Woronzoff, who, as is well known, was educated in England, and who distinguished himself at Borodino, and in the army of the north of Germany, and afterwards in France under Blucher—Winzingerode, one of the best cavalry officers, formerly in the Austrian service—Czernicheff, the famous partisan, a gallant gay young man, whose characteristic activity is strongly marked in his countenance—Diebitch, a young staff officer of the first promise—Lambert (of French extraction) and Yermoloff: this last officer commanded the guards when we were at Paris, and was represented as a man of excellent abilities, and of a most determined character.'

We have formerly taken occasion to mention (M. R. Vol. lxxiii. p. 236.) the gross neglect prevalent, until late years, in the medical department of the Russian army: but we are happy to add that the case is now materially altered; the care of the British physicians in that service, particularly Sir James Wyllie and Dr. Crichton, seconded by the acquiescing habits of the Russians, having rendered their army-hospitals deserving of imitation by all their Continental neighbours. The consequence was that, in the Russian campaign of 1813, when change of climate, length of marches, and scarcity of provisions, all concurred to engender sickness, the French were much greater sufferers than the soldiers of the North; and nothing could equal the surprize of the Parisians on seeing the allies march into Paris in immense columns, on the 31st of March 1814, after Bonaparte had repeatedly stated that they were reduced to a mere wreck.

The

The British, though not present at this time, were by no means overlooked in the conversations of the French capital.

‘ It is doing no more than justice to the French officers, even such as were decidedly Imperialist, who conversed with us at Paris, and in different parts of the country, to acknowledge that they uniformly spoke in the highest terms of the conduct of the English troops. The expression which they very commonly used, in speaking of the manner in which the English carried on the war in Spain, and in France, was, “loyauté.” “*Les Russes, et les Prussiens,*” they said, “*sont grands et beaux hommes, mais ils n’ont pas le cœur ou la loyauté des Anglais. Les Anglais sont la nation du monde qui font la guerre avec la plus de loyauté.*” &c. This referred partly to their valour in the field, and partly to their humane treatment of prisoners and wounded; and partly also to their honourable conduct in France, where they preserved the strictest discipline, and paid for every thing they took. Of the behaviour of the English army in France, they always spoke as excellent: — “*digne de leur civilisation.*”

‘ A French officer who introduced himself to us one night in a box at the opera, expressing his high respect for the English, against whom, he said, he had the honour to fight for six years in Spain, described the steadiness and determination of the English infantry in attacking the heights, on which the French army was posted at Salamanca, in terms of enthusiastic admiration. Another, who had been in the battle of Thoulouse, extolled the conduct of the Highland regiments in words highly expressive of

“ The stern joy which warriors feel,
In foemen worthy of their steel.”

“ *Il y a quelques régimens des Ecossais sans culottes,*” said he, “*dans l’armée de Wellington, qui se battent joliment.*” He then described the conduct of one regiment in particular, (probably the 42d or 79th,) who attacked a redoubt defended with cannon, and marched up to it in perfect order, never taking the muskets from their shoulders, till they were on the parapet: “*Si tranquillement, — sacre Dieu ! c’étoit superbe.*”

‘ Of the military talents of the Duke of Wellington they spoke also with much respect, though generally with strong indications of jealousy. They were often very ingenious in deriving means of explaining his victories, without compromising, as they called it, the honour of the French arms. At Salamanca, they said, that in consequence of the wounds of Marmont and other Generals, their army was two hours without a commander. At Vittoria again, it was commanded by Jourdan, and any body could beat Jourdan. At Talavera, he committed “*les plus grandes sottises du monde ; il a fait une contre-marche digne d’un bête.*” Some of the Duke of Wellington’s victories over Soult they stoutly denied, and others they ascribed to great superiority of numbers, and to the large drafts of Soult’s best troops for the purpose of forming skeleton battalions to receive the conscripts of 1813.

Having appropriated a portion of the first volume to the public buildings and ornamental collections of Paris, the writer

writer proceeds to discuss the merits of the French character and manners. Severe at first, he seems to become gradually more indulgent as he prolongs his stay in Paris, and as he discovers that the want of any particular virtue does not necessarily imply the absence of the rest.

‘ An Englishman is apt to pronounce every man a scoundrel, who, in making a bargain, attempts to take him in; but he will often find, on a closer and more impartial examination, that the judgment formed by this circumstance alone, in France, is quite erroneous. One of our party entered a small shop in the Palais Royal to buy a travelling cap. The woman who attended in it, with perfect effrontery, asked 16 francs for one which was certainly not worth more than six, and which she at last gave him for seven. Being in a hurry at the time, he inadvertently left on the counter a purse, containing 20 gold pieces of 20 francs each. He did not miss it for more than an hour: on returning to the shop, he found the old lady gone, and concluded at first, that she had absented herself to avoid interrogation; but to his surprise, he was accosted immediately on entering, by a pretty young girl, who had come in her place, with the sweetest smile imaginable, — “ *Monsieur a oublié sa bourse — que nous sommes heureuses de la lui rendre.* ” —

‘ But what distinguishes the French from almost every other nation, is the *general diffusion* of the taste for the fine arts, and for elegant amusements, among all ranks of the people. Almost all Frenchmen take not only a pride but an interest in the public buildings of Paris, and in the collections of paintings and statues. There is a very general liking for poetry and works of imagination among the middling and lower ranks: they go to the theatres not merely for relaxation and amusement, but with a serious intention of cultivating their taste, and displaying their critical powers. Many of them are so much in the habit of attending the theatres when favourite plays are acted, that they know almost every word of the principal scenes by heart. All their favourite amusements are in some measure of a refined kind. It is not in drinking-clubs, or in sensual gratifications alone, that men of these ranks seek for relaxation as is too often the case with us; but it is in the society of women, in conversation, in music and dancing, in theatres and operas, and caffès and promenades, in seeing and being seen; in short, in scenes resembling, as nearly as possible, those in which the higher ranks of all nations spend their leisure hours.

‘ While the useful arts are comparatively little advanced, those which relate to ornaments alone are very generally superior to ours; and the persons who profess these arts speak of them with a degree of fervour that often seems ludicrous. “ *Monsieur,*” says a perruquier in the Palais Royal, with the look of a man who lets you into a profound secret in science, “ *Notre art est un art imitatif; en effet, c’est un des beaux arts;* ” then taking up a London-made wig, and twirling it round on his finger, with a look of ineffable contempt, “ *Celui ci ne’st pas la belle nature; mais voici la pienne, — c’est la nature personifiée!* ” —

‘ The last peculiarity in the French character, which we shall notice, is perhaps the most fundamental of the whole; it is their love of mixed society; of the society of those for whom they have no regard, but whom they meet on the footing of common acquaintances. This is the favourite enjoyment of almost every Frenchman: to shine in such society is the main object of his ambition: his whole life is regulated so as to gratify this desire. He is indifferent about comforts at home—he dislikes domestic society—he hates the retirement of the country; but he loves, and is taught to love, to figure in a large circle of acquaintance, for whom he has not the least heartfelt friendship, but with whom he is on the same terms as with perfect strangers, after the first half hour. If he has acquired a reputation in science, arts, or arms, so much the better, his *glory* will be of much service to him; if not, he must make it up by his conversation.’—

‘ Of the devotion of the French to the sort of life to which we refer, the best possible proof is, their fondness for a town life; the small number of chateaux in the country that are inhabited—and the still more remarkable scarcity of villas in the neighbourhood of Paris to which men of business may retire. There are a few houses of this description about Belleville and near Malmaison; but, in general, you pass from the noisy and dirty Fauxbourgs at once into the solitude of the country; and it is quite obvious, that you have left behind you all the scenes in which the Parisians find enjoyment.’

In proceeding from Paris to Flanders in the direction of Champagne, the travellers came to Laon and Craone, where they had an opportunity of observing the scenes of Blucher’s successful resistance to Bonaparte. Passing onwards, then, on the road to St. Quintin, they were much gratified by the appearance of a delightful valley and a great *château*, exempt from all those signs of neglect and ruin which so frequently bore evidence of the ravages of the Revolution. They found that the proprietor, the Chevalier Brancas, had constantly acted an humane and moderate part towards his tenants; who, in return, instead of rising up against him and compelling him to emigrate, proved a rampart of safety to him during the horrors of that crisis. How much would the *noblesse* at large have consulted their interest by following the example of this benevolent character, instead of extorting the last farthing from their vassals, to be squandered in the thoughtless prodigality of the metropolis!

‘ At the distance of three miles from the town of Cambray, the road crosses the frontiers of French Flanders. We had long been looking for this transition, to discover if it still exhibited the striking change described by Arthur Young, “ between the effects of the despotism of old France, which depressed agriculture, and the free spirit of the Burgundian provinces, which cherished and protected it.” No sooner had we crossed the old line of demarcation

demarcation between the French and Flemish provinces, than we were immediately struck with the difference, both in the aspect of the country, the mode of cultivation, and the condition of the people. The features of the landscape assume a totally different aspect; the straight roads, the elipt elms, the boundless plains of France, are no longer to be seen; and in their place succeed a thickly wooded soil and cultivated country. The number of villages is infinitely increased; the village spires rise above the woods in every direction, to mark the antiquity and the extent of the population: the houses of the peasants are detached from each other, and surrounded with fruit trees, or gardens kept in the neatest order, and all the features of the landscape indicate the long established prosperity by which the country has been distinguished.'—

'But it is principally in the condition, manners, and comfort of the people that the difference between the French and Flemish provinces consists. Every thing connected with the lower orders indicates the influence of long-established prosperity, and the prevalence of habits produced by the uninterrupted enjoyment of individual opulence. The population of Flanders, both French and Austrian, is perfectly astonishing; the villages form an almost uninterrupted line through the country; the small towns are as numerous as villages in other parts of the world, and seem to contain an extensive and comfortable population. These small towns are particularly remarkable for the number and opulence of the middling classes, resembling in this as well as other respects the flourishing boroughs of Yorkshire and Kent, and affording a most striking contrast to those of a very opposite description, which we had recently passed through in France.

'The cottages of the peasantry, both in the villages and the open country, are, in the highest degree, neat, clean, and comfortable; built for the most part of brick, and slated in the roof; nowhere exhibiting the slightest symptoms of dilapidation. These houses have almost all a garden attached to them, in the cultivation of which the poor people display, not only extreme industry, but a degree of taste superior to what might be expected from their condition in life.'—

'The farm-steadings and implements of husbandry, in all parts of Flanders, are greatly superior to those in France. The waggon are not only more numerous on the roads, but greatly neater in their construction than in France; the ploughs are of a better construction, and the farm offices both more extensive and in better repair. Every thing, in short, indicated a much more improved and opulent class of agriculturists, and a country in which the fundamental expences of cultivation had long been incurred.

'Near Cambray, the wages of labour are one franc a-day. Near Valenciennes, and from that to Mons, they are from one franc to 25 sous, that is, from 10d. to 12½d. From Mons to Brussels, and round that town, from one franc to 30 sous, that is from 10d. to 15d.'

Vol. II. describes a journey from Paris to Aix in Provence, performed in November 1814. The party on this occasion consisted

consisted of three ladies, a child, a seryant, and a gentleman whose health had been shaken by the climate of India. Comfort being more an object with them than expedition, they declined the stage-coaches (*Diligences*) as well as the ordinary mode of posting, in favour of an alternative which is much practised on the Continent, viz. that of travelling all the way in the same hired carriage and with the same horses. Their rate of daily progress was about thirty miles; and the average expence at the inns for beds, breakfast, and dinner, (or as the innkeepers chose to call it, supper,) was from a guinea to twenty-five shillings *per* day for the whole party. This expenditure seems to be very reasonable: but we are to take into the account that the accommodation was inferior to that which we should expect, were we to form our ideas from our own country.

There is about every town and village an air of desolation; most of the houses seem to have wanted repairs for a long time. The inns must strike every English traveller as being of a kind entirely new to him. They are like great old castles half-furnished. The dirty chimneys suit but ill with the marble chimney-pieces, and the gilded chairs and mirrors, plundered in the Revolution; the tables from which you eat are dirty common wood; the linen coarse though clean. The cutlery, where they have any, is very bad; but in many of the inns they put down only forks to dinner.—

Never. — ‘We went to walk in the town this morning. — (Sunday.) The description of one French town on the Sunday will serve for all the towns which we have seen. They are every day filthy, but on Sunday, from the concourse of people, more than commonly dirty. They never have a pavement to fly to for clean walking, and for safety from the carriages. If you are near a shop, a lane, or entry when a carriage comes along, you may fly in, if not, you must trust to the civility of the coachman, who, if polite, will only splash you all over, if otherwise, will squeeze you against the wall, in a way that, at least, frightens you to death. On Sundays, their markets are held the same as on other days, and nearly all the shops had their doors open, but *their windows shut.*’—

‘The shopkeepers are, as in every town we have been at, perfect Jews, devoid of any thing like principle in buying and selling. One told my sister that he would give her 19 francs for her English guineas; another first offered her 20 francs, and on hearing that she expected 26, immediately offered her 25. We are every day learning more and more how to overcome our scruples with regard to *beating them down.* They always expect it, and only laugh at the silly English who do not practise it.’—

‘To-morrow, we set out at seven.—We find our way of travelling very tedious; but I think in summer it would be by far the best. Our three horses seldom take less than 10, sometimes 13 hours to their day’s journey, of from 28 to 32 miles; but our carriage

riage is large and roomy; and had we any thing like comfort at our inns, as at home, we should find the travelling very pleasant. The greatest annoyance arises from your having always to choose from the two evils, either of being cheated most shamefully, or of higgling and trafficking for your meals beforehand.—

The cottages on the road, and in the small towns, are completely in the *Maclarty style*; the men, women, children, pigs, fowls, &c. all piggling together. The pigs here are so well accustomed to entering the houses, that when they are shut up, *you see them, as it were, rapping at the door with their snouts.*—On being annoyed this morning by a most inhuman smell, I went into the kitchen, and found, that a gentleman had just arrived, wearing one of the many badges of honour at his button, and having his lady with him; they had just ordered *some whole onions to be fried in butter!!* A French breakfast!!

On arriving at Avignon, the travellers were pleased with the cleanness of the streets and the respectable appearance of some of the houses. They visited with great eagerness the classic stream of Vaucluse, and the site of the tomb of Laura; we say the site, because the tomb, if it exists, has not been cleared from the earth that covers it, and is known only by a small cypress-tree planted to mark the spot.—In two days more they reached Aix; where they remained above three months, and were just beginning to complain of the monotony of the scene, when Bonaparte, landing at Cannes, threw the whole country into a ferment. At Aix, as in other towns of France, he was at first branded as a traitor who came to “rob the country of the happy tranquillity which she was enjoying under the Bourbons;” and “it could only be the English government which, in its unrelenting hatred to France, had let loose this *brigand.*” Such were the feelings not only of the royalists, but of the greater part of the republicans as long as they dreaded a civil war: but the disposition of the latter became favourable to Bonaparte as soon as they saw him in quiet possession of the government at Paris. They had by that time persuaded themselves that he had been recalled by the majority of the nation; and they were weak enough to give credit to a tale which he artfully circulated, of his having concluded a twenty years’ truce with the allies before he left Elba. Our travellers, however, determined to set out without delay, and to seek an opportunity of embarking at Bordeaux, before they should be exposed to that indefinite detention of which, on a preceding occasion, so many of our countrymen had been the victims. Their route to Bordeaux lay through Languedoc; and they traversed that province at the time when the Duke d’Angoulême was making an ineffectual attempt to stem the torrent of military defection.

Though they advanced at the rate of only thirty miles in a day, they were the first bearers of authentic news to every inn; or rather they were the only persons in those homely receptacles who were enabled to appreciate the ridiculous stories circulated among a thoughtless and credulous people. The inhabitants appeared almost every where to be royalists; the troops alone maintained a gloomy silence.

It is common in some parts of France to travel in what are called *coches d'eau*, or passage-boats; the comforts of which, in Languedoc at least, appear to be much on a level with those of the country-inns.

Wednesday, 22d March. — Left Pezenas at half past five, and arrived to breakfast at half past nine at Beziers. We went to see the *coches d'eau*, described as *superbes* and *magnifiques* by our French friends. Their ideas differ from ours. It would be perfectly impossible for an English lady to go in such a conveyance, and few gentlemen, even if alone, and with only a portmanteau, would venture. The objections are — there is but one room for all classes of people; they start at three and four each morning; stop at miserable inns, and if you have heavy baggage, it must be shifted at the locks, which is tedious, and costs a great deal. Adieu to all our airy dreams of gliding through Languedoc in these *Cleopatra* vessels. They smell, they are exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, and they are filled with bugs, fleas, and all kinds of bad company. The country to-day, though still very flat, is prettier. Very fine large meadows, with willows, but too regular. Bullocks as common as mules in the plough. Wheat far advanced, and barley, in some small spots, in the ear. —

Tuesday, the 28th. — This morning, at three, I left my party, and took a very light gig, determined (as the news were getting daily worse, and the road full of English hurrying to Bourdeaux) to post it from Agen. By paying the post-boys double hires, we got on very fast, and although we broke down several times, we arrived at Bourdeaux at six in the evening, a distance of more than a hundred miles. The country from Agen to Bourdeaux is the richest I have seen in France, chiefly laid out in vines, dressed with much more care than any we have yet seen; a good deal also of fine wheat, and some meadows of grass pasture. Every thing is much further advanced than in Languedoc, even allowing for the advance in the days we have passed in travelling. Barley in the ear, and some even yellowing. Bourdeaux is a noble town, though not so fine, I think, as Marseilles. —

Thursday, the 30th. — Things look very ill. The fort of Blaye has hoisted the tri-coloured flag. The town of Bourdeaux is in a dead calm; but I am sure all is not well. The cries of *Vive le Roi* are not heard to-day. The Duchess d'Angouleme passed through the streets to-day, and visited the *casernes* of the troops. Poor woman! her exertions are incessant. To her addresses the people are enthusiastic in their replies, but the troops are sullen and silent;

they answered, that they would not forget their duty to her, as far as not injuring her. I hope that she passed our door this evening for the last time, and that she has left Bourdeaux. Every individual in Bourdeaux, the troops excepted, hate and detest the tyrant as cordially as he detests them.

Friday, the 31st. — We left Bourdeaux at half past five: the utmost tranquillity in the streets; not a soul stirring. Our coachman reported, that General Clausel had reached the gates, and that the national guard had been beat off. — Arrived at the inn at half way, we met with the Marquis de Valsuzenai, who confirmed the bad news: the town has capitulated without almost a shot. Two men only have been killed; a miserable resistance! But it could not be otherwise, as no militia could long stand against regulars. Still I expected tumults in the streets, rising among the inhabitants; weeping and wailing. But no.

The conclusion of the narrative informs us that, after a tedious and uncomfortable passage, the party landed in Devonshire and proceeded to Scotland. The rest of the second volume is occupied with an account of the state of France, political and social; with a variety of observations on Bonaparte; and finally with a comparative register of the weather from December 1814 to the succeeding March, in which the respective temperatures of Aix and Edinburgh are contrasted, and found, as we might expect, to exhibit very different results. — We extract a few remarks from the part of the volume which is appropriated to national manners.

An Englishman never dreams of entering into conversation without some previous knowledge upon the point which is the subject of discussion. You will pass but few days in France before you will be convinced, that to a Frenchman this is not at all necessary. The moment he enters the room or *café*, where a circle may happen to be conversing, he immediately takes part in the discussion — of whatever nature, or upon whatever subject that may be, is not of the most distant consequence to him. He strikes in with the utmost self-assurance and adroitness, maintains a prominent part in the conversation with the most perfect plausibility; and although from his want of accurate information, he will rarely instruct, he seldom fails to amuse by the exuberance of his fancy, and the rapidity of his elocution. —

“*Un Français*,” says M. de Stael, with great truth, “*sait encore parler, lors même il n’a point d’idées*,” and the reason why a Frenchman can do so is, because ideas which are the essential requisites in conversation to any other man, are not so to him. He is in possession of many substitutes, composed of a few of those set phrases and accommodating sentences which fit into any subject; and these mixed up with appropriate nods, significant gestures, and above all with the characteristic shrugging of the shoulders, are ever ready at hand when the tide of his ideas may happen to run shallow. —

He cannot be grave or unhappy, because he never allows himself time to become so. His mind is perpetually busied with the affairs of the moment. If he is in company, he speaks without introduction, to every gentleman in the room. Any thing the most trivial serves him for a hook on which to hang his story; and this generally lasts as long as he has breath to carry him on. He recounts to you, the first hour you meet with him, his whole individual history; diverges into anecdotes about his relations, pulls out his watch, and under the cover shews you the hair of his mistress, apostrophizes the curl—opens his pocket-book, insists upon your reading his letters to her, sings you the song which he composed when he was *au desespoir* at the parting, asks your opinion of it, then whirls off to a discussion on the nature of love; leaves that the next moment to philosophize upon friendship, compliments you, *en passant*, and claims you for his friend; hopes that the connection will be perpetual, and concludes by asking you to do him the honour of telling him your name. In this manner he is perpetually occupied: he has a part to act which renders serious thought unnecessary, and silence impossible. If he has been unfortunate, he recounts his distresses, and in doing so forgets them. His mind never reposes for a moment upon itself. — *his story*

Every thing in a French *Diligence* is life, and motion, and joy. — The coach generally holds from ten to twelve persons, and is sufficiently roomy. — The moment you enter you are on terms of the most perfect familiarity with the whole set of your travelling companions. In an instant every tongue is at work, and every individual bent upon making themselves happy for the moment, and contributing to the happiness of their fellow-travellers. Talking, joking, laughing, singing, reciting, — every enjoyment which is light and pleasurable is instantly adopted. — A gentleman takes a box from his pocket, opens it with a look of the most finished politeness, and presents it, full of sweetmeats, to the different ladies in succession. One of these, in gratitude for this attention, proposes what she well knows will be agreeable to the whole party, some species of round game like our cross-purposes, involving forfeits. The proposal is carried by acclamation, — the game is instantly begun, and every individual is included. —

The French carry on every thing in public, every thing, whether it is connected with business or with pleasure, whether it concerns the more serious affair of political government, or the pursuit of science, or the cultivation of art, or whether it is allied only to a taste for society, to the gratification of individual enjoyment, to the passing occupations of the day, or the pleasures of the evening, all, in short, either of serious or of lighter nature, is open and public. It is carried on abroad, where every eye may see, and every ear may listen. —

The French nobility, and the men of property who still remain in the kingdom, invariably pass their lives in Paris. Their whole joy consists in exhibiting themselves in public in the capital. Their magnificent chateaus, their parks, their woods and fields, and

their ancient gardens, decorated by the taste and often cultivated by the hands of their fathers, are allowed to fall into unpitied ruin. If they retire for a few weeks to their country-seat, it is only to collect the rents from their neglected peasantry, to curse themselves for being condemned to the *triste sejour* of their paternal estate; and, after having thus replenished their coffers, to dive again, with renewed strength, into all the publicity and dissipation of the capital.

We conclude our quotations by some curious passages relative to French dress, which were suggested to the travellers on visiting at the house of one of the principal lawyers at Aix.

'We were received in a very neat and very handsome furnished house. The mother and daughter were well and handsomely dressed. But seated on one side of the room, was a young man in an old, dirty, torn great coat, with a Belcher handkerchief about his neck, a pair of old military trowsers, of worse than second cloth, dirty white stockings, and his shoes down at the heel—this was the counsellor's brother. Never was a more blackguard-looking figure. But this is the French fashion in the morning, and often all day the gentlemen are seen in this way.'—

'Among the higher ranks of society you will find many obliging people; but you will also find many whose situation alone can sanction your calling them gentlemen. There appears also in France to be a sort of blending together of the high and low ranks of society, which has a bad effect on the more polite, without at all bettering the manners of the more uncivilized. Now, really, to find out who are gentlemen, and who not, without previously knowing something of them, or entering into conversation, is very difficult. In England, all the middling ranks dress so well, that you are puzzled to find out the gentleman. In France, they dress so ill in the higher ranks, that you cannot distinguish them from the lower.'—

'In the higher ranks among the French, a gentleman has indeed a good suit of clothes, but these are kept for wearing in the evening on the promenade, or at a party. In the morning clothes of the coarsest texture, and often much worn, or even ragged, are put on. If you pay a lady or gentleman a morning visit, you find them so metamorphosed as scarcely to be known; the men in dirty coarse cloth great coats, wide sackcloth trowsers and slippers; the women in coarse calico wrappers, with a coloured handkerchief tied round their hair. All the little gaudy finery they possess is kept for the evening.'

In stating our objections to this work as a literary composition, we must remark that it contains, particularly in the second volume, too much detail about small matters; and, which is worse, somewhat of a disposition to go to extremes

tremes in the descriptive colouring both of places and individuals. This is more particularly apparent when the author is speaking of the disbanded soldiers of Bonaparte's army, whose aspect is repeatedly styled 'blackguard and ruffian-like.' Now, whatever may be their appearance from bad clothing or long exposure to the weather, the truth is that these men have lapsed very quietly into the labouring classes, and have scarcely ever been known to commit any of those offences which the sight of them suggested to the imagination of our travellers. Nothing can be a stronger proof of this fact than their forbearance from personal injury and insult towards either the royal party or the emigrants; at the time of the general flight in 1815:—In the next place, it is much to be regretted that a respectable writer should have introduced into his pages the string of pretended anecdotes of Bonaparte, which are recorded in Vol. ii. p. 96. *et seq.*; and which, whether they relate to his ferocity, his vanity, or, as is the case in one or two instances, to his humanity, we believe to be indiscriminately the fabrication of Parisian scribblers. The only part of this chapter that bears the appearance of authenticity is the narrative (p. 149.) of the sub-prefect of Aix, who accompanied Bonaparte from that town to the coast; and the insignificance of the particulars related by that officer affords presumptive evidence against the wondrous tales proceeding from more doubtful sources. Lastly, with regard to the typography of these volumes, we must observe that it is frequently incorrect, and discovers such errors as Russia (Vol. i. p. 252.) for Prussia; *fonciere* (Vol. i. p. 275.) for *foncier*; *Essconne* (Vol. ii. p. 5.) for *Essonne*; De Gominier (Vol. ii. p. 103.) for Dugommier, &c. Repetitions likewise occur frequently, and sometimes in passages very near to each other, as in the account of the Flemish farmers and cottages; who are represented on two occasions (Vol. i. pp. 266: and 274.) as possessing over their French neighbours the same advantages in nearly the same words. We suspect, therefore, that the MS. has been sent to the press, and the work of the press sent into the world, each without sufficient revision; an omission which it very often falls to our lot to reprehend, and which in the present case we notice the more because the writers are men of observation and reflection, and were evidently capable of careful and finished composition. The comments on the pictures and statues (Vol. i. p. 93. *et seq.*) will be read with particular interest.

ART. IV. *The Origin of Pagan Idolatry ascertained from Historical Testimony and Circumstantial Evidence.* By George Stanley Faber, B. D. Rector of Long Newton. 3 Vols. 4to. 6l. 14s. Boards. Rivingtons. 1816.

THE lines of Swift to Lord Chief Justice Whitshed,

“ Could nothing but thy chief reproach
Serve as the motto on thy coach,”

occurred to our minds when, in the remembrance of Mr. Faber's book on the Cabiri, we opened the first volume of the present laborious and extensive work, and read the motto from the Divine Legation, “ *Every reasonable hypothesis should be supported on a fact.*” The precept came with an ill grace from Warburton, but the wildest of his theories was rational and sober when compared with the mythological romances of Mr. Faber.

One cause of the little success of those who have attempted to unveil the secrets of antient mythology has been their determination to leave nothing unexplained. If we consider that its existence was coeval with the origin of the nations among whom it prevailed, and therefore ascends far beyond the use of writing, — that it contains the first rude speculations of mankind on the phænomena of nature, clothed in the gross symbols which persons in such a condition would adopt, — and that, besides the accidental corruptions occasioned by its transmission from one country to another, the interpolations of priests, the embellishments of poets, and the refinements of philosophers, have all contributed to disguise its original form, — we shall see that it is in vain to hope for its complete explanation. When an author, therefore, like Mr. Faber, professes to harmonize every system of mythology that has prevailed in the world, from Japan to Mexico, our incredulity rises in exact proportion to his confidence; and we never doubt that we shall, on examination, find him deluding himself with imaginary coincidences, and building up a few scattered facts into a system by an enormous addition of hypothesis and conjecture.

Mr. F. is not the first of our countrymen who has persuaded himself that he could untie all the knots of Pagan mythology. The *Analysis* of Mr. Bryant obtained a degree of reputation, at its first appearance, which may well astonish those who read it without adverting to the circumstances that influenced its reception. At a time when the Mosaic writings were exposed to so many attacks of historical scepticism, the friends of Revelation received with transport a work which seemed, like an exorcism, to force the dæmons themselves to bear witness to the truth: the unlearned were appalled by the display of Greek and Hebrew erudition; the indolent found it
much

much easier to admit than to confute a system propounded in 3 volumes 4to. and the respectable character and obvious good intentions of the author made the candid unwilling to speak harshly of his book. Time, however, that great reviewer from whose sentence is no appeal, has assigned to the *Analysis of Antient Mythology* a place among those works in which boundless learning is squandered in the support of paradoxes, and ideas really ingenious and original are buried in the mass of false and fanciful notions that have been heaped on them. Since the time of Mr. Bryant, scarcely any treatise has appeared in England respecting this subject, if we except Mr. Faber's own publication on the Cabiri: but in Germany it has been a favourite object of inquiry for the last 25 years; and the success, which has attended the researches of the critics and scholars of that country, has been proportioned to the rational and philosophical principles by which they have been guided. It is one of the numerous obligations which Germany owes to Heyne, that he first shewed the way in which the Greek mythology should be investigated, and brought it within the jurisdiction of historical criticism. Böttiger, Voss, Creuzer, and others, have followed in his steps; and, though they have not arrived at those comprehensive and magnificent results which Mr. Bryant and Mr. Faber promise to their readers, they have established principles and ascertained facts which will in future prevent this department of antiquities from being a mere repository of crude and discordant theories. We advert to the writings of these German scholars more particularly, because we are aware that those who are acquainted only with the products of English literature on this subject are disposed, and not without reason, to consider an explanation of antient mythology as one of those undertakings which "either find a man cracked or leave him so."

When we had occasion to speak of Mr. Faber's *Dissertation on the Cabiri*, (see M. R. Vol. I. N. S. p. 64.) we stated our opinion of it in free and certainly not flattering terms. The list of reverend and honourable subscribers, however, prefixed to his present work, indicates that some persons think differently of his speculations; and we may therefore be allowed to enter into a more minute examination of them than we should otherwise have been disposed to institute, though still in a degree very disproportionate to the great extent of the publication itself. It is not, indeed, an easy matter to present a condensed and orderly view of them; since, though the whole is divided into books and chapters, it has no regular progression of the argument;—a mode of writing which would make

make the plainest subject obscure, but which produces almost inextricable confusion in matters already so dark and mystical as those of which Mr. Faber treats.

The leading ideas of the author are to be found in Mr. Bryant. They both suppose that the events of the deluge are the origin of paganism, and that the *arkite* personages, blended with the heavenly bodies, are its divinities. Mr. F., however, has had the fortune to find, in the diluvian and antediluvian histories, the origin of many parts of Pagan theology which had escaped Mr. Bryant; such as the metempsychosis, the personification of the world considered as the parent of living things, &c. They differ, also, respecting the manner in which the system of idolatry contrived among the builders of the tower of Babel was carried over the rest of the world.

The first step towards the establishment of the theory must in course be to produce such evidence as can be obtained, that the Pagan gods were the deified personages of the Noëtic and Adamitic families. The following is Mr. Faber's proof:

‘ Both the acknowledged import of the word *Demon*, and the characters attributed to the Heathen divinities, prove with sufficient plainness, that those divinities were once mere mortals, though their worship was inseparably blended with that of the heavenly bodies and the elemental powers of nature. The chief question therefore is, *what mortals were venerated after their death as the hero-gods of Pagan antiquity?*

‘ This question is solved in a very remarkable manner by Hesiod; and it will be found hereafter, that his solution perfectly agrees with the human characters sustained by the deified objects of Gentile adoration. *When the mortal remains of those who flourished during the golden age were hidden beneath the earth, their souls became beneficent demons; still hovering over the world which they had once inhabited, and still watching as guardians over the affairs of men. These, clothed in thin air, and rapidly fitting through every region of the earth, possess the royal privilege of conferring wealth, and of protecting the administration of justice**. The passage is curious; both as accurately pointing out the notions entertained respecting the offices of the demon gods, as specifying that they were originally mere men, and as defining the precise race of mortals who obtained such honours after their death. They who flourished during the golden age, were the persons accounted worthy of being venerated as demons.

‘ If, then, we would know what particular persons those were, we must ascertain the epoch to which this celebrated poetical period ought to be chronologically referred. Here I will venture to affirm, what shall be proved at large in the sequel, that the mythology of the Gentiles acknowledges two golden ages; the *first*

* Hes. Op. et Dier. lib. i. v. 120—125.

coinciding with the period which immediately followed the creation, the *second* coinciding with the period which immediately succeeded the deluge. Such being the case, since the demon gods of Paganism were the mortals who lived during the golden age, and since there was a golden age both immediately after the creation and immediately after the deluge; it will plainly follow, that those demon gods were the members of the Adamitic family in the one instance, and the members of the Noëtic family in the other. Eminent persons, who flourished subsequently to each golden age, might occasionally be added, and in fact *were* added: but the individuals of these two primeval families may safely be esteemed the original and genuine prototypes of the demon gods. Thus the heads of the Sethite generations from Adam to Noah, perhaps also those of the Cainite generations, were remembered with a certain degree of reverence; thus, likewise, after the deluge, some of the younger patriarchs, particularly those of the line of Ham, were adored as demons, and even usurped (as it were) the titles and honours of their diluvian fathers: yet, if we examine the legendary histories of the chief deities worshipped by the Gentiles, we shall almost invariably find them replete with allusions to the creation and Paradise on the one hand, and to the deluge and the ark on the other.'

From the negligent manner in which Mr. Faber has laid the foundation-stone of his system, his readers may judge of the stability of the superstructure. Conceding to him his perfectly gratuitous assumption of the double golden age, and allowing him to reckon the period succeeding the flood as the second of those ages, have we the least intimation in Hesiod that the gods whom he acknowledged as the rulers of the world, the great gods as they were called, were the deified spirits of human beings? He distinguishes, as Mr. F. must know that the Greeks always distinguished, between the *ἑοὶ* and the *δαίμονες* *; the latter of whom were admitted to be departed spirits, or of a nature, if not human, at least inferior to divine. It would indeed be strange if Hesiod, who represents the men of the golden age as living under the reign of Saturn, and as made *dæmons* by Jupiter, should reckon Jupiter and Saturn themselves among these deified mortals. Here is an end at once, therefore, of Mr. Faber's proof of the identity of the chief deities worshipped by the Gentiles with the members of the Adamitic and Noëtic families. Yet we are willing to do more for his cause than he has done for it himself; and to maintain that, if the gods of the Heathens really were deified men, they can have been no

* In course we do not mean to maintain that the words are never used interchangeably, but that there was a real and received distinction.

other men than those whom he supposes. It is idle to assert that a king of Egypt or of Crete, or a queen of Cyprus, was worshipped throughout the widely-distant countries in which we know that the rites of Bacchus, Jupiter, or Venus prevailed. What was a queen of Cyprus to the inhabitants of Assyria, that they should recognize her as a divinity; or a king of Crete to the people of Italy? The personages whom so many nations agreed to deify must have been some who bore a relation to them *all*; and, as no local sovereigns could sustain this relation, we are carried back to the times preceding the dispersion for the origin of mythology. Had Mr. Faber put his argument into this form, instead of resting on a passage of Hesiod which has nothing to do with the subject, we see not what answer could have been made by those who admit the pagan gods once to have been men: but still it would have been only an *argumentum ad hominem*; because the whole doctrine of their human origin is a fiction of later ages, when their own mythology had become as much a secret to the Greeks as it is to us, propagated among modern authors chiefly from the zeal with which it was espoused by the Christian fathers, (whom it furnished with a powerful weapon against Paganism,) and from the facility which it affords for turning mythology into history.

Mr. Faber having thus established, as he thinks, the identity of the Gentile gods, on the testimony of their own worshippers, with the diluvian and antediluvian patriarchs, the next step in the natural progress of his argument, though by no means in his arrangement of it, is to shew that the tradition of this deluge, from which their worship was derived, really existed among the ancient nations. In the fourth chapter of the third book this is accordingly done; and many curious proofs are brought together to manifest the wide diffusion of an opinion, that the world has been destroyed by water as a punishment for the iniquity of its inhabitants. Some of these, — such as the Babylonish story of Xisuthrus, said to have been found in Berosus, — agree in so many minutiae with the Mosaic history, and come to us from testimony so suspicious, that we should not chuse to lay stress on them: but abundant proof remains, independently of them, to shew how universally the tradition of nations agrees in the fact of a deluge. Mr. F., however, caricatures the argument, in his eagerness to discover Noah and his ark in every corner of legend or mythology. He is determined to leave “no stone unturned that can have water under.” Diversity of numbers causes him no embarrassment. If one person be mentioned in connection with water, it is Noah; if two, they are Noah and Adam, mystically

mystically identified; if three, the sons of Noah; if four, the same, with the addition of the Patriarch; if seven, they are Shem, Ham, and Japhet, with their wives and mother; while the mystic *ogdoad* is completed by the junction of Noah, and the number fourteen is only a duplication of seven. Time and space are also annihilated at his pleasure: a day, a year, and a millenary, become the same; the bursting of a lake is the universal deluge; and a flood and a conflagration are interchangeable, because Whiston's comet must have burnt up the world before it raised the waters to drown it. Egyptian priests mean Noah when they speak of one of their kings who escaped from drowning by being conveyed to land on the back of a crocodile, because the *Coptic* of crocodile is *Campsä*, and *Campsä* is *Greek* for *ἄρκη*, an ark, (Vol. ii. p. 195. repeated pp. 223. 230. and 395.); all holes, caverns, and dark rooms derive their sanctity from the ark; all mystical doors are emblems of its door; and even Hades, the place of perfect gloom, is derived from the ark, which was specially made with a window to give it light. After all this, we had perhaps no right to be astonished at any thing which we might find in Mr. F.; and yet we confess that we were startled, on perceiving that the deluge was typified in the stories of children placed in arks, where no mention is made either of a sea or a river; and that Cypselus, hidden by his mother in a clothes-chest, (Herod. v. 92.) and Erichthonius exposed in a basket, all mean the imprisoned Noah. (Vol. iii. p. 316.) With equal zeal, Mr. F. pursues the resemblance of Mount Ararat over all the mountains that were deemed sacred by the ancients; proving their original coincidence by arguments as convincing as those by which Fluellen identified the Wye with that river in Macedon whose name he had forgotten. Nay, Mr. F. can even prove that Ararat and Eden were the same, and that hence in part arose the fiction of Adam and Noah being the same, if the reader will only allow him that the deluge may have made such changes on the face of the country, that it is impossible to tell from the present appearance of Ararat how the four rivers should have flowed from Paradise. (Vol. i. p. 281. &c.)

That identification of Adam with Noah, to which this position of Eden contributed, was strengthened by their being both husbandmen, and both sacrificers, as Mr. Faber proves from Gen. iii. 21. where it is said that God clothed Adam and Eve with the skins of beasts, which must have been offered as victims; and their being the parents, one of the antediluvian and the other of the postdiluvian world, produced the most stupendous

stupendous consequences on the Pagan theology, which the author thus states:

‘As the earth and the ark were each reputed the great universal mother, and as Noah and Adam were each esteemed the great universal father, the hierophants were obviously led to place them in a certain degree of relationship to each other. Here we have much mythological refinement arising from very simple causes. The connection, which most naturally might be supposed to subsist between two persons who were reckoned the father and the mother both of gods and men, was the matrimonial one: hence they were considered in the light of husband and wife. But it was at the same time observed, that Noah was himself born out of the womb of the ark, no less than the triad of younger demon-gods who were his offspring; as Adam had previously been born from the womb of the all-productive earth; hence they were considered in the light of a mother and her son. Yet the hierophants could not but remark, that, although Noah was born from the ark, he nevertheless existed *before* it, and even *produced* it; they would also observe, that he existed *before* the renovated world, and might thus be allegorically deemed its *parent*; hence they were considered in the directly opposite light of a father and his daughter. These two ancient beings they placed at the head of every renovated world, supposing them to exist before all other creatures, and to be themselves produced from chaos and dark night; hence they were lastly considered in the light of a brother and a sister.

‘It is obvious, that such allegorical speculations as these would naturally lead to a variety of wild fables relative to the mystic union of the great father and the great mother. From this source originated therefore all the tales of an incestuous connection, which was thought, in many different modifications, to have subsisted between those two primeval personages. Thus the great father is said to have sometimes espoused his own mother, sometimes his sister, and sometimes his daughter.’

We are surprized that it should not have occurred to Mr. F. that, if the deluge were really the source of all the language in which the Heathens typified and all the rites by which they imitated the union of the two great parents, it has produced vice in the world far exceeding that which it was sent to punish; that the preacher of righteousness has been the great corrupter of mankind; and that it would have been a most merciful dispensation which had buried him beneath the waters of the flood, and re-peopled the earth by a new race of beings. If it were necessary to refute Mr. Faber's confident but gratuitous assertions of what the hierophants thought and said, we might observe that to personify the earth as the mother of all beings is a figure familiar to many languages and nations; that, in pursuing the analogy to the production of

of the human species, the power which fertilizes is represented as the male, and that which produces as the female; and that the personification of both, as co-existing in one universe, by a body in which the sexes were united, or as a male producing a female from himself, or a female a male, is an easy variation of the leading idea.

The last step in the apotheosis of Noah and his sons is to render them *helio-arkite*. We regard that part of Mr. Bryant's analysis, in which he demonstrates the wide extent of solar worship among the antients, as the most valuable of his book. By shewing how many names, usually deemed those of kings and heroes, are really titles of the sun, he has done much towards shaking the common opinion that the Grecian divinities were historical personages: but that the gods, at the same time that they were the sun, should also be Noah, seems at first sight an incredible confusion. The proof of their double character is given at great length by Mr. F. in Vol. ii. p. 205, &c. ; and he thus sums up the evidence:

‘ The inquiry having been conducted thus far, it only remains to learn, *what particular man* was venerated by the Gentiles in close union with the solar deity.

‘ As the attributes of the man have, in consequence of this union, been ascribed to the sun; the various remarkable opinions entertained of the sun will enable us to determine the man, who was worshipped in conjunction with him. Hence we may gather from the preceding investigation, that the man in question must have been one who performed an extraordinary voyage in a ship with seven companions represented by the seven planets; who was compelled to hide himself in a small floating island by the violence of the sea; who was born from an egg or from the calix of the lotos, and who was thence occasionally depicted as an infant; who mysteriously triplicated himself, by which can only be meant that this man was the father of three sons; who, sailing in his ship, presided over a gate or door from which all human souls were born; who delighted to haunt a lofty mountain, where the ark of one preserved during an universal flood was thought to have rested; who was once plunged in a remarkable manner into the ocean; and who was the parent, not only of a powerful family that early claimed and acquired a decided superiority, but even of the whole race of mankind.’

‘ The reader sees at once who this person must be. When we consider the proneness of mankind to assimilate unknown causes to those with which they are familiar, we shall not wonder that one mode in which the antients represented to themselves the sun and the moon as traversing “the azure deep of air” was in a ship, any more than that they mounted them in chariots or on horseback. That the planets should accompany

accompany the sun has nothing marvellous; and, as the ark began to float when Noah took refuge in it, while Delos ceased to float before Apollo was born there, the parallel seems to us none of the closest. The infant Harpocrates, seated on the lotus, may have been the sun, nascent at the winter-solstice: but this plant was given to him, not because he was born out of the waters, but because it endures during the day and sinks at night. (Dioscorid. in *crataeo*.) At any rate, an infant is a strange representative of a patriarch 600 years old. — That the luminary, which every morning rises from the sea, and every evening sinks into it, should be represented as born from it, may surely be explained without the aid of the deluge. It was this which the Greeks meant, to express when to Hercules, who was certainly the sun, they assigned as a father *Asiophras*, whose name is formed from *αἰψή*, and *φῶς*, as *Asiophris* from *αἰψή* and *φῶς*. "*Habemus ut litteræ & ac litteræ τ profixæ vestigia: ut pateat non solum in medio, ut scire fit, sed etiam in principio τ interdum non esse originale.*" (Lennep, *Analog.* 209.) *Τεῖταιν, ὄνομα ποταμοῦ — παρὰ τὸ φῶς.* (Etym. Magn.) *Στρυμων* comes from the same radical by the same double prothesis by which *στρόμβος* comes from *ρόμβος*.

We have not room to follow Mr. Faber through that part of his work, in which he shews how the system formed by the hierophants of Babel was propagated throughout the world; nor in his examination of the antient mysteries, which he considers as not less Noëtic than every thing else in mythology. Those readers, who bear in mind that *arca* in Latin and *λάραξ*, &c. in Greek mean many other things besides Noah's ark, will find a great many of his arguments disappear at once. If we recollect rightly, he promised in his prospectus not to build on etymology, a promise which he has certainly not kept; witness, among a multitude of other instances which might be given, his derivation of *Bute*, *Arran*, *Ila*, *Hy*, and *Iona*, from *Buddha*, *Arhan*, *Ila*, and *Yoni* or *Ioneh*; and by *Golez* from the Cala of the Hindus, (Vol. ii. pp. 393, 394.) The name of *Buddha* is singularly ductile in Mr. F.'s hands, and becomes, *Fo*, *Pout*, *Woden*, *Wudd*, and (Robin) *Hood*, (ii. 397.) We had almost forgotten another of his titles; *Po*.

We have purposely forbore from entering into any examination of the large portion of this work which is occupied with Hindu mythology; and in which, in one form or another, the author has incorporated nearly all the articles on this subject in the Asiatic Researches. The learned writers of those papers, not excepting even their illustrious President, have sometimes been misled by their eagerness to bring the gods of Greece, Italy,

Italy, and Hindustan into close resemblance: but the knowledge of Hindu mythology, which we owe to them, will be a most important aid to the interpretation of the Greek and Roman fables, if we can be contented to consider it as ascertaining the manner in which the personified energies and operations of nature assume the appearance of real beings, and are gradually transformed into historical characters and events; — if, in short, we use it as a contribution towards solving the great problem of the origin of mythology, rather than as containing the whole solution in itself. If, however, the Grecian divinities are to be laid on the rack of Sanscrit etymology, after all that they have endured from their Celtic, Scythian, Phœnician, and Coptic tormentors, and if every event and circumstance in the fables of the one nation must be forced into a parallel with those of the other, the result can only be new theories as extravagant and as ephemeral as their predecessors. Following some writer in the *Asiatic Researches*, Mr. F. makes the Grecian *Dionusos* to be the Hindi *Deonash*. Yet *Dionusos* is manifestly of Greek extraction, and signifies “the divinity of Nysa,” the place in which the earliest mention of him describes his worship as being practised. (Hom. Il. §. 132, &c.) That the name should have been given to mountains in many other parts of the world, and the birth of Bacchus be referred to them all, will not appear surprising if we consider that *Nύσσα* in Greek signifies a peak, which is evident from its being applied to the pointed *metæ* of the hippodrome. This form of the hills so denominated is plainly pointed out in a line quoted from Herodotus by the scholiast on Apoll. Rhod. ii. 1218. *Εἰς δὲ τῆς Νύσσης ὄρους χεῖρας, ἀνδρῶν ὕλην*. Nothing seems less probable than that the Greeks should worship gods by titles which never had any meaning in their own language; and we doubt whether more than one instance can be given of a plausible exotic etymology of a popular name of their divinities: this instance is in the case of *Io*: but it is the exception which confirms the rule. *Io* was the Egyptian *Isis*, and her name is Coptic for the moon: but it also signified the moon in the common dialect of Argos, (Eust. ad Dionys. Perieg. p. 23.) and the introduction of her worship through Phœnicia into Greece is distinctly traced in the history of her wanderings: though the Greeks, when they stole the heifer-goddess from the Egyptians, reversed the track of her feet, according to their usual custom, and made her originally an Argive.

It would be unjust to deny to Mr. Faber the praise of laborious research into authors antient and modern, in order to amass the materials of the present work, and of a sincere

desire to vindicate the truth of Revelation : but he has shown so little judgment in discriminating between the testimonies which he has brought together, or in drawing his inferences from them, that, to make any use of his book, the historical student must take the pains of unravelling the web, and separating the facts from the fancies that have been worked up with them. The authority of the Mosaic writings would be in a perilous state, if they were to stand or fall with those of Mr. Faber.

ART. V. *Memoirs of Alessandro Tassoni, Author of La Secchia Rapita*, or the Rape of the Bucket; interspersed with occasional Notices of his Literary Contemporaries, and a general Outline of his various Works; also an Appendix; containing Biographical Sketches of Ottavio Rinuccini, Galileo Galilee, Gabriello Chiabrera, Battista Guarini; and an imitated Poem of Torquato Tasso. With additional Notes and the Author's Preface. By the late Jos. Cooper Walker, Esq. M.R.I.A. &c. Edited by Sam. Walker, Esq. M.R.I.A. Crown 8vo. pp. 416. 15s. Boards. Longman and Co.

ALESSANDRO TASSONI, the author of the *Secchia Rapita*, was born at Modena in 1565, of a family sufficiently noble to have preserved its pedigree from the year 1306. Being early in life an orphan, he recollected only his instructors, not his parents. His first master was an absent man, who prescribed a draught for a dead cow: but from this tuition, which, by destroying reverence, may have favoured his comic turn, he was removed to the college of Pisa, whence he passed in 1585 to Bologna, there to qualify himself for the profession of the law. From Bologna, he removed in 1591 to Ferrara, and profited by the instructions of Cremonio, a celebrated doctor of civil law, until he settled in 1592 at his native place with a view to practice. A legacy and executorship, which devolved on him in 1596, drew him to Rome; where he attracted the notice of Cardinal Ascanio Colonna, to whom he became private secretary at a liberal salary. With this patron he visited Spain, staid there until 1602, when he revisited Italy, was admitted into the academy of the *Umoristi*, and of the *Lincci*, and printed his *Pensieri*. He also wrote against Petrarch, who was still a national idol, but derived so little emolument from his publications as to labour under pecuniary difficulties. In 1611 he undertook the *Secchia Rapita*, the first and even now perhaps the best comic epopee of modern Europe. It was originally printed at Paris in 1622: but a better and emended edition, carefully superintended by the author,

author, appeared at Rome in 1624; and indeed it is somewhat doubtful whether the first edition does not bear a fictitious place of date. This poem attracted to Tassoni the attentions of the reigning pontiff Urban VIII., who suggested various corrections, which were adopted with deference in the edition of 1628. Much moral tolerance is implied in his Holiness having spared the voluptuous descriptions of the second canto.—Tassoni afterward attempted a serious poem on the expedition of Columbus, of which the first canto has been printed, but without exciting great regret for the author's lassitude. A new edition of the *Pensieri* was also undertaken, which is remarkable for containing a dissertation *Se le Lettere e le Dottrine siano necessarie nelle Repubbliche*, the basis of Rousseau's academical diatribe against the arts and sciences.

Tassoni was employed for a time as secretary by the Duke of Savoy, and wrote *Philippics* against the Spaniards: but, the Spanish party having prevailed at Turin, the obnoxious pamphleteer was dismissed. During this connection he accompanied the Duke of Fiano to the Valteline in 1623, and wrote a comic epopea narrating the expedition, and ridiculing the recent sufferings of the massacred Protestants. This composition is stated to have stimulated a Cardinal into loud laughter: but it was never printed, probably because the poet felt compunction for having written it. The author appears, however, in consequence, to have obtained from Lodovico, Archbishop of Bologna, an appointment with a salary of four hundred Roman crowns, and a right of residence in the episcopal palace; of which Tassoni usually availed himself until 1632, when his patron died. He then went back to his native Modena, and resided with his relation Lucrezio Tassoni, who died in 1634, and bequeathed to the poet a competent legacy. This he enjoyed but for a single year, having yielded to his rapidly increasing infirmities on the 25th of April 1635, at the exact age of seventy. A pension was left in his will to a natural son; and the mass of his property devolved on a knight of Malta, who was his nearest legitimate kinsman.

Such is the substance of a memoir radically derived from Muratori, and here expanded after the manner of Mr. Roscoe, Dr. Black, and other commentators of Italian literature, into a considerable volume, by adding to it literary anecdotes of all the more distinguished acquaintances and cotemporaries of the person who was to be commemorated. On this plan, every biography in a given æra might be made to consist principally of the same circumstances, and to resemble a stated,

bed, which receives one guest after another, but is always more remarkable for the embroidered hangings, fluted pillars, and fringed valances, than for the little figure buried in its down, and veiled with its counterpane.

This memoir is a posthumous work of Mr. Walker, the writer of an interesting history of Italian tragedy, noticed in our xxixth Vol. N.S. p. 1, and it is edited by the pious care of his only surviving brother. Some account of the last moments of the author has been prefixed. He died at St. Valeri on the 12th of April 1810, in the 49th year of his age; and a more extensive and particular biography is announced.

ART. VI. *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London, for the Year 1816. Part I. 4to. pp. 178. 17s. 6d. sewed. Nicol and Sen.*

CHEMISTRY and PHYSIOLOGY.

ON the Fire-damp of Coal-mines, and on Methods of lighting the Mines so as to prevent its Explosion. By Sir H. Davy, LL.D. &c. &c.

An Account of an Invention for giving Light in explosive Mixtures of Fire-damp in Coal-mines, by consuming the Fire-damp. By the Same.

Farther Experiments on the Combustion of explosive Mixtures confined by Wire-gauze, with some Observations on Flame. By the Same.

In consequence of the numerous fatal accidents which have lately occurred in the neighbourhood of Newcastle, by the explosion of the fire-damp of the coal-mines, Sir H. Davy was induced to turn his attention to the subject; and, by investigating the nature and properties of the gas, to endeavour to form some plan of prevention. He therefore went into the north of England, personally visited the collieries, obtained specimens of the inflammable air, and made every necessary inquiry respecting its production and its effects. He observed that the fire-damp had been shewn by Dr. Henry to be light carburetted hydrogen gas, and that Dr. Thomson had also made experiments on it, but that some of its most important properties still remained unascertained; particularly its degree of combustibility, as compared with that of other inflammable gases. He found that the gas was very peculiar in this respect, for that neither strongly ignited charcoal, nor an iron rod at a high red or even a common white heat, had the power of inflaming an explosive mixture of the fire-damp and atmospheric air. He afterward examined the power of these mixtures,

mixtures, in communicating flame through apertures of different sizes to other similar mixtures; when he discovered that this communication was entirely prevented by small apertures, or by narrow tubes or canals: a property which probably depends on the gas being cooled down to a temperature below the exploding point, by its being exposed to so large a surface during its passage. He accordingly observed that the flame passed more readily through glass than through metallic tubes of the same diameter, in consequence of the greater conducting power of the latter. The explosions were entirely stopped by metallic tubes of one-fifth of an inch in diameter; when they were one and a half inch long.

Sir H. D. next examined the effect of mixing small proportions of carbonic acid and azote with the explosive mixtures; and he found that only a small quantity of either of these gases, as one part of azote to six, or one part of carbonic acid to seven of the mixture, entirely prevented it from exploding.

Having made these important discoveries respecting the properties of the fire-damp, and especially concerning its explosive power when mixed with atmospheric air, he proceeded to his great object; viz. the invention of some apparatus by which light might be emitted from burning oil or tallow, and yet this flame be incapable of setting fire to a quantity of the inflammable gas in which it was immersed. He contrived several sorts of an instrument for this purpose, somewhat differing in their construction, but all essentially depending on the same principle. It was a lantern, in which the air was admitted only in a limited quantity, and through small tubes or apertures: so that, if by any accident a portion of the fire-damp should enter the apparatus, the air in the inside would probably not contain a sufficient proportion of oxygen for its explosion; or, if an explosion did take place, the effect would simply be to extinguish the light, without the possibility of its being communicated to the surrounding atmosphere.

Although this safety-lantern must be deemed a most valuable invention, inasmuch as it promises security to the lives of the miners, and is attended only with the comparatively trifling inconvenience of the light being extinguished by the fire-damp, yet it is superseded by the apparatus which the author describes in the second paper; which is more simple in its construction, equally safe for the miners, and possesses the additional advantage of consuming the fire-damp without the possibility of its exploding. In his former experiments on the passage of the flame through small apertures, Sir H. found that it could not be communicated through fine

wire-screens or wire-gauze; and on this discovery the improved instrument is framed.

The invention consists in covering or surrounding the flame of a lamp or candle by a wire sieve; the coarsest that I have tried with perfect safety contained 625 apertures in a square inch, and the wire was $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch in thickness; the finest, 6400 apertures in a square inch, and the wire was $\frac{1}{32}$ of an inch in diameter.

When a lighted lamp or candle, screwed into a ring soldered to a cylinder of wire gauze, having no apertures, except those of the gauze or safe apertures, is introduced into the most explosive mixture of carburetted hydrogen and air, the cylinder becomes filled with a bright flame, and this flame continues to burn as long as the mixture is explosive. When the carburetted hydrogen is to the air as 1 to 12, the flame of the wick appears within the flame of the fire-damp; when the proportion is as high as 1 to 7, the flame of the wick disappears.

We are informed that, when the thicker wires are used in the gauze, the metal becomes red hot, but yet no explosion takes place; and the larger are the openings the brighter is the flame: so that, when there are 625 apertures to the square inch, a mixture of one part of coal-gas with seven parts of air produces a most brilliant light. — These results lead to many inquiries respecting the nature and communication of flame, which form the subject of the third paper: but, in the mean time, we must admit the justice of the following most important conclusion:

All that the collier requires to ensure security, are small wire cages to surround his candle or his lamp, which may be made for a few pence, and of which various modifications may be adopted; and the application of this discovery will not only preserve him from the fire-damp, but enable him to apply it to use, and to destroy it at the same time that it gives him an useful light.

Having established the general principle, of the power of wire-gauze in insulating flame, Sir H. Davy's next object was to ascertain what were the limits of the size of the apertures, and of the wire, which were sufficient to produce this effect. He discovered that, if wire of $\frac{1}{32}$ of an inch in diameter be formed into a gauze, containing 100 apertures in the square inch, an explosion will take place as soon as the wire becomes hot: but that the same wire, formed into a gauze with 376 apertures in an inch, is perfectly safe under all circumstances. He had observed in his former experiments 'that a flame, confined in a cylinder of very fine wire-gauze, did not explode a mixture of oxygene and hydrogen, but that the gases burnt in it with great vivacity.' This singular fact suggested some new considerations respecting the nature of the flame of combustible bodies, and induced him to conclude that it does not consist

in 'a mere combustion at the surface of contact of the inflammable matter,' but rather 'as the combustion of an explosive mixture of inflammable gas, or vapour and air.' On this principle we are to explain the extraordinary results of Sir H. Davy's experiments. A considerable bulk of heated metal is necessary to raise the temperature sufficiently high to inflame an explosive gas; so that, by passing through the wire-gauze, even when red hot, the flame parts with so much of its heat that it is no longer hot enough to produce the explosion. Sir Humphry had before shewn that the explosive mixture required a very high temperature for its combustion; and there is reason to believe that the heat of flame is as great 'as any with which we are acquainted,' — in course much greater than that of hot iron.

We cannot leave these papers without expressing the high gratification that we experience, when we observe the immediate practical benefits of philosophical discoveries; and few cases are on record, in which an evil of such magnitude was so effectually obviated, as the destructive explosions of the coal-mines promise to be through the use of the lamps of Sir H. Davy.

Some Observations and Experiments made on the Torpedo of the Cape of Good Hope, in the Year 1812. By J. T. Todd, late Surgeon of his Majesty's ship Lion.—Mr. Todd informs us that the torpedo is frequently caught in Table Bay, to the westward of the Cape, but very seldom in the bays to the eastward. The columns of the electrical organs, in the fish which he examined, were larger and less numerous than those that were described by Hunter at Rochelle. He sums up the result of his observations in a series of propositions, which we shall quote at full length; since they contain all the information that is dispersed through the paper, and, for the most part, may be regarded as being correct deductions from the premises.

'The preceding account appears to me to afford grounds for the following conclusions.

'1. That the electrical discharge of this animal is in every respect a vital action, being dependent on the life of the animal, and having a relation to the degree of life and to the degree of perfection of structure of the electrical organs.

'2. That the action of the electrical organs is perfectly voluntary.

'3. That frequent action of the electrical organs is injurious to the life of the animal; and, if continued, deprives the animal of it. Is this only an instance of a law common to all animals, that by long continued voluntary action they are deprived of life? Whence is the cause of the rapidity with which it takes place in this

this instance? Or is it owing to the re-action of the shock on the animal?

4. That those animals, in which the nerves of the electrical organs are intersected, lose the power of communicating the shock, but appear more vivacious and live longer than those in which this change has not been produced, and in which this power is exerted. Is the loss of the power of communicating the shock to be attributed to the loss of voluntary power over the organ? Does this fact bear any analogy to the effects produced by castration in animals?

5. That the possession of one organ only is sufficient to produce the shock.

6. That the perfect state of all the nerves of the electrical organs is not necessary to produce the shock.

And, 7. From the whole it may be concluded, that a more intimate relation exists between the nervous system and electrical organs of the torpedo, both as to structure and functions, than between the same and any organs of any animal with which we are acquainted. And this is particularly shown, 1st, By the large proportion of nerves applied to the electrical organs: and, 2dly, By the relation of the action of the electrical organs to the life of the animal, and *vice versa*.

Some Account of the Feet of those Animals whose progressive Motion can be carried on in Opposition to Gravity. By Sir Ev. Home, Bart. V.P.R.S. — Every one must have observed the power which the common house-fly possesses of walking on the ceiling of rooms, although few persons have thought of inquiring by what means it is enabled to support itself in opposition to gravity, and at the same time so readily to exercise progressive motion. The minuteness of the fly's foot, indeed, renders it difficult to determine this point: but a particular kind of lizard, the *Lacerta Gecko*, a native of Java, has the same power, and a foot so large as to be easily examined. The foot of that animal is accordingly described by the present author; and we learn that it consists of five toes, each toe being furnished with sixteen transverse slits, communicating with as many cavities: as also that it is provided with a muscular apparatus, by the contraction of which the cavities are opened; so that the animal rests on the serrated edge with which these cavities are surrounded. Sir Everard remarks that the apparatus of this lizard's foot bears a considerable resemblance to that part of the head of the *Echinis Remora*, or sucking fish, by which it attaches itself to ships or other solid bodies; and that we may conclude that they both act on the same principle. The mode of action is thus described:

It is evident, that when the external edge of this apparatus is closely applied to any surface, and the cartilaginous plates are raised up, the interstices must become so many vacua, and the serrated edge of each plate will keep a sufficient hold of the substance

stance on which it rests; to retain it in that position, assisted by the pressure of the surrounding water, without a continuance of muscular exertion.

It thus appears, that the adhesion of the Echinus Remora is produced by so many vacua being formed by an apparatus worked by the voluntary muscles of the animal, and the pressure of the surrounding water.

Though the minuteness of the fly's foot renders it very difficult to determine precisely its mechanical structure, the author deems it highly probable that certain concave surfaces, which have been observed attached to it, are employed to form vacua, which enable the animal to move under such disadvantageous circumstances, upon the same principle as the *Lacerta Gecko*.

MATHEMATICS, ASTRONOMY, and OPTICS.

On the Development of exponential Functions; together with several new Theorems relating to finite Differences. By John F.W. Herschel, Esq. F.R.S.—We have frequently had occasion to observe that the analytical sciences in this country were rather retrograding than advancing, and that nothing strikingly new and interesting had for many years issued from the English press on those subjects; while the transactions of foreign academies, and particularly those of the French Institute, have abounded with valuable and brilliant discoveries. These, however, have not been unmixed with matters of mere curiosity and difficulty; the purpose of the writers, in many cases, being obviously to shew their own dexterity in the transformation of quantities and equations, and to make a great display of intricate and almost unintelligible formulæ, without the least consideration of their application to any purpose of real utility. If, therefore, any desire should arise, as we think we can now perceive that it does, among our English mathematicians, to emulate the same class of men in France, it will be of the highest importance to embrace only such subjects as will admit of useful application; and to bear in mind that it is not the intricacy of formulæ, but the simplicity of them, which constitutes the beauty of analysis.

Mr. Herschel has in two or three instances manifested considerable analytical talents, which we should be very loth to undervalue: but we fear that he is too fond of that sort of parade to which we have alluded, and which we should be glad to see him correct. We wish it also to be understood that these remarks are not so much intended to apply exclusively to the present article, as to the general character of his recent communications to the Royal Society, and to a Cambridge work in which he is supposed to take an active part.

The

The subject of the paper before us is the development of exponential functions, the origin and progress of which are thus stated in the introduction to it :

‘ In the year 1772, Lagrange, in a memoir published among those of the Berlin Academy, announced those celebrated theorems expressing the connection between simple exponential indices, and those of differentiation and integration. The demonstration of those theorems, although it escaped their illustrious discoverer, has been since accomplished by many analysts, and in a great variety of ways. Laplace set the first example in two memoirs presented to the Academy of Sciences *, and may be supposed in the course of these researches to have caught the first hint of the *Calcul des Fonctions Generatrices* with which they are so intimately connected ; as, after an interval of two years, another demonstration of them, drawn solely from the principles of that calculus, appeared, together with the calculus itself, in the memoirs of the Academy. This demonstration, involving, however, the passage from finite to infinite, is therefore (although preferable perhaps in a systematic arrangement, where all is made to flow from one fundamental principle) less elegant ; not on account of any confusion of ideas, or want of evidence ; but, because the ideas of finite and infinite, as such, are extraneous to symbolic language, and, if we would avoid their use, much circumlocution as well as very unwieldy formulæ must be introduced. Arbogast also, in his work on derivations, has given two most ingenious demonstrations of them, and added greatly to their generality ; and lastly, Dr. Brinkley has made them the subject of a paper in the Transactions of this Society, to which I shall have occasion again to refer. Considered as insulated truths, unconnected with any other considerable branch of analysis, the method employed by the latter author seems the most simple and elegant which could have been devised. It has however the great inconvenience of not making us acquainted with the bearings and dependencies of these important theorems, which, in this instance, as in many others, are far more valuable than the mere formulæ.

‘ The theorems above referred to are comprehended in the equation

$$\Delta^n u_x = \left\{ \varepsilon \frac{\Delta x \cdot D}{1} \right\}^n u_x ; \dots \dots \dots (a)$$

or, more generally,

$$f(1 + \Delta) u_x = f \left\{ \varepsilon \frac{\Delta x \cdot D}{1} \right\} u_x ; \dots \dots \dots (b)$$

where the Δ applies to the variation of x , and the D to the functional characteristic u ; and where n may have any value whatever.

In this form, these theorems are obviously no more than abridged expressions of their meaning ; and therefore, in order

* *Mém. des Savans Etrangers*, 1773, p. 535. — *Mém. de l'Acad.* 1772, p. 102.

to become practically useful, their second members must be developed in a series of the powers of Δ . x . D. — Mr. Herschel writes $\Delta x. D = t$, whence $f \left\{ \varepsilon^{\frac{\Delta x. D}{1}} \right\} = f(\varepsilon^t)$; and, assuming this $= A + At + At^2 + \&c.$, he arrives, after several transformations, at the following theorem, viz.

$$f(\varepsilon^t) = f(1) + \frac{t}{1} f(1 + \Delta) o + \frac{t^2}{1.2} f(1 + \Delta) o^2 + \&c.$$

in the application of which to any particular case, it is necessary to develop $f(1 + \Delta)$ in powers of Δ ; then, striking out the first term, as well as all those in which the exponent of Δ is higher than that of t , to apply each of the remaining terms immediately before the annexed power of o ; and the development is then in a form adapted to numerical computation.

The author next proceeds to shew the application of the above and other equivalent formulæ to the actual development of some exponential functions, which he is enabled to perform with great facility: but neither the nature nor the limits of our work will allow us to follow him farther in his transformations.

On new Properties of Heat, as exhibited in its Propagation along Plates of Glass. By David Brewster, LL.D. F.R.S., &c. — The science of physical optics has within a few years assumed a new and highly interesting form, and no one has contributed more to stamp it with its present importance than the ingenious author of this paper: nor has he, in any of his preceding experiments and researches, developed a series of more striking and curious phenomena, than those which are here presented for the contemplation of the philosopher.

In a former number, we reported Dr. Brewster's experiments and deductions relative to the action of heat in enabling glass to arrange a beam of light into two opposite polarized pencils; in which he has shewn that 'unannealed glass, in the form of Prince Rupert's drops, possesses distinct optical axes, and acts on light like all regular crystallized bodies.' It appears that his attention was again called to this subject, in consequence of his having discovered that reflection from all the metals, and total reflection from the second surface of transparent bodies, produced the same effect as crystallized plates, in separating a beam of polarized light into its complementary tints. This circumstance led the Doctor to suppose that the existence of the two opposite polarized pencils, and the production of the complementary colours, were concomitant effects: he was in consequence induced to examine the truth

truth of the supposition in the case of heated glass; and the results of the experiments, while they justified and confirmed the supposition, have caused the discovery of many singular phenomena, which may be considered as constituting a new branch of physics, analogous in its general character to the sciences of magnetism and electricity.

We should be glad to supply our readers with such an abstract of the present memoir as would put them in possession of the most curious deductions; but the necessity of figures for illustration will prevent us from doing this to the desired extent. Yet we hope still to render intelligible to them some of the most interesting parts; which will probably be best effected by giving the heads of certain of the propositions as stated by the author himself.

I. When heat is propagated along a plate of glass, its progress is marked by the communication of a crystalline structure, which changes its character with the temperature, and which vanishes when the heat is uniformly diffused over the plate.

II. When a plate of glass is brought to an uniform temperature considerably above that of the atmosphere, the communication of its heat to the surrounding air, or to other contiguous bodies colder than itself, is marked by the production of a crystalline structure, similar to that which is described under the preceding proposition.

III. When heat is propagated along a plate of glass, its particles assume such an arrangement that it exhibits distinct neutral and depolarising axes, like all doubly refracting crystals, the neutral axes being parallel and perpendicular to the direction in which the heat is propagated.

IV. When the depolarising structure is communicated to glass by heat in the manner already described, the glass acquires the property of arranging polarised light into its complementary colours.

V. The coloured fringes mentioned in the preceding proposition consist of six different sets, two exterior, two interior, and two terminal sets. The exterior sets occupy the edges, the interior sets the middle, and the terminal sets the extremities of the glass plate, and each set is separated from its adjacent set by a deep black fringe.

VII. The colours of the fringes in all the six sets ascend in Newton's scale as they recede from the black spaces, the fringes adjacent to these spaces being composed of the colours of the first order.

VIII. The parts of the plate of glass which exhibit the two exterior sets of fringes, have the same structure as that class of doubly refracting crystals, including sulphate of lime, quartz, &c. in which the extraordinary ray is attracted to the axis, while the parts of the glass, which exhibit the two interior and the terminal sets, have the same structure as the other class of doubly refracting crystals, including calcareous spar, beryl, &c. in which the deviation

tion of the extraordinary ray from the axis is produced by a repulsive force. The portions between these which produce the black spaces have an intermediate structure, like those portions of muriate of soda, fluor spar, and the diamond, which are destitute of the property of double refraction.

IX. When the temperature of the source of heat remains the same, the thicknesses of the glass, whether one or more plates are used, which polarise any particular colour, under a perpendicular incidence, are proportional to the thicknesses of thin uncrystallized plates, which would reflect the same colour in the phenomenon of coloured rings. —

XII. The number and form of the plates of glass and the temperature of the source of heat remaining the same, the magnitude of the fringes of the first exterior set depends upon the law of the decrease of temperature in that part of the glass which produces them. The highest order of colours is always developed where the temperature is a maximum, and the tints descend in the scale as the temperature diminishes.

XIII. The upper edge of the plate which polarises the highest tint in the second exterior set of fringes has received no sensible accession of heat, and the central parts of the plate, which form the two interior sets of fringes, exhibit no variation of temperature connected with the colours which they polarise. When the number and form of the plates of glass and the temperature of the source of heat remain the same, the magnitude of these three sets of fringes depends upon the law of the decrease of temperature at that part of the glass which produces the first exterior set.

From the latter of these propositions, Dr. Brewster draws the following scholium :

‘The truth contained in the preceding proposition will, I have no doubt, be regarded by philosophers, as one of the most extraordinary in physics. The production of a crystalline structure in the part of the glass adjacent to the heated iron, though a curious property of radiant heat, is in no respect hostile to our established notions. But the communication of the same structure to the remote edge of the glass, where there is no sensible heat, and where the corpuscular forces, by which the particles cohere, are not weakened by any approximation to fluidity, and the existence of an opposite structure in the middle of the glass, developing itself on both sides from a central line, are results to which we can find nothing analogous, but in the perplexing phenomena of magnetical and electrical polarity.’

The first section contains nine other propositions, which we cannot copy; nor would many of them be intelligible, as they are principally intended to explain the preceding phenomena, and require diagrams.

In the second section, Dr. B. treats of the permanent effects produced upon glass by the communication of its heat to a rounding

rounding bodies.' The phenomena hitherto described are of the most transitory nature. Every fringe is in a state of perpetual change; one colour quickly succeeds another; and, when heat has rapidly developed all the various tints due to its intensity, they re-pass through the same hues which they exhibited in their formation, and finally disappear after a slow and gradual decline. Where every thing is thus in a state of change, no fixed character can be seized; and, instead of measuring, it is often difficult to observe their variations: it must therefore have been highly gratifying to Dr. Brewster when he discovered the method of fixing glass in a crystalline state, and giving it a character as permanent as that of the most perfect minerals. The method by which this was effected, and some of the results thus deduced, will be understood from the subsequent propositions:

' XXIII. When a plate of glass brought to a red heat is cooled in the open air, or is placed with one of its edges upon a bar of cold iron, the different sets of fringes described in Section I. are developed during its cooling, and they have the same character with those which are produced by placing cold glass upon a hot iron. When the cooling is completed, the structure which affords the fringes becomes permanent, and the colours, when thus fixed, possess the same brilliancy which they displayed during their formation.'

' XXIV. When a plate of glass, crystallized in the manner described in the preceding proposition, is inclined to the polarised ray in a plane perpendicular to the direction of the fringes, the central tint ascends in the scale of colours, as if the plate had increased in thickness; but, when it is inclined in a plane parallel to the direction of the fringes, the central tint descends in the scale, as if the plate had become thinner. When the plane of inclination forms an angle of 45° with these planes, no change is produced in the tints.

The proposition next in order, and which is the most interesting of them all, may be thus enunciated. If a plate of crystallized glass be cut in two pieces by a diamond, parallel to its length, each of the separate plates will exhibit the properties of a whole crystallized plate; that portion of the separate plate, which had formerly the structure of the attractive class, of doubly refracting crystals, has now the structure of the repulsive class: another portion, which had the attractive structure, has now an intermediate structure, similar to that of muriate of soda, &c.; and so on with the other parts of the crystals. From this proposition the author draws his scholium thus:

' The truth contained in the preceding proposition is analogous to the celebrated experiment in magnetism, where the smallest portion detached from the extremity of a magnet becomes itself a complete magnet, possessing distinct north and south poles. The exhibition

exhibition, of the same phenomena in glass transiently crystallized during the propagation of heat, as described in Prop. XLII., might have been supposed to arise from some new property of heat, which enabled it to act on the remote edge of the glass without any sensible indication of its presence. This opinion, however, is to a certain extent excluded by the results obtained with glass permanently crystallized, and having an uniform temperature. Any portion of the glass passes with the utmost facility from one crystalline structure to the opposite structure, and from one degree of crystallization to another, according to its position with regard to the edge of the plate; and there cannot be an equilibrium among the forces, by which this change is produced, unless the plate exhibits the different sets of fringes which have already been described.

‘ This optical polarity is produced by heat, just as electrical polarity is developed in the tourmaline, and other minerals, by the same agent; and there is as much reason to ascribe the production of the optical phenomena to the action of a peculiar fluid, as there is to explain the phenomena of electricity and magnetism by the operation of magnetical and electrical fluids. The optical fluid, as we may call it, may be supposed to reside in all bodies whatever in its natural state, consisting of two fluids in a state of combination, and capable of being decomposed, and fixed in particular parts of a body by the agency of various causes. It would be a waste of time to point out the numerous and striking analogies which exist between many of the results contained in this proposition, and some of the most interesting phenomena of electricity and magnetism.’

The analogy here mentioned is more distinctly traced in the scholium to the xxviiith proposition: but, as it cannot be understood without a reference to the figures, it would be useless to introduce it in this place. — Proposition xl. is intended to demonstrate that radiant heat is not susceptible of refraction, and is incapable of permeating glass like the luminous rays. Dr. Brewster is here at variance with Dr. Herschel, relative to the inquiry of the latter into the properties of invisible heat, Dr. H. having deduced a directly opposite result from several experiments: but, independently of the minuteness of the effects which he observed, it is, according to the opinion of Dr. Brewster, manifest ‘ that the thermometer placed in the focus of his lens received its heat by radiation from the lens itself; and it is also demonstrable that a convex lens, radiating heat at an uniform temperature, will produce a greater effect upon a thermometer placed in its axis, than upon another having a different position. From the form of the lens, the edges are always the coldest, giving out their heat to the metallic ring in which they are placed, and therefore the discharge of heat must be most copious in the direction of the axis.’ Dr. B. also remarks, in a note:

‘ The

'The circumstance of the glass cooling most rapidly at the edges, which may be proved by exposing it to a polarized ray, enables us to account for the anomalous and hitherto unexplained fact observed by the younger Euler, viz. that the focal length of a lens is shortened when its temperature is increased. The observation having always been made when the lens was actually cooling, the density, and consequently the refractive power, had increased towards the circumference of the lens, and therefore its focal length was diminished.'

A great variety of other curious experiments and ingenious ideas occur, which we must, for want of room, pass over in silence; and we shall conclude our report with the ensuing quotation:

'There is one practical result of the preceding experiments, which deserves particular notice. All articles made of glass, whether they are intended for scientific or domestic purposes, should be carefully examined by polarised light before they are purchased. Any irregularity in the annealing, or any imperfections analogous to what workmen call *pins* in pieces of steel, will thus be rendered visible to the eye, by their action upon light. The places marked out by these imperfections are those where the glass almost always breaks when unequally heated, or when exposed to a slight blow. Hence glass-cutters would find it of advantage to submit the glass to this examination before it undergoes the operations of grinding and polishing.'

Direct and expeditious Methods of calculating the excentric from the mean Anomaly of a Planet. By the Rev. Abram Robertson, D.D. F.R.S. Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, &c.

Demonstrations of the late Dr. Maskelyne's Formulae, for finding the Longitude and Latitude of a celestial Object from its right Ascension and Declination; and for finding its right Ascension and Declination from its Longitude and Latitude, the Obliquity of the Ecliptic being given in both Cases. By the Same.

The computation of the excentric from the mean anomaly, commonly denominated Kepler's problem, has always excited great interest since it was first proposed by that celebrated observer, and a variety of different solutions of it have accordingly been given; some by means of mechanical curves, which, however, are merely speculative; some founded on the doctrine of series; and others on approximation. The method proposed by Dr. Robertson consists of a combination of the two latter principles, and is perhaps the most simple in theory and expeditious in practice of any solution that has been hitherto discovered: but it will not admit of illustration in this place; and the same remark will likewise apply to the second memoir of the same author, the nature of which is sufficiently indicated in its title.

On the Communication of the Structure of doubly refracting Crystals to Glass, Muriate of Soda, Fluor Spar, and other Substances, by mechanical Compression and Dilatation. By David Brewster, LL.D. F.R.S. &c. — In the introduction to this paper, Dr. Brewster remarks that, notwithstanding the numerous discoveries which have been made relative to the polarization of light, and the optical phenomena of crystallized bodies, not a single step has hitherto been gained towards the solution of the great problem of double refraction. What is the mechanical condition of crystals that form two images and polarize them in different planes? and what are the mechanical changes which must be induced on uncrystallized bodies, in order to communicate to them these remarkable properties? are questions which have remained till the present time unanswered: but Dr. Brewster thinks that he is now enabled to solve them in the most satisfactory manner; as well as to communicate to glass, and many other substances, by the mere pressure of the hand, all the properties of the different classes of doubly refracting crystals.

Some of the most interesting of these experiments are contained in the heads of the first, second, and third propositions:

I. If the edges of a plate of glass, which has no action upon polarised light, are pressed together or dilated by any kind of force, it will exhibit distinct neutral and depolarising axes like all doubly refracting crystals, and will separate polarised light into its complementary colours. The neutral axes are parallel and perpendicular to the direction in which the force is applied, and the depolarising axes are inclined to these at angles of 45° .

II. When a plate of glass is under the influence of a compressing force, its structure is the same as that of one class of doubly refracting crystals, including calcareous spar, beryl, &c.; but when it is under the influence of a dilating force, its structure is the same as that of the other class of doubly refracting crystals, including sulphate of lime, quartz, &c.

III. If a long plate or slip of glass is bent by the force of the hand, it exhibits, at the same time, the two opposite structures described in the preceding proposition. The convex or dilated side of the plate affords one set of coloured fringes, similar to those produced by one class of doubly refracting crystals; and the concave, or compressed side exhibits another set of fringes, similar to those produced by the other class. These two sets of fringes are separated by a deep black line where there is neither compression nor dilatation.

To this latter proposition, the author has added a scholium, endeavouring to shew that the tints produced by polarized light are correct measures of the compressing and dilating forces; and that the theory of the strength of materials and

the cohesion of solids will be farther illustrated by the principles previously established.

There is one practical application of these views which is particularly deserving of notice. In order to observe the manner in which stone arches yield to a superincumbent pressure, Dr. Robinson executed several models in chalk, and deduced many general laws relative to the internal forces by which they were crushed. If the arch stones of models are made of glass, or any other simply refracting substance, such as gum copal, &c. the intensity and direction of all the forces which are excited by a superincumbent load in different parts of the arch will be rendered visible by exposing the model to polarised light. If different degrees of roughness are given to the touching surfaces of the glass *voussoirs*, the results may be observed for any degree of friction at the joints. The intensity and direction of the compressing and dilating forces, which are excited in loaded framings of carpentry, may be rendered visible in a similar manner.

After the terms in which we have spoken of Dr. Brewster's experiments and discoveries, we shall not be suspected of wishing to undervalue either his talents or the utility of his researches and deductions, when we say that we must consider this notion as a little fanciful; and that we should very much doubt the probability of ever obtaining any useful information on these subjects, if it were to be acquired only through the medium of polarized light.

Of the subsequent propositions, the heads are thus stated:

IV. The tints polarised by plates of glass, in a state of compression or dilatation, ascend in Newton's scale of colours as the forces are increased; and in the same plate, the tint polarised at any particular part is proportional to the compression or dilatation to which that part is exposed.

V. When compressed and dilated plates of glass are combined transversely and symmetrically, they exhibit all the phenomena which are produced by the combination of plates of doubly refracting crystals.

VI. If a plate of glass resting on two supports is bent by any force applied between the points of support, the tints are a maximum at the part where the pressure is applied, and ascend gradually in the scale of colours towards the points of support.

VII. If a plate of glass is subject to compressions or dilatations exerted in different directions, the same effects are produced as when separate plates influenced by the same forces are combined in a similar manner.

VIII. If two plates of bent glass are placed together at their concave or compressed edges, the compound plate has exactly the same properties as a plate of glass transiently or permanently crystallised by heat, which gives the usual series of fringes. But if the two plates are placed together at their convex or dilated edges, the compound plate

plate has the same properties as plates of glass transiently crystallized by heat, which produce the *unusual series of fringes*.

IX. If the compressing and dilating forces are applied to the centre of a plate of glass, the principal axes of the particles will be directed to the point of compression or dilatation, and the glass will exhibit the black cross, and the other phenomena which are seen in doubly refracting crystals.

X. If a plate of glass in a state of compression or dilatation is inclined to the polarised ray in a plane parallel to the axis of dilatation and compression, the tints will descend in the scale; but if they are inclined in a plane at right angles to these axes, the tints will ascend.

XI. If a plate of glass that has already received the doubly refracting structure from heat, is exposed to compression, the tints of the interior fringes rise in the scale, and those of the exterior fringes descend, when the axis of pressure is perpendicular to the direction of the fringes; the opposite effect being produced by a dilating force. The same results are in this case obtained as if an uncrystallized plate, similarly compressed or dilated, had been similarly combined with the crystallized plate.

XV. If a parallelopiped of glass is enclosed on all sides, except two, in a mass of fluid metal, the contractions and dilatations which the metal experiences in passing to a state of permanent solidity, will be rendered visible by the communication of the doubly refracting structure to the glass.

Of the part of the present memoir that explains the principles of certain new instruments, which the author calls the chromatic dynamometer, chromatic thermometer, and chromatic hygrometer, we cannot attempt farther explanation; and we must also pass various propositions relating to the communication of double refraction, both transiently and permanently, to animal jellies by gradual induration, and by mechanical compression and dilatation.

The limits, within which we are under the necessity of confining our abstracts and remarks, will not enable us to give a more connected view of Dr. Brewster's ingenious memoirs, which occupy above 100 pages, filled with new and interesting experiments and deductions: but, in order to shew the state to which the question relative to double refraction is now reduced, we shall copy the author's concluding observations.

Upon reviewing the general principles contained in the preceding propositions, I cannot but allow myself to hope that they will be considered as affording a direct solution of the most important part of the problem of double refraction. The mechanical condition of both classes of doubly refracting crystals, and the method of communicating to uncrystallized bodies the optical properties of either class, have been distinctly ascertained, and the only phenomenon which remains unaccounted for is the division of the incident light into two oppositely polarised pencils. How far

far this part of the subject will come within the pale of experimental inquiry, I do not presume to determine; but without wishing to damp that ardour of research which has been so happily directed towards this branch of optics, I fear that, as in the case of electrical and magnetical polarity, we must remain satisfied with referring the polarisation of the two pencils to the operation of some peculiar fluid. The new property of radiant heat which enables it to communicate double refraction to a distant part of a plate of glass, where the heat does not reside in a sensible state; — the existence of a moveable polarity in glass, whether the doubly refracting structure is communicated transiently or permanently; — and the appearance of regular cleavages varying with the direction of the axes of double refraction, are facts which render it more than probable that a peculiar fluid is the principal agent in producing all the phenomena of crystallization and double refraction.

There is one fact, however, which forms a fine connection between the aberration of the extraordinary ray and the principles established in this paper. It has been demonstrated by an eminent English philosopher, that every undulation must assume a spheroidal form when propagated through a minutely stratified substance, in which the density is greater in one direction than another, and I have proved by experiment that such a substance actually possesses the property of double refraction. This singular coincidence will no doubt be regarded as an argument in favour of the undulatory system.

The Second Part of these *Transactions* for the present year has recently made its appearance, and we mean speedily to report its contents.

ART. VII. *An Historical View of the State of the Protestant Dissenters in England*, and of the Progress of Free Enquiry and Religious Liberty, from the Revolution to the Accession of Queen Anne. By Joshua Toulmin, D.D. 8vo. pp. 628. 12s. Boards. Longman and Co.

THE prolix but copious and authentic work of Neal brought down the History of Nonconformity from the first rise of the Puritans to the passing of the Act of Toleration; and many years ago the author of the volume before us, in publishing a new edition of "The History of the Puritans," announced his intention of continuing it to the present times: but his design was long suspended by a succession of obstacles and interruptions, the nature of which is stated with much simple pathos in his preface:

It gives the author concern to reflect that eighteen years have elapsed without affording a proof, by the execution of any part of his intended work, that he was sensible either of the deference which he owed to public expectation, and to the desires of warm friends, or of the obligation brought on him by his own engagement.

ment. — He consoles himself with believing that they who know him will candidly acquit him of any disrespect to the deceased, or of desultory idleness. His attention, he may be permitted to plead, has been for years diverted from this work by a succession of occurrences and engagements which, unforeseen when it was announced, have either accompanied or followed the anguish of mourning, or the depressions of deep sorrow on the death of children who had just reached the promising years of maturity; especially of a daughter, whose removal was so circumstanced as to create, by a lasting mournful sense of it, a long interval of inaptitude for any continued mental exertion. This afflicting event was succeeded, at different distances, not only by other similar trials, but by avocations that arose from the confidence and trust reposed in him by several deceased friends; by derangement of studies produced by removals from one dwelling to another; and above all by the reading and application to prepare an extensive Course of Lectures for young persons, in which his present pastoral connection engaged him more than ten years ago.

Dr. Toulmin possessed qualities which peculiarly fitted him to be the historian of religious opinion, and the rise or decline of religious parties. His candid and amiable temper preserved him, perhaps, as free from all tendency to misrepresent the opinions of others for the sake of recommending his own, as it is possible that a man should be who is at the same time the zealous advocate of a particular system. The habit of his mind disposed him more, indeed, towards the minute researches of biography, than to the comprehensive views of history: but the effect of this inclination will be less felt in the particular species of history which he undertook than in any other, because the interest which religionists of every denomination feel in the annals of their party arises chiefly from the talents and virtues of those by whom their communion has been adorned. The memory of Baxter, Watts, and Doddridge is cherished by multitudes, who are very little able to appreciate the influence which the existence of a body of Dissenters has had on the political history and moral character of their country, or to speculate on those laws of our nature which are exemplified in the fluctuations of religious opinions. It was the author's design, (as he announced in his preface,) had his life been prolonged, to have continued his details in a second volume to the accession of his present Majesty: but his death prevented the fulfilment of that object; and we regret to find that he has left no materials from which his projected plan may be completed, indeed scarcely any that can lessen the labour of the person who may take up the history of the Dissenters where he has left it. It was probably the desire to discharge some part of his engagement

ment with the public, while he could effect it, that induced him to extend this volume no farther than the end of William's reign, leaving those of Anne and George I. and II. for the next: but the actual division is unfortunate, because the accession of the Brunswick family was the next natural epoch after the Revolution; and a compression of some of the redundancies of this volume would have made room for the reign of Queen Anne. As far as we can judge, however, of a work grounded in a considerable degree on original documents, it is drawn up with great care and accuracy, certainly with great liberality and fairness. If we trace in any thing the influence of the author's prepossessions, it is in the disproportionate space allotted to the Baptists, whose history occupies 83 pages, while that of the Presbyterians and Independents together is dispatched in 23. He seems also not to have fixed very accurately in his mind the line of distinction between a History of the Dissenters and a general Ecclesiastical History of England: for the controversy respecting the Rights of Convocations, to which nearly 40 pages are allotted, belongs only incidentally to the former. His style is perspicuous and unpretending, but occasionally tinctured with quaintnesses which recall the manner of Tillotson and Burnet.

Chapter I. relates to the general, or, as it might have been more correctly called, the *external* history of the Dissenters. We pass over the narrative of the well-known proceedings respecting the Act of Toleration, and the author's reflections on the imperfect liberality which it manifested, in leaving several classes of religionists exposed to the pains and penalties from which it liberated others. The next important event was the attempt made to re-unite the Dissenters to the church, by a scheme of comprehension. The administration, then feeling the importance of preserving the Protestants united in order to form a strong counterpoise to the Papists, was very desirous that such reforms should be made in the discipline, ritual, and liturgy of the church, as might enable Dissenters conscientiously to join in them; and the higher orders of the clergy, many of whom owed their appointments to the new government, and who are always most immediately under ministerial influence, entered readily into the scheme. It was intended that the ceremonies, to which the Dissenters objected, should either be withdrawn or left optional; and that all which was popish or antiquated in the sentiments and phraseology of the service-book should be altered, and its deficiencies supplied. A singular course was to be adopted with respect to the Athanasian creed; its damnatory clauses being disliked by some, it might be changed for that of the Apostles: but, lest the

the disuse should bring a suspicion of Socinianism, a softened form of it was composed, in which it was declared that the denounced curses were not to be restrained to every particular article, but were intended against those who deny the Christian religion in general. The hopes of accomplishing these measures, however, many of which were of evident propriety in themselves, independently of the object of conciliating those who could not conform till they were made, were soon dissipated. The church was said to be in danger; the Universities took alarm, and began to protest against the plan and to accuse its promoters; while the Jacobites made a handle of it to render the government unpopular. The members of the Convocation, before whom it was to be laid, shewed what spirit animated them by rejecting Tillotson and chusing Dr. Jane as their prolocutor; and it speedily appeared that a great majority of them had come determined to reject every measure of reform: so that it was deemed prudent to prorogue them after they had been sitting about ten days. The following reflections of Dr. T. on the failure of this scheme are very judicious:

‘ Thus terminated the seventh attempt to reform the Church of England, by consulting the scruples and objections of those who were dissatisfied with many things in its services. The first was the Hampton-Court conference, in the reign of James I. Bishop Usher’s scheme for the reduction of episcopacy was a second measure of this kind, in the time of Charles I. After the restoration of Charles II., proposals for a comprehension were four times brought forward. This under William III. was the seventh. Ever since, the affair has laid dormant. These designs have always proceeded on a principle not to be admitted by one who understands the rights of conscience and the nature of Christian liberty; this principle is the doctrine of *imposition*. Had these attempts been successful, they could have had a temporary effect only: for as the Scriptures are more critically and judiciously studied; as the minds of men by improvements in science and knowledge are expanded; as free enquiry investigates and discovers existing corruptions in the profession of Christianity; and as human creeds and established forms of religion are examined by sound reason, and brought to the sacred standard of Divine Revelation; new grounds of dissatisfaction with the received forms and credenda have arisen; new reasons of dissent have presented themselves to a reflecting mind; and errors in faith and worship, which had lain concealed for ages, or had been under the sanction of time received and tenaciously retained as undisputed truths, have come to light. This has been the fact; and experience shews, that as the human mind exerts its powers in free, impartial enquiry, and becomes enlightened, it gains vigour and resolution to avow its convictions, and to act up to them. The alterations which would satisfy the limited views of one age, do by no means come up to the more discerning penetration

tration and the more enlarged ideas of a subsequent period. When the matter is considered in this light, we have less reason to regret that these past attempts to conciliate and unite the different religious parties proved abortive. We may, however, with pleasure reflect that they were not wholly in vain. They awakened attention; they cast light on the questions discussed; they discovered characters; they exercised candour; in some instances called forth a spirit of liberality; and united some worthy persons in mutual good opinion and in friendship, whom they failed to bring under the bonds of the same outward profession. The memorials of these attempts, be it added, constitute no unprofitable documents of instruction and admonition to future times. The records of the proceedings, on these attempts, remain not only to furnish information concerning the state of opinions and parties in past ages, but to afford rules of conduct on future occasions, and to give a sanction to new measures of reforming and uniting the different religious parties, and of simplifying and purifying their creeds and rituals. This has in reality been the eventual effect of King William's commission, at the distance of nearly 100 years. The Episcopal Church of America, at a convention of its members from the states of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, holden at Philadelphia from Sept. 27th to Oct. 7th, 1785, in a revival of the English liturgy, adopted the alterations of the Book of Common Prayer, which had been proposed by the commissioners under King William in 1689.* Though the immediate purpose of the royal commission miscarried, the effort has not been lost.

As to England; "here," in the failure of the commission, "hath *Terminus*," as the author of "the Confessional" expresses it, "fixed his pedestal; and here hath he kept his station for two whole centuries. We are just where the Act of Uniformity left us, and where, for aught that appears in the temper of the times, the last trumpet will find us."

A curious account is given (p. 90, &c.) of the explanations tendered by the Dissenting ministers, with Mr. Baxter at their head, when required to subscribe the doctrinal articles of the Church of England, agreeably to the original condition of the Toleration-Act; and some of these explanations of the sense in which they subscribed them are nothing else than denials of the doctrine which the articles contained. Thus, on the 18th, he declares that, if he dared to curse all the world who now believe no more than the antient Jews and the Apostles did, before they understood the design of Christ's mission, yet he dared not curse all Christians who hope better of them. The church, however, dares to do this; since the article in question expressly pronounces "them to be accursed that presume to say that every man shall be saved by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his

* Brewster's Secular Essays, p. 298.

life according to that law." Had the Toleration-Act been extorted from an unwilling government, instead of being granted, by one which would gladly have gone farther, the whole benefit of it might have been withholden from the majority of the Presbyterian ministers, on the ground of non-compliance with its requisitions.

Chap. II. relates the controversies agitated in the period between the Revolution and the death of King William. The most curious of these, though comparatively little connected with Dissenting history, was that which was occasioned by the explanation of the doctrine of the Trinity propounded by Dr. John Wallis, that the blessed Trinity consisted of three *somewhats* commonly called persons, but in a sense different from that in which we apply the term to human beings. Dr. Sherlock, in his zeal to avoid the Sabelianism of this explanation, gave one of his own which was downright Tritheism, and his doctrine was condemned by the University of Oxford as "false, impious, and heretical, disagreeing with and contrary to the doctrine of the Catholic church, and especially to the doctrine of the Church of England publicly received." The primate Tension, therefore, scandalized at the unchristian spirit in which the combatants indulged themselves, and alarmed at the consequences which might result from a disclosure of the fact that even the heads of the church were not agreed in what sense to understand a doctrine which she commands all men to receive on pain of damnation, shut up the arena, by a proclamation forbidding preachers to deliver any other doctrine concerning the Trinity than that which is contained in the Scriptures, and is agreeable to the creeds and articles, or to use any new terms or explications of it. At the same time, silence was enjoined on those persons, not of the clerical body, who had presumed to write on this subject; and the clergy were ordered to use their legal authority to repress and restrain such exorbitant practices. On this measure, Dr. Toulmin remarks:

'No decree of a council, no bull of a pope, could be more decidedly marked by claims to authority over conscience, and to infallibility of judgment in the enactors of either, than were these royal injunctions drawn up by an episcopal pen. The royal personage from whose court they were given, and the prelate whose spirit dictated them, though credit should be given to the purity of their motives, forgot that they were Protestants. The only part of these injunctions that could possibly answer a valuable end, and that properly fell within the province of the civil magistrate, was the order to abstain from bitter invectives and scurrilous language.

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The other directions tended only to overbear the judgments of men, to suppress conviction, and to restrain enquiry.

The dispute about Justification was more of a civil war among the Dissenters, and is important as widening those differences between the two great denominations which their leaders had taken some pains to close. Heads of agreement had been drawn up between the Presbyterian and the Congregational churches, to prevent their minor differences in discipline from leading to an unseemly schism. The first article of this treaty defines the Catholic church to consist of the whole multitude of visible believers and their infant-seed; and Dr. Toulmin, remarking on it, (p. 101.) complains that the definition 'consists of contradictory ideas; the ideas of knowledge and conviction implied in the term *believers*; and the ideas of ignorance and compulsion necessarily connected with a state of infancy.' Had infants been included among believers, the criticism would have been just, but we certainly perceive no *contradiction* in comprehending infants and believers under the general name of the church; and the historian's zeal for the honour of the Baptists has here taken fire rather too readily. These articles were never universally adopted; some of the Independents, in particular, not only refused to accede to them, but endeavoured to draw off those who had expressed their assent; and an open rupture would have taken place much about the same time as that at which it did happen, even if the accidental cause of the controversy on justification had not intervened. — This dispute descended from the Church among the Dissenters. It had been excited by the *Harmonia Apostolica* of Bull; whose endeavours to vindicate the necessity of works against the intemperate language of Luther and Calvin had subjected him to the charge of a leaning to popery, and to a number of virulent attacks from the members of his own and other communions: but, while the controversy, with whatever asperity it was carried on, was in the Establishment only a war of authors, it became among the Dissenters a war of churches. The republication of the works of Dr. Crisp, about 1690, which the Assembly of Divines at Westminster had ordered to be burnt for their Antinomian tendency, threw the whole Dissenting body into a state of the bitterest hostility; and the lower classes, leaning as usual to that which was most extravagant, stigmatized every minister as a legalist who laid a stress in his sermons on the necessity of good works. In vain did Dr. Daniel Williams, to whom the Dissenters owe such great obligations, fully and learnedly refute the Antinomian doctrines of Crisp; in vain did candid and pacific men propose plans of reconciliation; the

the breach continually widened; a new lecture at Salter's Hall was set up by the moderate party, to which the Presbyterians generally adhered; and from this time they and the Independents, who embraced the highest Calvinistic doctrines, may be considered as being quite as much in opposition to one another as both were to the Established Church. It is curious, indeed, to observe how the subsequent history and fortunes of each of these bodies have been determined by the characteristic differences of their original constitution. The moderate aristocracy of Presbyterianism (as long as Presbyterianism could be said to have any form of government) enabled its ministers to follow their own inclinations with regard to the manner of conducting public worship and the strain of preaching; while the jealous democracy of Independence kept the minister constantly under the eye and the controul of his people, and punished the first appearance of deviation, though merely negative, from the standard of orthodoxy. The Presbyterian ministers became men of polished manners, partook largely of the biblical knowlege and the elegant and scientific literature of the age, dropped in every generation something of the orthodoxy of their forefathers, and, while their flocks gradually diminished, contented themselves with being the rational instructors of the few rather than the idols of the multitude. Of late, they seem to have discovered that as a religious community they must speedily become extinct by adhering to this plan: new controversies have sprung up among them; and though, with a new principle of cohesion and repulsion, they may still maintain themselves as a distinct body, the history of Presbyterianism, as a sect deducing itself from the time of the great separation from the Establishment in 1662, must be considered as very nearly closed.

In the remaining chapters of Dr. Toulmin's work, he treats of the Academical Institutions of the Dissenters, of the internal history of the several denominations, (including the Quakers,) their charitable foundations, their theological writings, and the biography of some of their most eminent men. We have before observed that he has not separated, as he might have done, that which belongs exclusively to the Dissenters from that which forms a part of the general history of the times: but, under some of the heads just enumerated, considerable information is communicated that was derived from personal knowlege or private documents. The following extract from the life of Mr. Cotton will be read with interest. He had been on the Continent at the time of the revocation of the edict of Nantes.

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‘ The last religious assembly on a lecture-day at Saumure, Mr. Cotton could never recollect without lively emotions: the congregation all in tears, the singing of the last psalm, the pronouncing of the blessing, and afterwards all the people passing before their ministers to receive their benedictions, were circumstances he wanted words to describe. The ministers and professors were banished; and he attended them to the vessel in which they sailed. The affecting sight of the vast assemblage which formed the church at Charenton, and of such numbers devoted to banishment, slavery, and the most barbarous deaths, was a spectacle that overpowered the mind. The stay at Saumure had been very pleasant, and the agreeable acquaintance they had formed in that town invited their continuance in it, till it became a scene of great danger and affliction; especially after an order was issued to require all strangers, particularly the English, to accompany and assist the severe proceedings against the Protestants. When the governor received authoritative directions to see their church demolished, the tearing down of that temple was extremely distressing; the very graves were opened, and the utmost ravages committed. The destruction of it was attended with a remarkable occurrence, which Mr. Cotton recorded as an instance of the contradictory interpretations which the same act of Providence may receive, according to the different principles of those who pass their opinion on it. A person who was ambitious to have his daughter pull down the first stone of the church, had her taken from him a few days after by death. The parent and others of his persuasion looked upon her death as a speedy call to heaven, in reward of so meritorious an act; the persecuted Protestants regarded it as a just and very affecting judgment. On his journey from Poitou, Mr. Cotton was deeply impressed by the agitations of mind and the expressions of an old gentleman who came into an inn nearly at the same instant with him, who stood leaning on his staff, and shaking his head, and weeping, cried out, “ *Unhappy France!* If I and mine were but now entering into some country of refuge and safety, where we might have liberty to worship God according to our consciences, I should think myself the happiest man in the world, though I had only *this staff* in my hand.” This person was found to be the eldest son of a very considerable family, and possessed of a large estate.— Dr. Wright’s Sermon on the death of the Rev. Thomas Cotton, p. 34—36. notes.’

‘ We think that on the whole this volume is not unworthy to take its place in the historical library with the work of Neal; and we lay it down with regret that the publication of it was the last service which its venerable author was permitted to render to the cause of religion.’

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ART. VIII. *Report from the Committee on the State of the Police of the Metropolis.*

[Article concluded from page 311.]

WHEN in our last number we again broke off our view of the contents of this volume, we intimated that our concluding remark was in part founded on matter in evidence which yet remained for our animadversion, and we had it then in contemplation to advert more particularly to the instances to which we alluded. On re-consideration, however, of these portions of the Committee's investigations, we have altered our intention, on account of the direct personality and individuality of the cases in question; and we shall refer to the work itself, and to a due examination of all the testimonies, *pro & con.*, those persons who are inclined to enter into the discussion, and to form a careful judgment on it. Dismissing this head of the report, then, we shall now turn to a more pleasing part of our duty, in noticing the clear and satisfactory evidence of Sir Samuel Romilly; whose benevolent and energetic endeavours to improve the criminal laws of the country must conciliate affection, as much as his liberal views and manly eloquence command respect and applause. His exertions to obtain a repeal of the act of Queen Elizabeth, which punished the crime of privately stealing from the person with death, were at last successful; and the question, which came under the Committee's consideration, was whether that repeal had caused an increase or a diminution of the crime. On this subject, Sir John Silvester, the Recorder, gives his opinion that a 'cause of increase of the number of felonies is owing to the capital part being taken off from the privately stealing from the person;' and he thinks 'that the readiness with which individuals are now induced to prosecute has no tendency to check it, but that the idea is a fallacy.' He, however, immediately afterward acknowledges that 'there are many more prosecutions, certainly;' adding, 'because there are many more offenders;' a fact which he has no means of knowing but from the number of those prosecutions: which surely may as well, and much more probably, be increased by the repeal in question as by the cause which he suggests. Sir Samuel Romilly draws a very different inference; and he does not found its correctness on a mere assertion, but proves it by an able statement of facts:

'Upon examining the returns which have been made to the House of Commons, of the trials and convictions of prisoners at the Old Bailey, I find that a much larger proportion of persons charged with picking pockets have been convicted since the capital

tal punishment was taken away, and that their sentences have been much more severe than they were before, and consequently that both the certainty and the severity of the punishment have, since this alteration has taken place, been very greatly increased. If it should appear that, soon after the alteration of the law, the crime of picking pockets had increased considerably, it would not necessarily follow that that alteration was the cause of the increase. Offenders of this description were very rapidly increasing in number before the alteration took place; and the subsequent increase, if there has been any, may fairly be ascribed to those causes, whatever they were, which operated before the capital punishment was abolished.

He then states the gradual increase of indictments for this offence from the year 1805, when the returns were first made, to the 30th of June 1808, when the act in question was passed, which are from 23 in the former to 62 in the latter year. It appears also that the general criminals have greatly increased in the same period; so that 'the same causes which have produced the increase of other larcenies must have operated with respect to the crime of stealing from the person.' This is yet farther proved by the fact that the crime of privately stealing in a shop to the value of five shillings, which still remains punishable with death, 'has gone on increasing in a regular progression during the last nine years, till the number tried in the last of those years is three times as many as were tried in the first of them.'

'If therefore the crime of picking pockets had increased since the law was altered, it would not follow that that increase was the effect of the alteration.' But I entertain great doubt whether there has been in fact any increase of the crime within the period, during which it can be imagined that the alteration of the law operated. The mode in which it has been attempted to prove the fact, is by showing that there have been a greater number of prosecutions for the offence since, than there was before the capital offence was abolished. An increase however of prosecutions does not of itself prove an increase of crimes. One of the strongest grounds relied on by those who proposed the abolition of the capital punishment was, that the extraordinary severity of the law prevented persons, whose property was stolen, from prosecuting; and it was insisted that when the punishment of death was taken away, that unwillingness to prosecute would be removed, and consequently prosecutions would multiply. It appears somewhat a strange mode of proving that any measure has failed of success, to show that it has produced the very effects which were expected from it. If of 100 offences committed before the repeal, only 10 were the subject of prosecution, an increase of the crime would not be proved by showing that prosecutions have increased from 10 to 90.

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It seems, however, that the offence was altered by the new act as well as the punishment, and was enlarged into an offence 'which was intended to comprehend a much greater number of cases, namely, that of stealing from the person whether privately or not.'

Nothing therefore can be more calculated to deceive, than to compare the number of persons indicted since the Act of 1808, for stealing from the person, with those indicted before the passing of that Act, for stealing *privately* from the person. They are quite different offences. I have had a table extracted from the returns before mentioned, which I will also produce; and from this it will be seen, that in the half year which elapsed immediately after the Act passed, only 28 persons were indicted for the new offence of stealing from the person, fewer than in the preceding half year had been indicted for stealing *privately* from the person. In the two next years, when, if ever, it should seem that this alteration in the law would have its greatest operation, (that being the time when the supposed benefit to offenders, of having the sentence of transportation for life, which would be often executed, substituted in the place of a sentence for death, which never was executed, would make the strongest impression on their minds,) it appears that the whole number of persons indicted for stealing from the person was in one of them 99, and in the other only 98. In the following years, indeed, these indictments have greatly increased; in 1811, they were 151; in 1812, 149; in 1813, 189; and in 1814, (which is the last year for which any return has been made,) 191. I have already observed, that this increase I ascribe to the same causes, whatever they are, which have of late years occasioned crimes to be so greatly multiplied in the metropolis. To judge of the probability of the offence having increased in consequence of the alteration of the law, it would be necessary to ascertain whether, since the alteration had taken place, the offence has not met with more or less impunity than it did before. Now we find, that of 126 persons, the whole number indicted for stealing *privately* from the person in 1805, 1806, 1807, and 1808, the bills were thrown out by the grand jury as to 49, and consequently only 77 were tried, and of these only 6 were convicted of the aggravated offence charged in the indictment; 35 were convicted of simple larceny, and 36 were acquitted. In 1809, the first year after the law was altered, 99 persons were indicted for larceny from the person; as to 34 of these, the bills were thrown out by the grand jury, and, consequently, 65 were tried; and of these, no fewer than 43 were convicted of the whole aggravated crime charged in the indictment; of only 1 was the offence reduced to simple larceny, and only 21 were acquitted. In the next year, 1810, the number of persons indicted at the Old Bailey for larceny from the person, was 98; the bills thrown out were 33; consequently 65 were tried. Of these, 40 were convicted of the whole charge in the indictment, 1 of simple larceny, and 24 were acquitted. In 1811, there were indicted at the Old Bailey for this offence,

offence, 151 persons, of whom 103 were tried, and of these 58 were convicted; of only 2 the offence was reduced to simple larceny, and 43 were acquitted. The alteration which thus took place in the administration of the law, recently after the law had been altered, appears to be very striking, and was not, it should seem, much calculated to encourage men to commit the crime. Before the law was altered, only 6 out of 77 persons, that is about one-thirteenth of the whole number tried, were found guilty of the whole crime of which they were accused; but after the law was altered, nearly two-thirds were convicted of the crime they stood charged with. In one year, out of 65 tried, 45 were convicted; in the next, out of 65, forty were convicted. It ought, however, to be observed, that of the 77 persons tried in the three years and a half immediately preceding the repeal of the Act of Elizabeth, although only 6 were capitally convicted, yet of the rest, 35 were convicted of simple larceny, and 36 were acquitted: but from hence it appears that only about half the number tried suffered any punishment, and near half enjoyed complete impunity: whereas after the law had been altered, two-thirds were punished, and only one-third escaped all punishment.

Sir S. R. then proceeds to shew that 'the punishment has been much more severe than could before be inflicted,' and to make the following observation; that 'this great diminution of the chance of escape and this great increase in the severity of the punishment have really operated to allure men to the commission of the crime, it is surely impossible for any one to believe.' We agree with this learned gentleman in his conclusion; and we are not without hopes that the prejudice, which has been raised against his endeavours, will soon, under the influence of the effects which his exertions have already produced, be entirely worn away: while those in power, whose support is necessary to carry into effect his liberal views, will see and acknowledge that his suggestions have nothing of the violence of party-spirit, but are founded in correct views of human nature and general policy.

We have now room for only a few detached observations. — Notwithstanding the great accommodation which Sir Nathaniel Conant sees in the business of a Pawn-Broker 'to the poorer classes of people,' by enabling 'a woman to pawn her garments, and with the produce to go to Billingsgate and buy mackarel, and afterwards fruit, and by the sale to keep her family for three days,' we cannot refrain from the consideration that the shops of Pawn-Brokers may be made little better than receptacles for stolen goods; and, if they are to be tolerated, they should be put under most rigid regulations.

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With regard to the Parish-Watchmen, it is obvious that they should be chosen from a more efficient class of men; and their conduct towards the women of the town should be more narrowly inspected. The increase, in late years, of these miserable objects has been most extraordinary, and the subject would of itself be a very proper branch of inquiry: but, though we cannot fail to commiserate their situation, we must not forget that the perpetual view of vice will materially diminish the disgust which at first it excited, although in saying this we seem to differ from the sentiment of Pope, that

“Vice, to be hated, needs but to be seen.”

The dangerous allurements by which the young and unwary are led astray, and the temptations which are thrown in the way even of the more experienced in an unprepared moment, when neither the one nor the other would be guilty if the opportunity did not incite them, sufficiently establish our position.

A most material and (in our opinion) a most efficient improvement is suggested by Mr. Baker, of the Marlborough-Street office. He recommends that two days in every week should be appropriated at the Old Bailey for the trial, before the Recorder and Common Serjeant, of all offences, except murder, forgery, and some others, which should be left to be tried as at present by the Judges. By the adoption of this mode, the public, the prosecutors, the witnesses, and the juries, would be much benefited; and as to this respectable magistrate's other proposition, that the sentences should be carried into execution sooner than they are, it seems highly probable that by such a measure the number of criminals would be much lessened.

The vast increase of juvenile offenders is universally allowed in the course of this inquiry. Might not a very rigid establishment be formed, (which is indeed suggested by Mr. Evance,) in which these children might be placed when they had been once convicted; and, thus becoming children of the country, and undergoing a system of strict discipline and plain education, be gradually weaned from their vicious habits: after which, they might be placed in regiments, or apprenticed to trades, and be rendered good and useful members of society?

The idea of a public prosecutor certainly has its recommendations: but so many restraints ought to be laid on him, in order to prevent the possibility of his being made a public nuisance, that we do not wish to see him hastily appointed. The new office which is proposed by Mr. Fielding, also, viz. that of a superintendant-constable, with pay, between the high

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and petty constable, in each parish, deserves consideration. — We observe that the Committee have not yet entered into any inquiry as to the system of swindling which is carried on so universally throughout the country, and of which the metropolis is the vortex: but we are convinced that, if they would devote a very small portion of their time to that subject, they would find not only great room, but great necessity, for amendment in the laws relating to it.

We must now draw this extended article to a close; though we should wish to touch on several other points, were not the space so large that we have already occupied in the discussion of subjects which we have considered as of most importance. Various improvements in the police are recommended in the course of the *Report*; and the hypothesis of each witness is perhaps liable to some objection: but we are glad to see that the Committee encourage the suggestions of those who come before them, because, not being influenced by the individual feelings of the recommenders, they may propose to the legislature a system compounded from the experience of all; thus rendering effectual those of our present laws of which the spirit has been almost forgotten, and giving effect to new regulations which may counteract the evils of the actual establishment.

Since we wrote the above, we have seen another edition of this *Report*, published by Sherwood and Co.; which has the advantage of some sensible observations added to the evidence delivered by each of the witnesses who were examined, as well as an Index of the principal matters contained in that evidence.

ART. IX. *Letters written on board His Majesty's Ship the Northumberland, and at St. Helena; in which the Conduct and Conversations of Napoleon Buonaparte, and his Suite, during the Voyage, and the first Months of his Residence in that Island, are faithfully described and related.* By William Warden, Surgeon on board the Northumberland. 8vo. pp. 220. With Three Plates. 10s. 6d. Boards. Ackermann. 1816.

No person can doubt the attraction that must attend a publication, which professes to give the results of much free and unrestrained intercourse with such a character as Napoleon Bonaparte: but a previous and very important question will be asked, *Is it authentic?* and the most perfect satisfaction should be obtained on this point, before any argument is built or judgment formed on its details. The singular circumstances, under which that extraordinary personage

sonage closed his political career, in the year 1815, would naturally lead to many opportunities of such an intercourse with him as we have mentioned, on the part of our countrymen who received him on board of our ships, and who accompanied him to St. Helena; and it might equally be expected that the public would benefit, from one quarter or another, by the information thus gained. What may be the nature and the value of the *State-Report* which is said to have been made to our Government on this occasion, and to the King of France, we know not, with any certainty and particularity: but, in the volume before us, we have the narrative of one who filled the situation of a gentleman in the ship which conveyed the Ex-Emperor to his scene of banishment, who seems to have had more than common access to the object of curiosity, who pledges his own character for the accuracy of his statements, whose modest yet firm preface engages us to confide in his pledge, and with whom it appears to us much more probable that Napoleon would converse freely than with any of the *higher powers* under whom he was now placed.

Were not such the circumstances of the present publication, we should be disposed to look with some surprize, and some suspicion, at the detail which it conveys: but, as such *are* the circumstances, we do not see how we can view it with any doubt; and, if we do not feel doubt, we must receive it with much interest, and consider it as of much value, both as gratifying curiosity respecting a distinguished individual, and as furnishing materials towards the history of a most eventful period. — This, however, is not the only previous consideration. We may presume Mr. Warden to have spoken the truth, but he was only one of the interlocutors; and of the other and more important parties in the conversations, that is, Napoleon and his followers, it may be asked, *Have he and they spoken the truth?* It is not for us to resolve this inquiry: but we may not forget that men in high situations feel the necessity, which often grows into habit, of maintaining an artificial character and uncommon reserve; and that Napoleon has ever played an artificial part we have heard from no common or questionable source. Circumstanced, indeed, as he was on board the Northumberland and at St. Helena, he must have felt, "*Othello's occupation's gone;*" and his communications appear to be unpremeditated and undisguised: yet still it may be observed that, respecting material points of fact, he would never be off his guard; and that he might even reckon on the future publicity of his dialogues with Mr. Warden, and would sustain his share in them accordingly. This idea is corroborated when the author says

that 'he continually desired to know whether I perfectly comprehended his meaning, as that was *his most earnest wish*,' (P. 143.) As to his followers, Mr. W. expressly remarks; 'Whenever an opportunity offered, the zealous attendants of Napoleon never failed to represent him in a manner, that might lessen any unfavourable impressions, which they supposed the English entertained respecting him, whether personal or political.' Again, (p. 143.) he says, 'they were always on tip-toe to be his apologists.'

Placing the *pour* and the *contre* thus before our readers, we shall leave the case with them, and introduce them to a view of some parts of a picture which cannot fail to engage the eye, whatever be its impression on the mind. Incidents that happened in presence of the writer, and traits of character or expressions of opinion that speak for themselves, may be contemplated with the less reservation of credence; and of these we shall first make a selection, and then attend to some material political events.

The inquisitiveness of Napoleon is said by Mr. Warden, as it has been represented by others, to be insatiable; and among the various objects of his interrogatories, it is curious (as Mr. W. observes) to find him questioning the Chaplain of the Northumberland respecting the forms, ceremonies, and tenets of the Church of England, and that of Scotland. The religious observances of a Sunday also led him into a conversation with his own attendants on the subject of religion: 'when we were generally informed,' says the author, 'that their Chief had thought proper, after dinner, to speak on the subject of religious faith: his opinions it was not deemed necessary to communicate any farther, than that they were generally of the most liberal and tolerating character. — One circumstance, however, it was thought proper to assert, as from his own instant authority — That his profession of the faith of Mahomet, and avowed devotion to the Crescent in Egypt, was a mere act of policy to serve the purpose of the moment. — This fact appeared to be asserted with particular energy from the knowledge possessed by the party communicating it, of the abhorrence which Buonaparte's having declared himself a Mussulman excited in England. This account is not very definite, nor is the apology very satisfactory: though, if local and temporary circumstances could excuse the hypocrisy, the plea might be admissible here. His remark on Mr. Warden's cure of General Gourgond, *malgré lui*, must be viewed only as a pleasantry: "Well, you Doctors have performed wonders with Gourgond: if, however, there had been a priest on the island, he would have discharged

charged you both, and trusted alone to his treatment: but fortunately for him, such a thing as a Confessor was not to be found." — The subject of suicide is essentially associated with that of religion: but in this connection we derive no new information on the latter topic, from the way in which we are told of Bonaparte's allusions to the idea that he ought not to have survived his political downfall.

'The prevalence of such an opinion reached the ear of the object of it, who calmly replied, — "No, no, I have not enough of the Roman in me to destroy myself." —

'He reasoned for some time with no common ingenuity on the unexpected topic, and concluded with this decisive opinion: — "Suicide is a crime the most revolting to my feelings; nor does any reason present itself to my understanding by which it can be justified. It certainly originates in that species of fear which we denominate cowardice. (*Poltronerie.*) For what claim can that man have to courage who trembles at the frowns of fortune. — True heroism consists in becoming superior to the ills of life, in whatever shape they may challenge him to the combat."

He might, perhaps have been 'enough of a Roman' to quote the Roman Bard,

"*Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.*"

After having been some time at St. Helena, he one day spoke farther on this subject, as follows:

"With respect to the English language, I have been very diligent: I now read your news-papers with ease; and must own, that they afford me no inconsiderable amusement. They are occasionally inconsistent, and sometimes abusive. — In one paper I am called a *Lear*, in another a *Tyrant*, in a third a *Monster*, and, in one of them, which I really did not expect, I am described as a *Coward*; but it turned out, after all, that the writer did not accuse me of avoiding danger in the field of battle, or flying from an enemy, or fearing to look at the menaces of fate and fortune: it did not charge me with wanting presence of mind in the hurry of battle, and in the suspense of conflicting armies. — No such thing; I wanted courage it seems, because I did not coolly take a dose of poison, or throw myself into the sea, or blow out my brains. — The editor most certainly misunderstands me, I have, at least, too much courage for that. — Your papers are influenced by party principles: what one praises the other will abuse; and so vice versâ. They who live in the metropolis, where they are published, can judge of passing events and transactions for themselves; but persons living at a distance from the capital, and particularly foreigners, must be at a loss to determine upon the real state of things, and the characters of public men, from the perusal of your journals."

It may be supposed that, if Napoleon catechized the Chaplain, he would also examine the Surgeon on his professional

opinions and conduct. We find him, consequently, asking about the health of the crew; deprecating the free use of the lancet which had been found necessary in many cases, and then acknowledging his proselytism to that practice; afterward opposing the use of mercury, and then submitting to the reasons given in favour of that powerful remedy; and inquiring generally into the state of medicine and surgery in England. Referring to the Plague, he said:

“The army of Egypt suffered much by it; and I had some difficulty in supporting the spirits of many of those who remained free from it. Yet for two years I contrived to keep my soldiers ignorant of what I myself knew. The disease can only be communicated through the organs of respiration.” — I replied, “that I had understood actual contact would convey it.” — No,” he said: “I visited the hospital constantly, and touched the bodies of the sick to give confidence to their attendants; being convinced, by observation, that the disease could only be communicated by the lungs. At the same time I always took the precaution of visiting after a meal and a few glasses of wine; placing myself on the side of the infected person from which the wind blew.”

This statement may serve to authenticate and to explain the representation that has been boastfully made of Bonaparte's magnanimity in visiting his soldiers while dying of the plague, which was (we believe) rendered the subject of a grand picture.

From reporting the Ex-Emperor's opinions on medical topics, it may be curious to turn to the particulars respecting his own health and temperament, especially as many absurd stories have at times been circulated among us on this subject:

‘He declares that he has been but twice, throughout his life, in such a state as to demand medical aid. He took a dose of physic for the first complaint; and the second, being a pulmonic affection, required a blister. Mr. O'Meara, his own surgeon, speaks with admiration of his temperament, and says, that his pulse never exceeds sixty-two. His own spontaneous account of himself is, that he is very passionate; but that the violence of his disposition soon subsides, not only into tranquillity, but into coldness and indifference.’ —

‘The conversation afforded me, as I thought, rather a fair opportunity of asking him, if his sleep was generally sound; I felt at the time, that it was an adventurous question; nor would it have surprized me, if he had turned away without giving me an answer; but, with a look more expressive of sorrow than displeasure, he replied, “No: — from my cradle, I have been an indifferent sleeper.”’

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"I certainly enjoy," he said, "a very good state of health, which I attribute to a rigorous observance of regimen. My appetite is such that I feel as if I could eat at any time of the day; but I am regular in my meals; and always leave off eating with an appetite: besides, I never, as you know, drink strong wines." — "My rides" (at St. Helena) "indeed, are too confined; but the being accompanied by an officer is so very disagreeable to me that I must be content to suffer the consequences of abridging them. However, I feel no inconvenience from the want of exercise. Man can accustom himself to privations. — At one period of my life I was many hours on horseback every day, for six years; and I was once eighteen months without passing from the house." — "My health has been very good. When the Italian army was encamped in the vicinity of swamps, many suffered by fever, while I had not any complaint: as I observed temperance and a generally abstemious ballancing between my appetite and the powers of my digestive organs. I had, at the same time, exercise sufficient, both of the body and the mind." — "It was reported, however, that you were very ill on your return from Egypt." — "I was very thin; and at that time subject to a bad cough. For my recovery I was indebted to Dr. Corvisart, who blistered me twice on the chest." "Report also said, that you were then subject also to an eruption at least on the skin.—Your friend Goldsmid says so." — "Yes," he answered, "I will tell you." — Never shall I forget the pleasant manner in which he related this anecdote.

"At the siege of Toulon, I commanded a small battery of *two guns*. One of your boats approached close to the shore, and firing their gun killed two cannoneers by my side. I seized a ram-rod when it fell from the dead soldier's warm hand. The man, as it happened, was diseased; and I found myself in a very few days suffering under an inveterate *Itch*. I had recourse to baths for a cure, and at that time succeeded. Five years after I had a return of the same complaint with increased violence, and I presume it had lurked in my blood during the whole interval. Of that I was shortly cured, and have never had any return."

We have often heard of Bonaparte's disposition to jocularity and *manual witticisms*; and he afforded, it seems, instances of the latter tendency while in the Northumberland, and of the former, with more amiable intentions, at St. Helena:

Captain Beatty of the Marines had served with Sir Sidney Smith in the East, and was at the siege of Acre; an event that is not among Buonaparte's most pleasing recollections. When, however, he was informed of this circumstance, he treated it with great good humour, and seizing the Captain by the ear, exclaimed in a jocular tone, "Ah, you rogue, you rogue; were you there?" —

Observing that there was a vacant seat in the carriage, he hailed me to come in and take a ride with them; and I declare, if it had been a party in a jaunting car to a country fair in Ireland, there would not have been more mirth, ease, and affability.

The carriage drove off at a pretty round pace, and the pleasantry of Napoleon seemed to keep pace with it. He began to talk

talk English; and having thrown his arm half round Madame Bertrand's neck, he exclaimed, addressing himself to me, "This is my mistress! O not mistress—yes, yes, this is my mistress;" while the lady was endeavouring to extricate herself, and the Count her husband bursting with laughter. He then asked if he had made a mistake, and being informed of the English interpretation of the word, he cried out, "O, no, no—I say, My friend, my love; no, not love; My friend, my friend." The fact was, that Madame Bertrand had been indisposed for several days, and he wished to rally her spirits, as well as to give an unreserved ease to the conversation. In short, to use a well-known English phrase—He was the life of the party.

His impetuosity of temper was not denied by his attendants; but they asserted that he frequently and even habitually corrected it; of which Las Casas gave more than one instance. The Emperor, he said, had a confidential secretary of extraordinarily even temper, who happened once to mistake an expression in dictation, and was dismissed from the room with severe displeasure:

"The next morning the Emperor sent for his secretary; and when the latter entered the saloon with his usual placid and undisturbed countenance, the Emperor, with rather an angry look, demanded of him if he had slept the preceding night? and on being informed that he had enjoyed his usual hours of comfortable repose, this reply was given:—'Then you have been more fortunate than me; so take your pen;' and a decree for a very liberal pension to the secretary was instantly dictated."

As traits also of his disposition, we may record a few other anecdotes.—Madame Bertrand declared to the author that, on the death of Marshal Duroc, his grief was 'perfectly romantic; and she stated as a fact, that he lay, for it is not to be supposed that he slept, a whole night on the stone which covered the grave of his friend.'—When Mr. Warden related to him that Ney had been shot, and stated the circumstances of his trial, one solitary expression broke from him; "*Marshal Ney was a brave man.*"

Going once to visit Napoleon at his first and temporary residence on St. Helena, the author says;

'At the angle formed by two paths, I met him clattering down from the rocks in his heavy military boots. He accosted me with an apparent mixture of satisfaction and surprise; and reproached me in terms of great civility for my long absence. There was a rough deal board placed as a seat between two stones, on which, after having brushed away the dust with his hand, he sat himself down, and desired me to take my place by him.—Las Cases soon joined us, for in scrambling through these rocky paths, his master, badly as he walks, had got the start of him. On all sides of the spot

where we were seated, rocks were piled on rocks to the height of a thousand feet above our heads, while there was an abyss of equal depth at our feet. Nature seems in a sportive mood to have afforded this level space for a semi-aerial dwelling; and while I was gazing with some astonishment on the barren wonders of the scene around me — “Well,” said Napoleon, with a smile, “what say you to it? — and can you think that your countrymen have treated me kindly?” — I had but one answer to such a question; and that was, by not giving any answer at all.’

Sir Hudson Low, governor of St. Helena, invited his prisoner to dinner, to meet the Countess of Loudon, who had touched there on her passage to England: but it happened to be the *first* invitation; and it was suspected to be given with the view of gratifying the Countess, rather than as a mark of particular civility to the person addressed. Imperial pride, therefore, resumed its abdicated seat; and when Marshal Bertrand inquired what answer he should return, he was told to “Say, *the Emperor gave no answer.*”

We would close this slight view of *the Man* by quoting the substance of Bertrand’s conversation with Mr. Warden, given at the end of the volume, if we could make room for it: but we can state only a part. The author having remarked that he wanted the Ex-Emperor to possess certain qualities in common with more ordinary men, and wished the Marshal to say whether he ever discovered ‘the feelings of affection and tenderness, the capacity to be a kind husband and a fond parent,’ Bertrand answered:

“That I can most assuredly do. He is not without a heart, in your sense of the expression. But he does not, cannot, will not make a parade of it. *Is it possible that you should expect any thing of a frivolous, or trifling appearance from him; and, in a character like his, the amiable playfulness of private domestic life might have such a semblance:* besides, the individual feelings of the man must, after all, be lost to those who only view him in the blaze of his public life.”

This representation is scarcely consistent with the anecdotes already stated of his ‘playfulness’ with Capt. Beatty and with Madame Bertrand; or with the Marshal’s effort, in continuation, to prove his susceptibility to love, tenderness, and attachment, by his affectionate and galant conduct towards the Empress Maria Louisa. The Count de las Casas finished the subject by observing, “He never speaks of himself; he never mentions his achievements. Of money he is totally regardless; and he was not known to express a regret for any part of his treasure but the diamond necklace, which he wore constantly in his neckcloth, because it was the gift of his sister, the

the Princess Hortense, whom he tenderly loved." This he lost, after the battle of Waterloo.'

We are also informed, on the authority of M. de las Casas, 'who is the amanuensis of the historian, that Bonaparte is seriously and laboriously engaged in writing the *Annals of his Life*; that the campaigns of Egypt and Italy, and what he styles *My Reign of a Hundred Days*, or some such title, were completed; and that the intermediate periods were in a progressive state.'

If, in thus undertaking his own History, Napoleon acts on a conviction that all its truly wonderful scenes are finally closed, it is deeply to be wished that he will suffer no motive now to prevent him from declaring what he has known, and expressing what he has felt: reflecting that, all his hopes and fears and projects being "given to the winds," he has reached the "*rara temporum felicitas, ubi sentire quæ velis et quæ sentias dicere licet*," which the great Roman historian invoked, with a somewhat different application; and obeying as it deserves, even to the prejudice of his own *glory*, the precept of his great predecessor in arms and on a throne, — "*On doit moins respecter les hommes qui périssent, que LA VÉRITÉ qui ne meurt jamais*." (FREDERIC.) This atonement is due for the miseries which he has inflicted on the world; and the death of (almost) millions, whom he has caused to perish, may be in some measure expiated by such an important contribution to the instruction of millions yet unborn.

We pass now from the character of the individual to the events in which he has borne so conspicuous a part; — and, first, we shall advert to the abdication after the battle of Waterloo and the surrender on board the Bellerophon. Mr. Warden states that, according to the communications made to him, the former event originated in a successful trick of Fouché, who 'is never mentioned by the members of our little cabin Utica without execrations.'

'On Napoleon's return to Paris, after his disastrous defeat at Waterloo, and when he may be supposed to have been agitated by doubt and perplexity, as to the conduct he should pursue in that extraordinary crisis; a letter was offered to his attention by the Duke of Otranto, as having been received by the latter from Prince Metternich the Austrian Minister. It was dated in the *preceding April*, and the diplomatic writer stated the decided object of his Imperial Master, to be the final expulsion of Napoleon the First from the throne of France; and that the French nation should be left to their uninterrupted decision, whether they would have a monarchy under Napoleon the Second, or adopt a Republican form of Government. — Austria professed to have no right, and consequently felt no intention, to dictate to the French nation.

nation. The final and ratified expulsion of the traitor (such was the expression) is all the Austrian Emperor demands of France.

Napoleon seized the bait; and immediately abdicated in favour of his son: but he had no sooner taken this step, than he discovered the double game that Fouché was playing. The letter was a forgery, and it soon appeared that the Emperor of Austria had it not in his power, if he had ever indulged the contemplation, to clothe his grandson with political character.

Of the surrender of Napoleon at Rochefort, the Count de las Casas gave the author this account, with strong assurances of its accuracy:

“ From the time the Emperor quitted the capital, it was his fixed determination to proceed to America, and establish himself on the banks of one of the great rivers in America, where he had no doubt a number of his friends from France would gather round him; and, as he had been finally baffled in the career of his ambition, he determined to retire from the world, and, beneath the branches of his own fig-tree in that sequestered spot, tranquilly and philosophically observe the agitations of Europe.” — On my observing that the good people of Washington might entertain very different notions of his philosophy, and rather contemplate with apprehension such a colony as he would establish; Las Cases replied, “ Oh no; the career of Napoleon’s ambition is terminated.” — He then proceeded.

“ On our arrival at Rochefort, the difficulty of reaching the Land of Promise appeared to be much greater than had been conjectured. Every inquiry was made, and various projects proposed; but, after all, no very practicable scheme offered itself to our acceptance. At length, as a *dernier ressort*, two *chasse-marées*, (small one-masted vessels) were procured; and it was in actual contemplation to attempt a voyage across the Atlantic in them. Sixteen midshipmen engaged most willingly to direct their course; and, during the night, it was thought that they might effect the meditated escape. — We met in a small room, to discuss and come to a final determination on this momentous subject; nor shall I attempt to describe the anxiety visible on the countenances of our small assembly. — The Emperor alone retained an unembarrassed look, when he calmly demanded the opinions of his chosen band of followers, as to his future conduct. The majority were in favour of his returning to the army, as in the South of France his cause still appeared to wear a favourable aspect. — This proposition the Emperor instantly rejected, with a declaration delivered in a most decided tone, and with a peremptory gesture. — That he never would be the instrument of a *Civil War* in France. — He declared, in the words which he had for some time frequently repeated, that his political career was terminated; and he only wished for the secure asylum which he had promised himself in America, and, till that hour, had no doubt of attaining. — The naval project, however, was soon abandoned, and no alternative appeared but to throw ourselves on the generosity of England.”

With

With regard to the long-threatened Invasion of England, the author's information is derived from the declarations of Bonaparte himself.

‘He says, that he had two hundred thousand men on the coast of France opposite to England; and that it was his determination to head them in person. The attempt he acknowledged to be very hazardous, and the issue equally doubtful. His mind, however, was bent on the enterprize, and every possible arrangement was made to give effect to its operations. — It was hinted to him, however, that his Flotilla was altogether insufficient; and that such a ship as the *Northumberland* would run down fifty of them. This he readily admitted: but he stated that his plan was to rid the Channel of English men of war; and for that purpose he had directed *Admiral Villeneuve* with the combined fleets of France and Spain to sail apparently for Martinique, for the express purpose of distracting our naval force, by drawing after him a large portion of, if not all, our best ships. Other squadrons of observation would follow; and England might, by these manœuvres, be left sufficiently defenceless for his purpose*. *Admiral Villeneuve* was directed, on gaining a certain latitude, to take a baffling course back to Europe, and, having eluded the vigilance of *Nelson*, to enter the English Channel. The Flotilla would then have sallied forth from Ostend, Dunkirk, Boulogne, and the adjoining ports. The intention was to have dashed at the capital by the way of Chatham. He well knew, he added, that he should have had to encounter many difficulties; the object, however, was so great as to justify him in making the attempt. But *Villeneuve* was met on his return by *Sir Robert Calder*; and, having suffered a defeat, took refuge in Ferrol. From that harbour he was peremptorily ordered to sea according to his original instructions; but, contrary to their most imperative and explicit intent, he steered his course for Cadiz: “He might as well,” exclaimed Napoleon — raising his voice, and encreasing his impetuosity, “he might as well have gone to the East Indies.” — Two days after *Villeneuve* had quitted his anchorage before Cadiz, a naval officer arrived there to supersede him. The glorious victory of Trafalgar soon followed, and the French admiral died a few days after his arrival in France: report says — by his own hand.’

It seems to follow from this statement, that it was our naval superiority rather than our military preparations which prevented this effort from being made.

The next important topic is the supposed murder of Captain Wright in a French prison. Admitting that this gallant and accomplished officer was really assassinated, we have ever felt the most ardent indignation at his fate, but it has always been mysterious; and even the ample investigation which it has

* We need not remark on the improbability of this occurrence, warned as we were of the intentions of the enemy. *Rev.*

lately

lately undergone, through the laudable friendship of Sir Sidney Smith*, does not seem to have clearly decided the question. Napoleon himself introduced the subject to Mr. Warden, asking whether he remembered it: to which Mr. W. answered, 'Perfectly well; and it is a prevailing opinion in England, that you ordered him to be murdered in the Temple.' — With the utmost rapidity of speech, he replied, "For what object? Of all men he was the person whom I should have most desired to live. Whence could I have procured so valuable an evidence as he would have proved on the trial of the conspirators in and about Paris. The heads of them he himself had landed on the French coast." He then proceeded with a detail of the primary proceedings after Capt. W.'s capture, agreeing chiefly with the facts already known, (see note,) and adding:

"The law of France would have subjected Wright to the punishment of death: but he was of minor consideration. My grand object was to secure the principals, and I considered the English Captain's evidence of the utmost consequence towards completing my object." — *He again and again most solemnly asserted, that Captain Wright died in the Temple by his own hand, as described in the *Moniteur*, and at a much earlier period than has been generally believed.* — At the same time, he stated, that his assertion was founded on documents which he had since examined. The cause of this inquiry arose from the visit, I think he said, of Lord Ebrington to Elba, and he added, "That nobleman appeared to be perfectly satisfied with the account which was given him of this mysterious business."

Mr. Warden afterward observed; 'There are many in England who imagine your jealousy and hatred of Sir Sidney Smith influenced your conduct towards Captain Wright. — He smiled with astonishment at such an idea — the thought of coupling the two names appeared never to have entered his imagination. "Ridiculous nonsense!" was his reply.'

Without accusing Napoleon of intentional mis-statement, we confess that we still doubt the suicide of our unfortunate countryman; his own firmness, principles, and declarations being adverse to such a crime, and the established account of the appearances after his death being far from indicative of it. Can it be that Napoleon himself was deceived as to the mode in which the fatal act was perpetrated?

The Duke d'Enghien's hard fate, and that of Pichegru, were then also brought into discussion by Bonaparte himself in this long and extraordinary conversation, and with great animation he spoke thus:

* See the recent numbers of the *Naval Chronicle*.

"At

“ At this eventful period of my life, I had succeeded in restoring order and tranquillity to a kingdom torn asunder by faction, and deluged in blood. That nation had placed me at their head. I came not as your Cromwell did, or your Third Richard. No such thing. — I found a crown in the kennel; I cleansed it from its filth, and placed it on my head. My safety now became necessary to preserve that tranquillity so recently restored; and, hitherto, so satisfactorily preserved, as the leading characters of the nation well know. At the same time, reports were every night brought me” (I think, he said, by General Ryal,) “ that conspiracies were in agitation; that meetings were held in particular houses in Paris, and names even were mentioned.”

He then detailed the means by which he obtained the desired knowledge of the plot and its actors, and continued:

“ The object of the plot was to destroy me; and the success of it would, of course, have been my destruction. It emanated from the capital of your country, with the Count d'Artois at the head of it. To the West he sent the Duke de Berri, and to the East the Duke d'Enghien. To France your vessels conveyed underlings of the plot, and Moreau became a convert to the cause. The moment was big with evil; I felt myself on a tottering eminence, and I resolved to hurl the thunder back upon the Bourbons even in the metropolis of the British empire. My minister vehemently urged the seizure of the Duke, though in a neutral territory. But I still hesitated, and Prince Benevento brought the order twice, and urged the measure with all his powers of persuasion: it was not, however, till I was fully convinced of its necessity, that I sanctioned it by my signature. The matter could be easily arranged between me and the Duke of Baden. Why, indeed, should I suffer a man residing on the very confines of my kingdom to commit a crime which, within the distance of a mile, by the ordinary course of law, Justice herself would condemn to the scaffold. And now answer me; — Did I do more than adopt the principle of your government, when it ordered the capture of the Danish fleet, which was thought to threaten mischief to your country? It had been urged to me again and again, as a sound political opinion, that the new dynasty could not be secure, while the Bourbons remained. Talleyrand never deviated from this principle: it was a fixed, unchangeable article in his political creed. — But I did not become a ready, or a willing convert. I examined the opinion with care and with caution: and the result was a perfect conviction of its necessity. — The Duke d'Enghien was accessory to the confederacy; and although the resident of a neutral territory, the urgency of the case, in which my safety and the public tranquillity, to use no stronger expression, were involved, justified the proceeding. I accordingly ordered him to be seized and tried: he was found guilty, and sentenced to be shot. — The sentence was immediately executed; and the same fate would have followed had it been

Louis

Louis the Eighteenth. For I again declare that I found it necessary to roll the thunder back on the metropolis of England, as from thence, with the *Count d'Artois* at their head, did the assassins assail me.

"Your country also accuses me of the death of *Pichegru*." — I replied, "It is most certainly and universally believed throughout the whole British empire, that he was strangled in prison by your orders." He rapidly answered, "What idle, disingenuous folly! a fine proof, how prejudice can destroy the boasted reasoning faculties of Englishmen! Why, I ask you, should that life be taken away in secret which the laws consigned to the hands of a public executioner. The matter would have been different with respect to *Moreau*. Had he died in a dungeon, there might have been grounds to justify the suspicion that he had not been guilty of suicide. He was a very popular character, as well as much beloved by the army; and I should never have lost the odium, however guiltless I might have been, if the justice of his death, supposing his life to have been forfeited by the laws, had not been made apparent by the most public execution.—

"At the same time, I solemnly affirm, that no message or letter from the Duke reached me after sentence of death had been passed upon him."

This last sentence refers to an occurrence which the author next relates; and he says that he saw, in the possession of Count de las Casas, the copy of a letter said to be written by the Duke d'Enghien to Bonaparte, to this effect:

'It stated his opinion that the Bourbon dynasty was terminated. That was the settled opinion of his mind, and he was about to prove the sincerity of it. He now considered France no otherwise than as his country, which he loved with the most patriotic ardor; but merely as a private citizen. The crown was no longer in his view: it was now beyond the possibility of recovery: it would not, it could not be restored. He therefore requested to be allowed to live and devote his life and services to France, merely as a native of it. He was ready to take any command or any rank in the French army, to become a brave and loyal soldier, subject to the will and orders of the government, in whose hands soever it might be, to which he was ready to swear fealty: and that, if his life were spared, he would devote it with the utmost courage and fidelity to support France against all its enemies.'

Talleyrand is accused of having been intrusted with this letter, and, like Lady Nottingham in the case of Lord Essex's ring, of not delivering it till the Duke was no more. If this be true, it seems to give plausibility to our conjecture respecting *management* and deception in the case of Captain Wright: but we are unable to judge of the account altogether.

The poisoning of the sick and wounded Frenchmen at Jaffa, and the murder of 500 Turkish prisoners, formed also portions

of this memorable dialogue; and with regard to the former, Napoleon observed, "Be assured, that if I had committed such a horrid act, my very soldiers themselves would have execrated me; and I might have looked to their ceasing to obey me. There is no occurrence of life to which I gave more publicity than this." His narrative then stated that, on raising the siege of Acre, and having made every possible arrangement for the numerous sick and wounded, seven men remained in a quarantine hospital, infected with the plague, in such a state that there was not the least probability of their living beyond 48 hours; that their removal was utterly impracticable; that he could not place them under the protection of the English; and that it was the practice of the Turks to mutilate and barbarously treat their Christian prisoners. Influenced by these considerations, he admitted that he suggested to the chief physician the propriety and humanity of shortening the sufferings of these seven men by opium: but that the proposal was opposed and abandoned; that *no opium was given*: that he halted the army a day longer than he intended, waiting the dissolution of these men; and that a report of their death was brought to him before the rear-guard evacuated the city. — He then detailed the facts relative to the prisoners taken at El Arish, 'natives of the mountains, and inhabitants of Mount Tabor, but chiefly from Nazareth,' who were released on engaging to return quietly to their homes. On the subsequent capture of Gaza by assault, these men were found among the garrison, in violation of their engagement; and, said Napoleon, "on this fact being indubitably ascertained, I ordered the 500 men to be drawn out and instantly shot." — We cannot stay here to discuss the character of this bloody act: but it should be remembered that the prompt avowal of it was a voluntary homage to truth that intitles other declarations to the more belief.

Our readers will probably recollect the explosion of an *Infernal Machine* in the streets at Paris, about sixteen years ago, from which Bonaparte on his passage to the theatre narrowly escaped with life. This topic was introduced by Mr. Warden, who related the current statement of particulars relative to it, and to all of which Napoleon gave his assent. Mr. W. added the report that, in a conversation with Mr. Fox, Napoleon had accused the English of having invented the machine, and particularly alluded to Mr. Windham: this, also, he admitted, declaring that he still retained that opinion: "Yes, the English ministry were instrumental to the plot. Their money has gone for that and other extraordinary purposes." — The author, like a good Englishman,

man, defended his country from the foul imputation of countenancing assassination, but Napoleon would not retract.

Some interesting particulars are also given respecting the great battle at Waterloo. Napoleon said that his army consisted of 71,000 men; and General Gourgond endeavoured to convince Mr. Warden that the victory was lost through the blunders of Drouet, Grouchy, and Ney.

‘ Napoleon, it seems, was completely ignorant of the movement made from Frasnes, by Count Erlon, (Drouet) on the 16th. For when he appeared near *Ligny*, Napoleon actually deployed a column of French to oppose him, mistaking his force at the time for a division of the Prussian army. — Erlon was now made acquainted with the defeat of the Prussians; and, without thinking it necessary to have any communication with Napoleon, as to future operations, returned to his original position. That division of the army, therefore, became totally useless for that day both to the Emperor and to Marshal Ney. — Grouchy, losing sight of Blucher, and taking the circuitous route which he pursued, was represented as having committed a most fatal error. — While the right wing of the French, in the battle of the 18th, was engaged in defeating the flank movement of Bulow, of which they were perfectly apprised, Marshal Ney had orders to engage the attention of the English during this part of the action; but by no means to hazard the loss of his troops, or to exhaust their strength. Ney, it appears, did not obey the order, or met with circumstances that rendered it impracticable for him to adhere to it. He was stated to have contended for the occupation of a height and thus weakened his corps, so that when the Imperial guards were brought to the charge, he was unable to assist them. — I understood that Napoleon had crossed the Sambre with 111,000 men. In the battles of *Ligny* and *Quatre Bras* he lost 10,000. Grouchy's division consisted of 30,000 detached to follow Blucher, leaving an effective force, on the morning of the 18th, of 71,000.’

Talleyrand is frequently introduced in these pages; and the writer remarks that his French ship-mates always spoke of him with detestation as to principle, but with admiration as to talents. They stated that his separation from their master took place at the period of the invasion of Spain, but not from difference of judgment as to that measure, which he approved; founding ‘ his recommendation of it on his unalterable opinion, which he boldly communicated to the Emperor, that his life was not secure while a Bourbon reigned in Europe.’ — ‘ Madame Bertrand unequivocally asserted that Talleyrand was in secret communication with Napoleon when they were last at Paris, and would have joined them in a month.’

‘ Of Davoust, Prince D'Eckmuhl, Marshal Bertrand spoke, to our extreme astonishment, in an animated strain of panegyric, which

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which was instantly met with an outcry from all who heard it, respecting the conduct of that officer, at Hamburg, which we represented as atrocious beyond example. This he would not allow; on the contrary; he described him as a zealous, correct, and faithful commander; and far from being destitute of humanity; as notwithstanding his notions of military obedience, which were known to be of the most rigid kind, he did not act up to the severity of his instructions. As for his taking a bribe, Bertrand declared him to be incapable of such baseness; and asserted, from his own knowledge, that a very large sum had been offered him, to connive at the sailing of some ships from Hamburg in the night, which he refused with the disdain of a faithful soldier and an honourable man.

The celebrated Abbé Pradt was also mentioned both by Napoleon and his attendants, and by all with ridicule. 'It appears that this personage was the very humblest of the most humble adulators of Napoleon: he had been in a low situation in the police, but possessed qualities that are favourable to advancement in such times as those in which he lived. "He had both cunning and humour," said Napoleon, "and I took him with me when I went to Spain; and, as I had to wage war with monasteries, I found the Abbé a phalanx against the dominion of priests."'

In closing this very uncommon production, we must add to the general remarks with which we commenced our report of it, that the author deserves praise for the spirit with which he appears to have conducted himself in his conversations with the still more uncommon object of it, and for the intelligence which he displayed in eliciting and continuing dialogues of so much delicacy and moment. A few errors of style and of the press have escaped correction; among which, (p. 101.) the *Bellerophon* is named instead of the *Northumberland*, and (p. 209.) the Duke of Bassano is called *Marat* instead of *Maret*. In p. 197. a publication respecting Bonaparte, 'by a Lieutenant of the Bellerophon,' is so awkwardly included in the mention of other tracts which are stated to be full of 'silly falsehoods,' that it might be supposed to share this imputation with them: but we are persuaded that Mr. Warden did not intend to impeach the *veracity* of any part of that pamphlet, which was really written by the officer whose name it bears, and whose character is a guarantee for its adherence to correctness.

Large as this article is, we have not been able to particularize many circumstances occurring in the volume which merit notice: but it is so extensive that we have no room left for farther observations, and we must now consign the work to the judgment of the public and of posterity.

MONTHLY CATALOGUE,

FOR DECEMBER, 1816.

POETRY.

Art. 10. *The Prisoner of Chillon*, and other Poems. By Lord Byron. 8vo. pp. 60. 5s. 6d. sewed. Murray. 1816.

The Castle of Chillon is situated on the Lake of Geneva, between Clarens and Villeneuve, and has in it a range of dungeons which in former times have received various unfortunate victims. In the early part of the 16th century, it immured for many years François de Bonnivard, an accomplished ecclesiastic, whose patriotism had incensed the Duke of Savoy on his invasion of Geneva, and who was at length released by the Bernese when they took possession of the Pays de Vaud. In allusion partly to this occurrence, but forming a tale of his own imagination, Lord Byron has written a poem of four hundred lines, in his octo-syllabic measure, in which the narrator is the supposed survivor of three brothers who had here been confined with ingenious cruelty.

‘ They chain’d us each to a column stone,
And we were three — yet each alone,
We could not move a single pace,
We could not see each other’s face,
But with that pale and livid light
That made us strangers in our sight;
And thus together — yet apart,
Fettered in hand, but pined in heart;
’Twas still some solace in the dearth
Of the pure elements of earth,
To hearken to each other’s speech,
And each turn comforter to each,
With some new hope, or legend old,
Or song heroically bold;
But even these at length grew cold.
Our voices took a dreary tone,
An echo of the dungeon-stone,
A grating sound—not full and free
As they of yore were wont to be:
It might be fancy — but to me
They never sounded like our own.’

The speaker was, the eldest of the three, and he characterizes the dispositions of the other two, and their gradual dissolution, with much distinctness, force, and pathos. The second brother was of a noble and elevated soul; the youngest, of more gentle frame:

‘ He faded, and so calm and meek,
So softly worn, so sweetly weak,
So tearless, yet so tender — kind,
And grieved for those he left behind;
With all the while a cheek whose bloom
Was as a mockery of the tomb,

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Whose

Whose tints as gently sunk away
 As a departing rainbow's ray —
 An eye of most transparent light,
 That almost made the dungeon bright,
 And not a word of murmur — not
 A groan o'er his untimely lot, —
 A little talk of better days,
 A little hope my own to raise,
 For I was sunk in silence — lost
 In this last loss, of all the most;
 And then the sighs he would suppress
 Of fainting nature's feebleness,
 More slowly drawn, grew less and less;
 I listened, but I could not hear —
 I called, for I was wild with fear;
 I knew 'twas hopeless, but my dread
 Would not be thus admonished;
 I called and thought I heard a sound —
 I burst my chain with one strong bound,
 And rush'd to him: I found him not,
 I only stirr'd in this black spot,
 I only liv'd — I only drew
 The accursed breath of dungeon-dew;
 The last — the sole — the dearest link
 Between me and the eternal brink,
 Which bound me to my failing race,
 Was broken in this fatal place.

When released, the poor solitary mourner had so 'learn'd to love despair' that he 'regain'd his freedom with a sigh,' almost lamenting the very chains and the spiders which he had made his friends, and the mice which he had seen by moonlight play. Such, however, was not the actual case with Bonnivard; who, after his liberation, again took a warm interest in the affairs of the world, rose to honours, and became useful to his country.

To this poem succeeds a sonnet, apostrophizing Lake Lemman as having known on its shores 'Rousseau, Voltaire, our Gibbon, and de Stael;' and concluding by a line which we can neither understand nor read, if it be made to rhyme with those of its predecessors to which it is intended to be united:

'How much more, Lake of Beauty! do we feel,
 In sweetly gliding o'er thy crystal sea,
 The wild glow of that not ungentle zeal,
 Which of the heirs of immortality
 Is proud, and makes the breath of glory real!'

This makes our comprehension reel.

Some very tender and impassioned 'Stanzas to ——' follow: but we know not how to fill up this blank, consistently with "existing circumstances" and with the tendency of the lines themselves, and we pass them, — with a responsive sigh.

'Darkness,' a poem, in *blank verse*, then envelopes us! and here indeed "Darkness was over the face of the earth." We have not here

here "thoughts that breathe and words that burn," but *thoughts that chill and words that freeze*—a scene that is even more frightful than the display of poor Ugolino in his dungeon;—a sketch with a pen which our great dealer in hob-goblins, Fuseli himself, might be eager to transfer to his canvas. It is a dream, 'which was not *all* a dream,' in which the noble sleeper extinguishes the sun, *obscures* the stars, makes morn come and go, and come and bring no day, and all the poor animal-creation, with man at their head, are completely put to a nonplus! The stars were 'rayless and pathless,'—'men died, and their bones were tombless,'—'ships sailorless lay rotting on the sea,'

— 'the world was void,
The populous and the powerful was a lump,
Seasonless, herbless, treeless, manless, lifeless.'—

'The waves were dead; the tides were in their grave,
The moon their mistress had expired before;
The winds were withered in the stagnant air,
And the clouds perished; darkness had no need
Of aid from them—She was the universe.'

Now for Mr. Fuseli's Picture:

'The crowd was famish'd by degrees; but two
Of an enormous city did survive,
And they were enemies; they met beside
The dying embers of an altar-place
Where had been heap'd a mass of holy things
For an unholy usage; they raked up,
And shivering scraped with their cold skeleton hands
The feeble ashes, and their feeble breath
Blew for a little life, and made a flame
Which was a mockery; then they lifted up
Their eyes as it grew lighter, and beheld
Each other's aspects—saw, and shriek'd, and died—
Even of their mutual hideousness they died,
Unknowing who he was upon whose brow
Famine had written Fiend.'

After a little tale of a visit to Churchill's grave, we have another 'Dream,' also in blank verse, but not exactly of the same nature. It is a love-story, and rather mysterious. It has its beauties and tenderesses, and we suspect that there is in it "more than meets the eye." We will not try to raise the veil, however, but merely quote a portion of the second stanza, and of the last:

'I saw two beings in the hues of youth
Standing upon a hill, a gentle hill,
Green and of mild declivity, the last
As 'twere the cape of a long ridge of such,
Save that there was no sea to lave its base,
But a most living landscape, and the wave
Of woods and corn fields, and the abodes of men
Scattered at intervals, and wreathing smoke

Arising from such rustic roofs ; — the hill
 Was crown'd with a peculiar diadem
 Of trees, in circular array, so fix'd,
 Not by the sport of nature, but of man :
 These two, a maiden and a youth, were there
 Gazing — the one on all that was beneath
 Fair as herself — but the boy gazed on her ;
 And both were young, and one was beautiful :
 And both were young — yet not alike in youth.
 As the sweet moon on the horizon's verge
 The maid was off the eve of womanhood ;
 The boy had fewer summers, but his heart
 Had far outgrown his years, and to his eye
 There was but one beloved face on earth,
 And that was shining on him ; he had look'd
 Upon it till it could not pass away ;
 He had no breath, no being, but in her's ;
 She was his voice ; he did not speak to her,
 But trembled on her words ; she was his sight,
 For his eye followed her's, and saw with her's,
 Which coloured all his objects : — he had ceased
 To live within himself ; she was his life,
 The ocean to the river of his thoughts,
 Which terminated all : upon a tone,
 A touch of her's, his blood would ebb and flow,
 And his cheek change tempestuously — his heart
 Unknowing of its cause of agony.
 But she in these fond feelings had no share :
 Her sighs were not for him ; to her he was
 Even as a brother — but no more.' —
 ' My dream was past ; it had no further change.
 It was of a strange order, that the doom
 Of these two creatures should be thus traced out
 Almost like a reality — the one
 To end in madness — both in misery.'

Again the noble author urges his imagination to the utmost
 verge, and produces an ' Incantation,' in which he appears as by
 no means an unsuccessful rival of Mr. Southey in his *Curse of Ke-*
hama. As to the poor witches in Macbeth, they must " hide their
 diminish'd heads."

Some lines on the story of ' Prometheus' close this selection
 from Lord Byron's travelling port-folio : which, considered alto-
 gether, we must confess that we do not regard as calculated to
 increase the merited reputation of the noble author. We trust
 that his Lordship will not forget the respect which is due to it,
 even from himself, and to the taste and judgment of the public.

Art. 11. *Mador of the Moor* ; a Poem. By James Hogg, Author
 of the Queen's Wake, &c. 8vo. pp. 140. 7s. 6d. sewed.
 Murray. 1816.

' Wild mirth of the desert ! *fit pastime for Kings.*'

So

So Mr. Hogg intitles his own poem, in a quotation from Mr. Wilson.

“ And is not this a dainty dish to set before a king !”

We know not of any vulgarity or want of invention, or rudeness of versification, or any demerit whatever, in the “ Queen’s Wake,” * which does not prominently and transcendantly appear in the pages of ‘ Mador of the Moor.’ We have marked the book through, with indices to various examples of all these vices ; and our only difficulty is to do justice to the severity of our censure by exactly appropriate quotations of contemptible passages. Let us, like Homer, begin in the middle.

And behold the heroine of the *Poem* ! about to be united, in holy wedlock, to Albert of the Glen :

“ No youth was he, nor winsomest of men !”

Yet

‘ The beauteous May, to parent’s will resign’d,
Opposed not that which boded nothing ill ;
It gave an ease and freedom to her mind,
And wish, the anxious interval to kill :
She listed wooer’s tale with right good will ;
And she would jest, and smile, and heave the sigh ;
Would torture whining youth with wicked skill,
Turn on her heel, then off like lightning fly,
Leaving the hapless wight resolved forthwith to die.’

We should be contented with this extract, were the author as unpopular, and indeed nearly as unknown, in the northern portion of our island as in the southern : but we understand that this is not the case ; and that, beyond the Tweed, persons are to be found who are devoted admirers of Mr. Hogg ! In deference to their judgment, we subjoin another selection or two from ‘ Mador of the Moor.’

‘ The day was wet, the mist was on the moor,
Rested from labour husbandman and maid ;
There came a stranger to Kincairgy’s door
Of goodly form, in minstrel garb array’d ;
Of braided silk his builziment was made :
Short the entreatance he required to stay !
He tuned his viol, and with veh’mence play’d ;
Mistress and menial, maid and matron gray,
Soon mix’d were on the floor, and frisk’d in wild affray.’

Every passage, which we might add to our list of quotations, would still more strongly substantiate our condemnation of this author. We really hope that every body will be satisfied with the subjoined ; and that we may here be allowed to bid a long adieu to such barbarism, as we have already been forced to admit to the joint disgrace of our pages with many different but equally vile offences of the day.

* We noticed this coarse production in our Number for December 1814, p. 435.

‘ Why do the maidens of the strath rejoice,
 And lilt with meaning gesture on the loan?
 Why do they smirk, and talk with giggling voice
 Of laces, and of stays; and thereupon
 Hang many a fruitful jest? — Ah! is there none
 The truth to pledge, and prove the nuptial vow?
 Alas! the friar on pilgrimage is gone;
 Mador is lost — none else the secret knew,
 And all is deem’d pretext assumptive and untrue.

‘ Slander prevails! to woman’s longing mind
 Sweet as the April blossom to the bee;
 Her meal that never palls, but leaves behind
 An appetite still yearning food to see;
 Kincairny’s dame of perspicacity
 Sees nought at all amiss, but flounces on;
 Her brawling humour shows increased to be;
 Much does she speak, in loud and grumbling tone,
 Nor time takes to reflect, nor even a prayer to con.

If this be not the consummation of vulgarity and dullness combined, we are happy in our ignorance of the perfect results of such an engaging union.

Art. 12. *Buonaparte*; a Poem. 8vo. pp. 63. Printed at Cork, and sold in London by Hunter.

‘ ‘Twere worse than vain in feeble verse
 A Paget’s praises to rehearse;
 Or the brave deeds to half display
 Of a too ill requited Ney.’ Page 32.

Be it so. Why then attempt a Napoleon in page 54.?

‘ For see — who leads the assailants on
 That never led a charge in vain,
 The invincible Napoleon,
 The at once our glory and our bane!’

We shall leave the rest to the unwearied imagination of our readers.

Art. 13. *The Battle of Waterloo*. A Poem in Two Cantos. By John Haskins. 8vo. pp. 63. Black and Son. 1816.

We have not kept a list of the poems on the battle of Waterloo; and we are very sure that posterity will be still more ignorant of their numbers and their merits than even we acknowledge ourselves to be. Yet we have already criticized very many of them; and we do not know that we can take any blame to ourselves for suffering whole files of them to escape our notice. The myriads of gnats in a sun-beam are as countless as these productions, and placed in an incomparably clearer light. We are certain that any person, who was in the least master of the “knack of versifying,” would write (if he were not prevented either by genius or by shame,) hundreds and hundreds of such lines as the subjoined, in the first idle morning that he chose to devote to so worthless a purpose.

‘ *Bonaparte’s Soldiers.*

‘ His soldiers callous to the cries of woe,
 Who nor humanity nor pity know,
 Who train’d to rapine and licentious lust,
 The brave, when vanquish’d, trample in the dust,
 Who dead to honour, blind to peaceful charms,
 The hope of plunder stimulates to arms,’ &c.

“ *Ohe ! jam satis est !* ”

Art. 14. *Marriage*, a Didactic Poem ; with Plates, in the Style of Hogarth, &c. &c. 8vo. 3s. Hatchard.

We are sometimes obliged to use terms, in our examination of books, which to an unreflecting reader seem more appropriate to a trial in a criminal court. For instance ; when we call a work atrociously offensive, redeemed by no virtue, a violation of every rule of decency, &c. &c. the language would appear to imply a degree of flagitiousness cognizable at the Crown Bar ; and in fact we almost wish it were ! That is, we almost wish that any method could be adopted to check the corruption of public taste, and (we are persuaded) the consequent deterioration of public manners ; even were that method to make dullness a statutable offence, and impertinence liable to the pillory. We shall say no more on the poem of *Marriage*.

ANTIQUITIES.

Art. 15. *Monastic and Baronial Remains*, with other interesting Fragments of Antiquity, in England, Wales, and Scotland. Illustrated by upwards of One Hundred Plates. By G. J. Parkyns, Esq. Royal 8vo. 2 Vols. 4l. Boards. Longman and Co. 1816.

The professed object of this author is to exhibit to the historian and the antiquary a sketch of those monastic, castellated, and other remains which necessarily constitute objects of their curiosity, as they are, or as they were ; and to assist in preserving or elucidating the forms of those exquisite monuments of ages past, thus conveying to the people a just sense of the religious, civil, and military magnificence of their forefathers. As a pocket-companion to the tourist, Mr. Parkyns also thinks that his labours are commendable ; and he states his literary illustrations to be entirely subordinate to the efforts of the pencil. In short, his work is in some degree an imitation of Grose’s *Antiquities*, on a smaller scale : but the model, though successful, was not excellent ; and the copy falls short of a very improvable original.

Acqua-tinta views produce a picturesque effect when engraved, and may serve to amuse during the half-hour which is spent in assembling a dinner-party : they convey a general but vague idea of the objects which they represent ; and, when assisted by a previous inspection of the prototype, they may sufficiently recall the beauties of the scene. This style of engraving, however, precludes a precise and minute tracing of the architectural ornaments ; in consequence of which, neither the historian nor the antiquary

tiquary can, from such views, infer the date or the original appearance of the edifice: while to the stationary student such prints are of little value. The tourist may be provoked by them to undertake a journey, or find his fading reminiscences refreshed; and those, whom age or gout confines, may attain a sufficient idea of spots which war or worship has consecrated to celebrity: but the man of taste requires a more definite fidelity of delineation, before he can venture to appreciate; and the man of learning, before he can venture to infer.

As a specimen of the text, we will give the description of the second view of Borthwick Castle, in Mid Lothian:

' On the east front is to be observed a considerable sear, or otherwise a failure in the surface of the upper part of the building, for which various causes have been assigned: the most probable conjecture is that it was effected by the cannon of the enthusiastic Protector, when he expelled the eighth Lord Borthwick from these walls. We are principally led to this supposition from the very perfect state of every other part of the principal edifice, and from this decayed front being opposite (to) the hill whereon his batteries were erected. Mr. Hepburne, of Clerkingtone, the now proprietor of the castle and domains, has in his possession the original summons sent by Cromwell; which, as characteristic of that wonderful man, is transcribed verbatim. It was written after the decollation of Charles, dated Edinburgh, 18th November, 1650, and thus addressed:

" To the Governor of Borthwick Castle.

" Sir,

" I thought fit to send this trumpett to you, to let you know that, if you please to walk away with your company, and deliver the house to such as I shall send to receive it, you shall have liberty to carry off your armes and goodes, and such other necessaries as you have. — You have basely, inhumanly, murdered our men: if you necessitate me to bend my cannon against you, you must expect what I doubt you will not be pleased with; I expect your present answer, and rest your servant,

" OLIVER CROMWELL."

' Ultimately to this summons, the garrison surrendered, but not until it had drawn the cannon of the usurper against it. The bold and manly resistance of Lord Borthwick obtained for him an honourable capitulation; being allowed liberty to march out unmolested, with his lady and family, and fifteen days given to remove his effects.

' Notwithstanding the lapse of time, the appearance of this edifice and its towering height fill the mind with veneration, and augment the regret that a building so strong, so well situated, and so perfect, should be abandoned to its fate; for as yet scarcely is any thing farther wanted to render it an almost princely habitation than windows and interior decorations. The situation and the views, together with the combination of wood, water, meadows, and hills, intersected by inclosures, or waving with corn, render it an object of interest and universal admiration.'

Dates

Dates of the year in which these views were taken (some of them considerably distant) are added in many instances, but we do not observe any record of this kind with regard to the plates of Borthwick Castle.

Since the great merit of this work consists in the multiplicity of its graphic decorations, rather than in the erudition or elegance of the text, we may be permitted to commend its protection to the polished patrons of the elegant arts, rather than to the inquisitive student or the curious antiquary.

LAW.

Art. 16. *The eloquent Speech of Charles Phillips, Esq. at Galway, in the Case of O'Mullan v. M'Korkill.* 8vo. 6d. Hone. 1816.

Art. 17. *A Speech at Roscommon, Midsummer Assizes, 1816, in Connaghton v. Dillon, for Seduction.* By Charles Phillips, Esq. 8vo. 6d. Hone. 1816.

In our Review for April last, we noticed a speech delivered by this eloquent Irish barrister, in terms of approbation; and, in mentioning those which head this article, we see no reason for giving a different verdict. That there may be some appellants from our decision, we are apprized by a letter from "an Irishman" in defence of the speech to which we have alluded, inserted at the end of the oration on seduction: but though, if we were discussing the requisites of oratory abstractedly, we might say that these addresses are too metaphorical and florid, yet, considering the occasion on which they were spoken, the audience to whom they were addressed, and the purpose which they were to answer, we cannot withhold our applause. — If we had many barristers who could adorn their cases with such flowers of rhetoric, the office of jury-man would become less irksome than it is now considered.

MEDICINE, &c.

Art. 18. *A General Dispensatory, or Arrangement of the Pharmacopœias of London, Edinburgh, and Dublin; in which the Strength of various Preparations is expressed by pharmaceutical Numbers; the different Synonyms of each Article, Doses, Qualities, Chemical Numbers, &c. are likewise added; and to the whole are prefixed some Observations upon the present State of the Nomenclature of Pharmacy.* By S. Rootsey, F.L.S. 12mo. pp. 142. Baldwin and Co.

Although this work contains some useful information, and some good hints for improvement, it also shews an unwarrantable spirit of innovation, and a certain air of self-satisfaction that is nearly allied to conceit. The first subject which the author discusses is that of nomenclature; and we are ready to admit that room yet remains for emendation, after all the labours of the London College, as exhibited in their new Pharmacopœia. Mr. Rootsey lays down four laws, as he terms them, which are intended to regulate our proceedings; and to which, as far as they go, we do not perceive

ceive that any material objection attaches: yet we imagine that they will scarcely apply to all possible, or even probable, occurrences. The fourth law enacts that 'names must be as classical as possible;' and we have accordingly a table of 'the classicality of names,' consisting of nine divisions; 1. an antient Latin word; 2. a Greek word latinized; 3. a congruous barbarous name; 4. a new name coined according to rules to be hereafter given; 5. a description; 6. an incongruous barbarous name; 7. a name significant of some indefinite resemblance to another species; 8. an economical name; and lastly, a religious name. Next come rules for etymology, and afterward definitions; among which are some suggestions that might be conveniently adopted, while other must be considered as more whimsical than useful.

The second chapter is intitled *Statics*, a term employed to signify weights and measures, on both which subjects the writer proposes some innovations. With respect to weights, the only intended change is that the half scruple should be called by the Latin term *obolus*: but with measures Mr. R. takes more liberties. He adopts the term fluid ounce, as used in the new Pharmacopœia, and he proposes to make two of them into a *cyathus*. Then he subdivides the fluid ounce into two *ligulae*, the *ligula* into two *chemæ*, a *chema* being made equal to two fluidrachms; and lastly he introduces the fluid *obolus*, consisting of half a fluidrachm or ten minims. The terms *ligula* and *chema* were employed by the Romans, but not to express the same bulk which the present author assigns to them; and this is itself an objection to his proposal: but, independently of that circumstance, we conceive the introduction of so many measures to be unnecessary, and burdensome to the memory.

In the title-page, we observe a reference to a new plan for expressing the strength of various preparations by pharmaceutical numbers, and the following paragraph explains the method in which this is effected:

'In considering the proportion which the solvent bears to the menstruum, I constantly take the solvent for unity, and the number for the menstruum I affix to the preparation. Thus in preparing Tincture of Squills, 4 ounces are added to a quart, or 32 ounces of proof spirit, which being 8 times as much, I annex the number 8 to that preparation. Again, the Edinburgh College direct Unguentum Cerussæ to be prepared by mixing one part Ceruse with 5 of simple Ointment, the number attached to that article must be therefore 5. Thus it is evident that this plan, while it supersedes simple formulas, answers the purpose of the table appended to the Pharmacopœias. For if we turn to Opium we shall find one grain united to as many grains of other substances as the number indicates.'

About half of the volume is occupied by the *materia medica*, in which all the articles are arranged alphabetically; and their officinal preparations, their composition, and other circumstances connected with them, are added. We have next a table of remedies, in which the simples are arranged according to their supposed

posed virtues, a table of synonyms, and some other miscellaneous information. One recommendation of the work remains to be noticed, viz. that it is printed in a small size, and in a cheap form.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Art. 19. *A short Account of the proceedings of the Society for superseding the Necessity of climbing Boys.* 8vo. pp. 24. 6d. Baldwin and Co. 1816.

We are desirous of again contributing something to the promotion of this benevolent Society, by giving publicity to the present short account of its proceedings; from which we are happy to learn that an application to parliament is intended to be made for some "legislative enactment, prohibiting the use of climbing-boys." Thus we may see a probability of putting a stop to a trade, into which none of the miserable victims enter voluntarily, from which few of them depart without suffering material injury, and in which they cannot obtain a livelihood after a few years and increase of size have incapacitated them from practice. We can assure our readers, from experience, that the ingenious contrivance substituted for these *living brushes* is quite as effective in cleaning the chimneys, and has the increased advantage of not making the heart ache.

Art. 20. *The eloquent Speech on the Dethronement of Napoleon, the State of Ireland, the Dangers of England, and the Necessity of immediate Parliamentary Reform,* delivered by Charles Phillips, Esq. at a public Dinner given to him at Liverpool on the 31st October, 1816, with other Proceedings at the Meeting, and a Poem by Him. 8vo. 6d. Hone.

In this little publication, the gentleman mentioned in a preceding page (443.) appears as a politician and a poet; a politician receiving the tributary compliment of a public dinner, and a poet congratulating Mr. Magee on his liberation from imprisonment. His lines on the one occasion are not without merit, and his address on the other has many forcible passages. The course of politics which he pursues may be seen in the title, and is not concealed either in his poetry or his prose. In the latter, he has exhibited a symptom of bad taste in punning from the Scriptures, and of unfair argument by converting "the fields without a harvest" into a charge against the ministers.

Art. 21. *A popular Description of St. Paul's Cathedral;* including a brief History of the old and new Cathedral, Explanations of the Monumental Designs, and other interesting Particulars. 8vo. 1s. 6d. Rivingtons. 1816.

This is properly termed a *popular* description, and may be considered as an acceptable *Guide* to our renowned metropolitan cathedral. All the modern sepulchral monuments and their inscriptions are introduced, but without any criticisms on them, the accounts being derived from the artists themselves. It is, however, rather a singular omission that the writer has not mentioned also the

the sepulture, and rather peculiar epitaph, of the celebrated architect of this magnificent structure.

The statue of the philanthropist Howard, by Bacon, bears on its pedestal this inscription, from the pen of the late Mr. Whitbread.

‘This extraordinary Man had the Fortune to be honoured while living

In the Manner which his Virtues deserved :

He received the Thanks

Of both Houses of the British and Irish Parliaments,

For his eminent Services rendered to his Country

And to Mankind.

Our National Prisons and Hospitals,

Improved upon the Suggestions of his Wisdom,

Bear Testimony to the Solidity of his Judgment,

And to the Estimation in which he was held.

In every Part of the Civilized World,

Which he traversed to reduce the Sum of Human Misery,

From the Throne to the Dungeon his Name was mentioned

With respect, gratitude, and admiration.

His Modesty alone

Defeated various Efforts which were made during his Life,

To erect this Statue;

Which the Public has now consecrated to his Memory.

He was born at Hackney, in the County of Middlesex, Sept. 2. 1726.

The early Part of his Life he spent in Retirement,

Residing principally upon his Paternal Estate,

At Cardington in Bedfordshire;

For which County he served the Office of Sheriff

In the Year 1773.

He expired at Cherson, in Russian Tartary, on the 20th of Jan. 1790.

A Victim to the Perilous and Benevolent Attempt

To ascertain the Cause of, and find an efficacious Remedy

For the Plague.

He trod an open but unfrequented Path to Immortality,

In the ardent and unintermitted Exercise of Christian Charity.

May this Tribute to his Fame

Excite an Emulation of his truly Glorious Achievements.’

A ground-plan of the cathedral fronts the title-page of this handsome pamphlet.

Art. 22. *Letters on Public-house Licensing*; shewing the Errors of the present System; together with a Proposal for their Cure.

By a Magistrate for Middlesex. 8vo. pp. 31. Cadell and Davies. 1816.

An able statement is here made of what this magistrate for Middlesex designates ‘the errors of the present system:’ but we doubt whether he should not have called them its *abuses*. The evils of which he complains do not, perhaps, arise so much from any vice in the law as it stands, as from the lukewarm inactivity and culpable neglect of some, and the interested and energetic interference of others, among those to whom the dis-
pensation

pensation of the law is frequently intrusted. That principle, by which the most responsible gentlemen of a county (of whom the magistracy are supposed to consist) are to decide on all that seems peculiarly connected with the peace and regularity of their district, appears to be a good one, and preferable to any which would intrust similar authority in other hands. Though some evil may arise from a private canvas being attempted among those who are to decide on granting a licence, yet, if respectable men be placed in the commission, we should suppose that the numbers of them would in general be the best security against any undue influence being exerted in behalf of favoured individuals. Much, then, depends on the choice of persons to preside on the judgment-seat, and we are afraid that in *some* counties too great a laxity of selection has prevailed. The public are undoubtedly much obliged to those gentlemen who will undergo the fatigue and responsibility of a laborious and invidious office: but the duty must devolve somewhere; and the community should be well satisfied that the promptitude, which undertakes the labour, does not by one means or another seek its own reward.

While, however, we do not see much to object to the general principle of the law, we are far from thinking that no improvements can be introduced: but we must at present decline the discussion relative to brewers and distillers being prohibited from holding public houses. On this and other topics, the suggestions of the writer of these letters are worthy of consideration; especially that proposition by which the magistrates may be required to agree or disagree respecting a situation pointed out to them on which a public house may be built, so that it may receive a licence when it shall be completed and a proper tenant be provided; instead of the present ruinous plan of requiring that a house shall be built and tenanted before a licence can be sought, at which period it is frequently refused, and the builder is ruined by the speculation. The compulsory clause, obliging the party to find security that the house shall be built, seems unnecessary; and we are not sure that much good would result from referring to the Court of King's Bench the decision whether the reasons for withholding or granting a license were good or bad, even if the practicability of such a reference, which we are inclined to question, were undoubted.

The author says (p. 25.) that no prompt summary jurisdiction is given when houses become disorderly, and that 'only on one day in the year the decision is made:' but has he omitted to notice that the 7 James I. c. 10. and 26 Geo. II. c. 31. both make the licence *void*, and disqualify the publican for three years from obtaining another, by the first "for drunkenness," and by the second "for suffering disorders in his house?" The great number of Acts of Parliament, through which the regulations of the laws of licensing are dispersed, prove the necessity of a new arrangement of our Statutes, which indeed is visible in almost every subject to which legislation extends: but, now that we have to lament the death

death of the noble promoter of that undertaking (Earl Stanhope,) we fear that we shall long and ineffectually continue to complain of this *desideratum*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

Our friend *Nauticus* assures us that we were right in our remark (see our last Review, p. 330.) respecting the *Leander* frigate; which ship, speaking from his own knowledge, he says, experienced no unusual inconvenience during the late severe battle at Algiers from the construction of her top-sides, by the recoil of her guns or from the shot of the enemy. Neither does he think that the circumstance of their want of greater thickness could operate to her disadvantage, except in cases of long exposure to severe weather. He mentions, however, a peculiarity in the building of this ship which is worth notice; viz. that the ports for her guns on the quarter deck, &c. are directly over the ports of her main deck, instead of being in the intervals, as usual: a deviation which he considers as liable to several objections.

The poem on *Marriage* was intended for insertion in this Number before we received the letter respecting it, and will be found in page 441.

We shall inquire about the subject of the note of *An Old Friend*.

An error affecting the sense occurred in our last Number, owing to some obscurity in the MS., which the reader is requested to correct, viz. p. 260. l. 26. for 'gone nine miles from Hellah,' r. *advanced within nine miles of Hellah*.

*** The APPENDIX to this Volume of the Review will be published on the first of February, with the Number for January.

GENERAL INDEX.

In answer to the numerous inquiries and applications which have been made to us, respecting a new GENERAL INDEX, we have now to announce that this undertaking, comprizing the whole of the New Series of the Monthly Review, to the end of the present year, is in considerable forwardness, and will probably be put to the press in the approaching Spring. The plan of the former General Index will be observed: but some improvements will be adopted, and greater copiousness of reference be introduced, in the way of duplication, so as to render less likely any failure of search. It is calculated to form two large volumes in octavo.



THE
A P P E N D I X
TO THE
EIGHTY-FIRST VOLUME
OF THE
M O N T H L Y R E V I E W
E N L A R G E D.

FOREIGN LITERATURE.

ART. I. *Histoire de l'Expédition Française en Egypte, &c.; i. e.* The History of the French Expedition to Egypt. By P. MARTIN, of the Royal Corps of Engineers for Roads and Bridges, Member of the Commission of Sciences and Arts in Egypt, and one of the Contributors to the Description of that Country published by Order of the French Government. 8vo. 2 Vols. pp. 732. Paris. 1815. Imported by De Boffe. Price 14s.

THE idea of colonizing Egypt did not originate with the revolutionary government of France, but is well known to have at previous periods occupied the attention of the cabinets of Versailles and Petersburg: the latter of which had probably something of the kind in view when operations were carried on by the Russians in the Mediterranean in the year 1770; and the French are said to have contemplated the project at the time of their temporary naval preponderance in the American war. Still, the enterprize had too many difficulties for the cautious calculators of those days, and its execution was deferred till the wonders of the Revolution had familiarized the French with hazardous and gigantic efforts. In 1796 the failure of the intended invasion of Ireland, and in 1797 the destruction of the Dutch fleet by the battle of Camperdown, had shewn the impracticability of attempts against the immediate dominions of the British government, and prompted the Directory to point their efforts against our detached possessions. With this view, the conquest of Egypt

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promised a variety of advantages; viz. the acquisition of an indemnity for the lost colonies of France; the occupancy of a territory situated so as to excite our uneasiness for our Indian possessions; and, which was still more important, the means of expatriating, and converting into quiet and useful colonists, a number of individuals of disappointed prospects and unsettled habits in the parent-state. To these general considerations, we are to add the personal urgency of *Bonaparte*; who, whether from a belief that he could accomplish a grand point for his country, or from views of personal aggrandizement, was incessant in pressing the measure on the executive power. Though still young, he possessed with the public all the influence resulting from a brilliant *debut* in the military career, and with the government the weight arising from having been instrumental in the late triumph of his patron *Barras* over *Carnot*, *Pichegru*, and others of the moderate party. All these motives led to the adoption of this singular and adventurous enterprize, under circumstances that involved the certainty both of resistance by land on the part of the Turks, and of a very formidable opposition by sea on the part of the British.

Fifteen years have now elapsed since the close of this expedition, and several accounts of it have been published both in England and France. Most of these have been noticed in our pages: but almost all the French details, except that of General *Reynier*, have been perverted by a disposition to flatter *Bonaparte*. A time, however, says M. MARTIN, is now come at which the truth may be freely spoken with regard to the proceedings of that Chief, who, according to an expression of his own, has terminated his political career. 'I will not, however, make use of this freedom for the purpose of rendering him still more odious; a plain narrative of facts is my object; and that alone will suffice to remove the veil which prejudice and political craft cast in former years over the actions of a man whose career was so destructive to France.'

M. MARTIN has allotted the first part of his work very unnecessarily, in our opinion, to an historical account of Egypt from the earliest ages; beginning with the dynasties prior to the history of Greece, and coming down to the time of the Crusades and the conquest of Egypt by the Turks. Leaving these remote discussions to lovers of the history of the dark ages, we shall confine our observations to the proper object of this performance; viz. the occupancy of Egypt by the French during the three years between 1798 and 1801. This eventful period may be divided, with reference to the respective commanders, into three parts: 1st, *The Government of Bonaparte*,

Bonaparte, from the sailing of the expedition from Toulon, 20. May 1798, to his departure for Europe, 23. August 1799:—2dly, The Government of Kleber, from 23. August 1799, to his death, 14. June 1800:—3dly, The Government of Menou, from 14. June 1800, to the final evacuation in September 1801.

The first period comprizes, at the outset, the capture of Malta, and the unsuccessful cruizes of Lord Nelson in quest of the French fleet and convoy. The total force of the French is stated by M. MARTIN at 10,000 seamen and 36,000 military, the latter being distributed on board of the men of war and four hundred transports. After having sailed from Toulon, they coasted Provence, Corsica, and Sardinia, and did not arrive at Malta till the 10th of June. Setting out from this island on the 20th, they held their course direct to Alexandria, and reached the neighbourhood of that port on the 2d of July, after an interval of not less than six weeks from their first departure. Ample time was thus given to our fleet to follow and oppose the movements of the French, and Lord Nelson had actually appeared off Alexandria in quest of them on the 28th of June, and quitted it only one day before their arrival. That he did not fall in with them before the landing always appeared to us one of the most unfortunate circumstances in the whole war. There could be no reason to doubt his success against a force so inferior in seamanship; and the overthrow, that would have ensued, would not only have prevented the mischief which took place in Egypt, but would perhaps have accelerated the return of Europe to permanent tranquillity by the fall or disgrace of the man who has since proved its most formidable enemy. This disappointment was certainly not owing to a want of vigilance on the part of our commander or his officers, but is to be ascribed, we believe, to that miserable deficiency in small swift-sailing vessels which deprived him of the means of information, and kept him occupied in an ineffectual cruise from one station to another; until the French fleet had not only landed all the men and stores, but might even have returned to Toulon, if the position of Aboukir had not been such as to flatter them with the hope of successful resistance.

Bonaparte, having approached the shore, communicated with the French consul at Alexandria early on the 2d of July; and, hearing that the English fleet had been so lately in the neighbourhood, he ordered the disembarkation to take place immediately, although the sea was rough. When rowing ashore in a boat, a signal was given for a strange vessel in the west, and Bonaparte was heard to exclaim, "Fortune, will you now abandon me? Grant me but four days, and all will

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be landed." His disquietude was soon at an end, the vessel in question proving to be a French frigate arrived from Malta.

The French force disembarked in Egypt consisted of 32,000 men; four thousand having been left at Malta, out of the following numbers:—14 half-brigades (2,200 each), 30,800; 7 regiments of cavalry (400 each), 2,800; guides, artillerymen, miners, and sappers, 2,400—Total, 36,000.

When a landing is once accomplished in Egypt by a superior army, the progress of the invaders may be very rapid. The country, flat and open throughout, presents nothing deserving of the name of a fortress, and few positions in which inferior forces can venture to make a stand. Expeditious movements, moreover, were necessary on the part of the French, because in a couple of months more the waters of the Nile would overflow the country, and render it impassable for large bodies of men until the month of February. They advanced accordingly with great dispatch, but not without suffering severely from the want of water and provisions in the desert-tracts between Alexandria and the Nile. The heat of the weather made the soldiers throw away their stock of biscuit, in the vain hope of finding a supply at the first village; and the consequence (pp. 184, 185.) was that a number of these unfortunate men dropped down dead from thirst and hunger. On the third day of this march, the division of *Reynier* arrived at the village of Bir-ket, and expected to meet there with some mitigation of their sufferings, but in vain: for, on going down into the only cistern in this miserable hamlet, their ears were assailed by the distressing cry, "*il n'y a pas d'eau.*" The servants of General *Reynier* had succeeded in obtaining, at the bottom of the cavity, a little muddy water, the touch of which would have softened the burning heat of his lips and mouth; and he had taken the basin in his hand, and was raising it to his head, when a distracted soldier ran towards him and said, "General, I know the respect that I owe to you, but I am on the point of expiring, and you hold in your hands that which can restore me to life." The General and the bye-standers were too much affected to resist the soldier, who seized the bowl and swallowed its contents with avidity. This distress continued until the troops arrived at Damanhour, where they found a small supply of water, and such nourishment as was afforded by eating the ears of standing corn.

The army, though still suffering from thirst, marched with less difficulty from Damanhour to Rhamanie, where it arrived in the night of the 11th of July: it even performed this march in half

half a day, though a distance of five *long* leagues: but Rhamanie was the place at which we were to find provisions, and, moreover, Rhamanie was on the banks of the Nile. What a charm was in this idea; what strength, what courage was it not capable of inspiring! What blessings, what salutations, were showered on this beneficent stream, when it first presented itself to the eager eyes of the French! Those of our men who first arrived on its banks appeared to draw from it a renewed life, and threw themselves into its current, without staying to tear off their clothes. Others, more prudent, were contented with drinking its waters. Fortunately, they are not dangerous; because, rolling over burning sands and under a torrid sky, they have not that coldness which would render them hurtful; while the constant perspiration occasioned by the climate soon corrects the effect of the draught. The army rested itself four days at Rhamanie.

The French had hitherto seen only flying bodies of Mameluke-cavalry, who did nothing more than intercept dispatches, or oblige detached parties to fall back on the main body. The first serious action took place at Chebrk-grisse, a village on the Nile, about ten miles above Rhamanie: on which spot two thousand Mamelukes, well armed and mounted, appeared in sight, and came down with great rapidity on the French infantry. We extract a short account of the action, which is deserving of attention from its similarity to subsequent battles in Europe, particularly to that of Lutzen in May 1813, and to the contest with the British right wing on the decisive day of Waterloo. Both afforded examples of infantry contending successfully against cavalry; the French being deficient in this description of force at Lutzen, while at Waterloo the mass of the British cavalry was employed in the centre and on the left.

‘As soon as our troops saw the enemy, they formed themselves into their ranks; it seemed as if they had suffered no fatigue; they thought of nothing but the Mamelukes, and only asked to march against them. *Bonaparte* drew up his army in five divisions by *echellons*, flanked on the wings by two villages which they occupied: each division forming a hollow square, having the baggage in the centre, and the artillery in the intervals of the battalions. The Mameluke-cavalry first attempted the extremity of the wings, in hopes of finding some weak point: but, meeting with a formidable line in every direction, they rallied, and came thundering down on us in a furious charge at full gallop. The French allowed them to advance within half musquet shot, and then received them with a tremendous discharge of artillery and musquetry, which brought down a great number on the spot. These men, full of courage, but devoid of skill, did not again collect in one body; some continued their charge in parties, and were received on the bayonets of the soldiers, who dismounted all who were desperate enough

enough to advance to their line. A few found means to get round to the other side of the squares, but they fell like their comrades before the fire of our soldiers. At last, they were completely routed, and pursued as far as the village of Chebrk-grisse.

This success, complete as it was to a certain extent, affected only the vanguard of the Mamelukes; their main body, under Murad Bey, being encamped in the neighbourhood of Cairo. Here these intrepid veterans awaited the arrival of the French, whose march along the Nile was much retarded by want of provisions, their little flotilla having been nearly destroyed by the Mamelukes.

They had found the villages abandoned, and every thing carried off by the peasants, so that the soldiers suffered under the horrors of famine in the most cruel manner: but it was, fortunately, just the time of gathering in a fruit that is cultivated only on the banks of the Nile. The water-melon, known by the name of *Pastèque*, which is very common in Lower Egypt, is at once cooling and nourishing, and was for above a week the only food of our troops; who, since that time, have universally borne it in most grateful remembrance. Indeed, already partaking the sentiments and prejudices of the people with whom they were about to live, the French would willingly have raised this delicious fruit to the rank of a deity, and have erected altars to its worship. At last, after a march of eight days, during which they suffered every kind of privation, the army came in sight of the Pyramids, on the morning of the 20th of July, and at night they learned that Murad Bey was intrenched at Embabeh.

On the 21st, the French advanced to meet him; and, at four o'clock in the afternoon, the army, which had been marching since day-break, and had neither halted for rest nor received the slightest refreshment, perceived a large body of cavalry moving in the horizon. The plan of the approaching battle was forthwith given out, and executed in the same manner as at Chebrk-grisse, Bonaparte drew up the five divisions in a half moon round the camp of the Mamelukes, so as to place the latter in the centre, and to make the hill form the diameter. He rode rapidly along the line, and, by one of those short and energetic speeches which have always characterized him on the field of battle, he worked up the minds of his soldiers to the highest pitch. "Frenchmen," said he, pointing to the Pyramids, "remember that from the summit of those monuments forty centuries have their eyes fixed on you." The worn-out soldiers seemed instantly to recover their strength, and answered him by a general call for battle. As soon as Murad observed the movements of the two foremost divisions, which advanced between Gizeh and Embabeh, he ordered them to be attacked: but the discharge from the artillery, and a rolling fire well kept up by the troops, produced a disastrous effect on his horsemen. Astonished to see himself, for the first time, stopped by infantry for whom he had hitherto felt a sovereign contempt,

Murad turned round to charge the divisions in the rear: but, overpowered by the cross fire from the other sides of the squares, he was obliged to pass them and to take a temporary position in a wood of palm-trees; from which he was soon afterward dislodged by the sharp-shooters, and forced to fly to the southward.

A part of the Mamelukes still remained in the camp of Embabeh, and it was to be apprehended that Murad might try to re-enter it. The division of *Menou*, commanded by General *Vial*, was consequently placed between the division of *Reynier* and the camp. During this interval, two other divisions, those of Generals *Bon* and *Rampon*, advanced to the entrenchments, to attack them on the left; when the Mamelukes rushed out at full gallop, intending to stop these two corps, attaching themselves in particular to that of *Rampon*, which was the least numerous; they did them some mischief, but were unable to shake their firm attitude. The columns were then halted, and a shower of balls drove the Mamelukes back to their camp, into which the French entered pell-mell with them, and made a dreadful carnage. A great number threw themselves into the Nile to escape by swimming, but, coming under the fire of a battalion of carabineers drawn up along the banks, they were almost all drowned.

In this manner, *Bonaparte* gained two victories over the Mamelukes. In the report which he made to his government, he said that he had always to struggle with superior numbers, and in contests of a nature so new that his troops were obliged to act with a coolness quite opposite to the ordinary impetuosity of the French character. "Had they given way to their ardour," said he, "they would not have obtained the victory, which could be secured only by the greatest patience." But we must candidly allow that never were victories more easily gained, and that the laurels which they brought belonged certainly to the soldiers, whose real courage was shewn in the fatigues and privations of all kinds which they bore for above a fortnight without a murmur. This difficulty once overcome, what could be done by 5 or 6000 cavalry, without knowledge of military tactics, and unprovided even with artillery, (for ten iron guns without carriages placed in haste on the intrenchments of Embabeh cannot merit that name,) what I say could this handful of brave men effect against an army of 30,000 valiant soldiers, confident from the effect of six years of continual triumphs, commanded by the flower of the French Generals, and supported by a formidable artillery? — The whole of the Mameluke-force in Egypt did not exceed 8,000 men. Hassan Bey occupied the upper country with about 500, and the camp of Ibrahim, on the right bank of the Nile, contained about 2,000; so that Murad could not have more than 5 or 6,000 at Embabeh.

The flight of the surviving Mamelukes was followed by the immediate surrender of Cairo, which had no force to resist the invader, and little attachment on the part of the inhabitants to the existing government; the authority of the Porte being in a great measure nominal, and the Mamelukes, who

were the actual governors, labouring under all the disadvantages of a body divided in itself and devoid of the sanction of a legitimate constitution. This rapid success was, however, soon clouded by the intelligence of the destruction of the French fleet at the battle of the Nile. Of this and most other actions in which the English were concerned, M. MARTIN's account is very unfair and incorrect; among other falsehoods, he states that the two leading ships of our squadron, after the Culloden had grounded, were so hotly received by the French that they surrendered, but were afterward retaken; and that, when the action was over, four of the French prizes were destroyed, because they were too much crippled to be carried off. We shall take no farther notice of it, however, except to mention that the partial insurrections, of which this victory became productive, were soon suppressed by the superiority of the French troops; the position of Suez being occupied, and Murad Bey driven, after a variety of conflicts, to the extremity of Upper Egypt.

The ease with which *Bonaparte* invaded and occupied Egypt is to be attributed both to the deficiency of military force on the part of his opponents, and to the limited extent of the country. Lower Egypt does not, in superficial space, exceed the contents of an equilateral triangle of 90 miles to a side; while Upper Egypt, or the country beyond Cairo, is nothing more than a valley varying from six to twelve miles in width, though of very great length, extending southwards as far as the 24th degree of north latitude, and being flanked by deserts on either side. It was easily over-run, if it might not have been so easily kept, but the French eventually conciliated Murad Bey by leaving him in possession of the government of an extensive district. It is a curious fact that Murad had a great distrust of *Bonaparte*, and would not consent to negotiate until the command came into the hands of *Kleber*.

In the beginning of the next year (1799), *Bonaparte* found himself in secure possession of Egypt, defended as it is on all sides by the sea or the deserts. He had thus the means of executing other projects; and, in an evil hour, he conceived that of penetrating into Syria, with the view of overawing the Porte, and of preventing any attack on Egypt by the Pachas of Acre, Damascus, or Aleppo. The army with which he invaded Syria consisted of four divisions, amounting in all to 13,000 men. It began its march in the early part of February 1799, and suffered much in the passage through the desert on the eastern frontier of Egypt, which extends from the site of the antient Pelusium all along to El Arish and Gaza. The troops were now on the territory of Palestine, and soon experienced

perienced a remarkable change of climate, showers and thunder-storms being very little known in Egypt. Having entered Gaza, and taken Jaffa by assault, *Bonaparte* proceeded northwards to Acre, which he invested on the 17th of March. Several of the engineers wished the commencement of the attack to be delayed until the arrival of the heavy artillery that was expected from Alexandria, but he insisted on beginning to batter the place with the three field-pieces which he had brought with him. He chose likewise to make an assault on the 28th of March, which was repulsed with great slaughter, and was the first serious notice received by the French of the difficulty of their enterprize. A second assault on the 1st of April was equally unsuccessful; and the crowds of inhabitants assembled on the surrounding mountains were now taught that these dreaded invaders were no longer irresistible. The success of the besieged in this bloody encounter was owing to several causes; to the effect of the fire of the English ships (the *Tigre* and the *Theseus*) on the French flank; to the solidity of a large tower forming a salient angle in the fortifications; and to the desperate courage of the garrison, who had heard of *Bonaparte's* massacre at Jaffa, and expected no safety in a capitulation.

The only quarter in which victory at this time attended the French was in the country to the eastward, and particularly in the plain between Mount Tabor and the sea of Galilee; where General *Kleber* routed a numerous horde of irregular combatants, and drove them across the Jordan. The rear of the army being thus secured, and a considerable supply of provisions obtained, the French re-united their troops before Acre, and on the 23d of April attempted a third assault. This ended like the foregoing: but the arrival of heavy artillery from Alexandria by the way of Jaffa, May 1., opened to them a more favourable prospect. They now succeeded in battering down the old tower, but it proved so strong as to cost them a great deal of ammunition, without leading to any practicable breach. The besieged continued to contend with all the courage of despair, and were animated by Sir Sidney Smith with the hope of the arrival of a powerful reinforcement. At last, on the evening of May 7., the fifty-first day of the siege, a convoy came in sight, and the *Tigre* and *Theseus* quitted their anchorage to meet it. The French supposed that these ships were gone to encounter some new enemy: but they had soon the mortification of seeing them conduct the convoy, consisting of thirty transports, into the road of Acre. *Bonaparte* now determined on a most vigorous and persevering assault, in the hope of entering the town before
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the disembarkation; and a most obstinate conflict took place during the night, with great loss on both sides: but by daylight the French had made progress, and had hoisted their standard on one of the towers. Mounds composed of sand-bags built in with the dead bodies of their fallen comrades now lessened the effect of the flanking-fire of the British; and the auxiliary troops, though embarked in the boats, were still at some distance from the harbour. Half of the assaulting force of the French had fallen, but the other half were on the point of making their way into the town, when, at this critical moment, Sir Sidney Smith put pikes into the hands of our seamen, and marched with them to the breach, which had now become practicable. The Turks, animated by this example, rushed forwards to defend their walls, and time was thus gained for the arrival of the new troops. By a singular coincidence, the French received at the same juncture a supply of ammunition from Gaza, and their heavy artillery now made the breach so very extensive as to admit of fifty men entering abreast. *Bonaparte* then ordered a fresh assault; and the governor *Djezzar Pacha*, confiding in his augmented strength, suggested the propriety of allowing the foremost of the French to enter the town, after which the troops newly arrived would close with them according to the Turkish mode of fighting. This plan being adopted, the loss of the French proved very considerable; and a body of two hundred grenadiers, who had taken refuge in a mosque, would have been sacrificed in an unavailing struggle, had not Sir Sidney prevailed on them to surrender to the English, with whom they knew their lives would be safe.

By this time, the confidence of the French in their General was greatly lessened, for they had before their eyes the ditch and ramparts strewed with the bodies of their fallen comrades: but *Bonaparte* still persisted; and it was not till after the ninth ineffectual assault that he could prevail on himself to raise the siege. This event took place May 20.; a number of the sick and wounded, being embarked without provisions or medicines, steered directly to the English ships; while others, who were at first able to march, attempted, but in vain, to retreat with their comrades; and many of them met their fate from the inhabitants of the country, particularly the *Naplousians*, who harassed the French without intermission. The latter, in revenge, plundered the towns of *Jaffa* and *Gaza*. *M. MARTIN* entertains no doubt of the truth of the charge brought against *Bonaparte* respecting the massacre of his prisoners at *Jaffa*: adding that he had not provisions to support them, and apprehended that they would join his enemies
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in the event of being set at liberty. This act has been avowed, but a different cause assigned for it, by *Bonaparte* himself, in a conversation with Mr. Warden, an English surgeon, since his exile at St. Helena; see M. Rev. for December last, page 432. The author speaks with equal confidence (vol. i. p. 314.) of *Bonaparte's* order to poison those of his own army that were an incumbrance to him; another point, also, on which we may refer to the curious dialogue just cited.

On returning from Syria, *Bonaparte* had the presumption to order a triumphal entry into Cairo, and contrived to make his troops forget their miseries in the noise of festivals: but the Turks had now taken courage to act offensively, and landed a force of 12 or 15,000 men at Aboukir in the middle of July. He therefore lost no time in marching to attack them, and on the 25th of July fought a battle near Aboukir, the result of which was the almost total destruction of the disembarked troops. He immediately sent off to France a pompous account of this success, to serve as a counterpoise to his loss of reputation in the Syrian expedition; and perhaps with the farther view of paving the way for those ambitious schemes, which were suggested to him by the growing discredit of the government at home. Irregular as was the intercourse with France, he had learned the progress of *Suwarrow* in Italy, and of the Austrians in Switzerland: he felt that the circumstances were such as would give great importance to a military man; and he forthwith made arrangements to attempt his passage to Europe, as soon as a change of weather should force the English blockading ships to leave their station off Alexandria. He managed this matter with his usual artifice, keeping his intention strictly secret; appropriating, without scruple, to the equipment of the two frigates which were to convey him, and his officers, the few guns that were left for the defence of Alexandria; and appointing an interview with General *Kleber* at Rosetta on the day after that on which he had actually departed from a different port. He sailed on the 23d of August, and arrived at Frejus in Provence, after a rather tedious passage, on the 9th of October. He had calculated but too justly on the state of parties in France, and on the contempt entertained for the Directory; for in one short month, he found means to bring things to a point that led to its overthrow, and to his own assumption of the executive power.

III^d Period. *The Government of General Kleber.* — We have given in another place (M. R. Vol. lxxiv. N.S. p. 499.) the substance of the letter of instructions from *Bonaparte* to *Kleber*, the leading object of which was to represent the retention of Egypt as a primary consideration, unless the course of mili-
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tary affairs in Europe should become more and more unfavourable to France. *Kleber*, as soon as he recovered from his surprise at the evasion of his chief, occupied himself with the introduction of various improvements in the administration of affairs in Egypt; and, in the course of a few weeks, he wrote to the executive government at Paris (which he still considered to be the Directory) a full account of the difficulties of his situation. The army was ill supplied with arms and ammunition; the proportion of sick was on the increase; the finances were in a wretched state; and the Turks were threatening a fresh invasion. "Such," he added, "is the situation in which *Bonaparte* has left me the heavy responsibility of the command. He no doubt saw the fatal crisis approach; what alternative does there now remain for me to take? — None, I believe, but that of continuing the negotiation which he had begun with the Turks. If it leads to no result but that of gaining time, I shall be satisfied." This letter, written under the smart of disappointment, was perhaps too highly coloured, and over-rated considerably the distresses of the French.

The Turks soon shewed themselves disposed to treat, and returned a favourable answer to the pacific overture transmitted by the French. *Kleber* therefore appointed two negotiators, of whom one was General *Desaix*; and who, after long conferences, held at first on board the *Tigre* and afterward at the fortress of *El Arish*, concluded in the end of January 1800 a convention, of which the substance was "a truce for three months; the evacuation of Egypt by the French; its restitution to Turkey; and the conveyance of the French army to the mother-country, partly in French and partly in Turkish vessels." This treaty was perfectly fair and equal under existing circumstances, but it had one very material defect, — the want of the signature of a British officer. Unluckily, the dispatch of *Kleber* to the Directory had fallen into the hands of our admiral in the Mediterranean, (*Lord Keith*), the vessel carrying it being taken near *Toulon*.

'The person charged with these dispatches wrapped them up in a pocket handkerchief, in which he also put a cannon ball to sink them: but, the handkerchief being of fine cambric, was torn by the weight of the shot before it reached the water, and the ball alone sank, while the handkerchief and the letters floated on the surface. The English, on drawing near in their boat, perceived something on the water, and very soon recovered all that had been thus ineffectually thrown into the sea. The captain went to communicate this discovery to *Lord Keith*, who commanded the British naval force in the Mediterranean; and his Lordship hastened to transmit these letters to London.'

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Our government had strong objections to the French in Egypt being allowed a free passage home, the result of which would be that they would increase the military means of their country in her operations against our allies. Orders had accordingly been sent to Lord Keith to oppose their return by sea; and the impression produced on his Lordship, by the distressing picture exhibited in the letter of *Kleber*, was that the French troops might be forced to surrender as prisoners of war. Sir Sidney Smith, who without signing the treaty had taken an active part in promoting it, was determined that there should be no room to complain of want of candour on his part, and sent forthwith his secretary to apprise *Kleber* of the hazard that he would incur in embarking his army.

“I would not, for my part,” said Sir Sidney, “hesitate in deviating from these orders: but, as other officers would not deem themselves justified in doing this, it would be a mere deception on my brave antagonists to encourage them to embark. I owe it to you and to myself to conceal nothing of the actual state of things.” — ‘In these words,’ adds M. MARTIN, ‘we recognize the true language of a generous and candid officer, and such is the character that Sir Sidney left among all the French who were in Egypt. But ere this some of the French officers had actually set sail. Unfortunate *Desaix*! why did not you remain among us to the last! You would not then have fallen at Marengo, in the cause of a man who has since been the scourge of your country;—you would have succeeded *Kleber* in the command in Egypt, and would have prevented the disgrace brought on the army by the ignorance of *Menou*.’

The notice from Sir Sidney reached *Kleber*, March 12., at a very critical moment. His troops were collected in the neighbourhood of Cairo, and on the eve of separating on their march to the coast, while the Turkish army had advanced within thirty miles of him. Had Sir Sidney's letter been two days later in arriving, the dispersion of the French troops might have led to their overthrow in detail.

‘*Kleber*, without loss of time, replaced the cannon on the batteries, put a stop to the departure of the stores, brought back such as had been already sent off, assembled all his disposable force, and took a position in front of Cairo. He sent Mr. *Keith* to the Grand Vizir, for the purpose of communicating the contents of the letter which he had received from Sir S. Smith; and he expressed his wish that, in the present state of affairs, the Vizir would not leave Belbeis till this business was fully understood. But the Vizir paid no regard whatever to this message; he continued to advance, pushed on to Matarieh, and wished at all events to enter the capital according to the terms of the treaty, because, he said, it had been announced and promised to his army.’

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The Turkish commander continued obstinate; and, in answer to a second application from *Kleber* to retire, sent word that a "Vizir never retreated." The consequence was that *Kleber* set out on the 20th of March to attack the Turkish host in their entrenchments. They awaited him courageously: but their artillery being badly served, and their cavalry, as usual, unable to make any impression on the French infantry, the consequence was the flight and dispersion of this numerous army. *Kleber* pursued it all the way to the desert on the eastern frontier, and, on returning, succeeded in quelling a formidable insurrection that had taken place at Cairo. The mind sickens at these scenes of bloodshed: but it is due to the French to add that offensive measures were indispensably necessary in their situation; and that they did not attack till their own preservation demanded it, for they were not directed by an unprincipled adventurer, but by a moderate and honourable commander, the companion and imitator of *Picheprou* and *Moreau*. The career of this commander, however, was now drawing to a close: a fanatic from Aleppo, whose head had been inflamed by the enthusiasm of Turkish priests, having come to Cairo on purpose to assassinate the "leader of the unbelievers;" and he soon found an opportunity, when *Kleber* was walking out, unattended, to survey some improvements in a building adjoining to head-quarters. Attempts were made by our journalists, and by those who seek in every thing an aliment for public credulity, to fix the odium of this assassination first on *Menou* and afterward on *Bonaparte*: but in this case they were both guiltless; and the act was as much the result of individual impulse as in the atrocious event of the same nature which took place a few years ago in the lobby of the British House of Commons.

Period III. *Government of Menou*. — We are now to consider French troops in a situation that has not often fallen to their lot since the Revolution; we mean, placed under the conduct of a weak and inexperienced commander. General *Reynier*'s book has already exhibited the character of *Menou*, and those who may suspect a tincture of personal acrimony in that production will not find a milder colouring in the pages of M. MARTIN. In fact, *Menou* owed his appointment merely to the accident of seniority, and to a hope entertained by the other general officers that in the hour of emergency he would be guided by their advice: but he soon endeavoured to form a party for himself, and affected to treat *Reynier* and those attached to him as anti-colonists, or men ready to make any sacrifice to accomplish their return to France: while his own
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system, and his expectation of favour with *Bonaparte*, rested on an obstinate adherence to the possession of Egypt.

This man united to excessive self-love the ostentation of superior knowledge with a profound ignorance of the military profession. He had an unbounded ambition, but he possessed none of those virtues or qualities, either civil or military, that are necessary for the attainment of an elevated station. Eclipsed by the splendid reputation of those officers who had acquired their fame by the display of talents, and by the successive dangers which they had encountered, he felt a mean jealousy of them, and used his utmost endeavours to undermine their character. He had been employed in the expedition to Egypt at his own desire, but had no sooner landed than he felt that he could not appear with any advantage in an army so brilliant in talents, and in courage; and he therefore formed the project of acquiring reputation in a path where he hoped to find no rivals. He had great pretensions to knowledge in the management of civil affairs, and thought that he had gained a right to this character by his labours in the *Assemblée Constituante*, of which body he had been a member. Full of the ideas of innovation and perfectibility, which he had learned in that assembly, he was anxious, he said, to introduce the axe of reform into this branch of the government. He aspired, therefore, at the place of *Administrateur Général* of Egypt: but, before his departure for Paris, *Bonaparte* had fixed his eye on M. *Poussielgue*, an ardent, laborious, and persevering man, who was directed to confine himself to the plans of the Commander-in-chief and the mode of government which he had adopted; so that no opening was afforded for a heated brain, which would have overturned every thing. Being thus unable to rise above the crowd among the French, *Menou* doubtless hoped to elevate himself to a high rank among the Turks. This example was not new in his family. A man known in history, the Marquis *de Bonneval*, his ancestor, after having long served the Emperor of Germany, had also abjured the Christian faith, entered into the Ottoman army, and had attained the rank of Pacha. *Menou*, in his dreams, no doubt aimed still higher; he took the name of Abd-Allah, the Slave of God; and, with the intention of shaking off entirely "the old man," he determined to marry a lady who should be both an Egyptian and a Mohammedan: in fact, he contracted this engagement according to the custom of the country, without knowing or seeing the female.

It was generally considered that, from the moment at which *Menou* assumed the command, our affairs in Egypt were in a bad way: but the officers cherished a hope that the First Consul, who well knew the man, would not suffer him to retain this situation. *Menou* was scarcely invested with it, however, before he began to plan schemes for its duration, by flattering the new ruler of France in order to obtain a confirmation of his appointment; and the hatred of *Bonaparte* to *Kleber* most unfortunately seconded his views. *Menou* transmitted to Paris the most sanguine accounts of

of the state of Egypt, and of the wonderful exertions that he was disposed to make. His reports, which were published in the *Moniteurs*, shew that he attributed to himself alone the important results of the victory at Heliopolis; that he was convinced that, after such a victory, his army was in no danger of being attacked; and his letters, full of ostentation, declared his determination to defend Egypt to the last moment of his existence. He stated, also, that Alexandria was fortified in such a manner as to be in no dread of a siege, and that the canal was at all times navigable. Not one word of this was true: but he was resolved, cost what it might, to gain his point, which was to be confirmed as Commander-in-chief.

This confirmation arrived at Cairo 6th Nov. 1800. *Bonaparte* was aware of *Menou's* incapacity, but he relied on the other Generals, and he was misled by the false reports which he received. *Menou*, now certain of his rank, placed no bounds to the indulgence of his envious and mischievous propensities. Afraid, however, openly to attack the other Generals, he circulated, by means of his creatures, the most odious reports respecting the visit which these officers had made to him on the 6th of Brumaire: insinuating that they had come with an intention to arrest him; and pretending that it was by his firmness alone that they were prevented from committing this act of violence. He even hinted that they had an understanding with the Turks, and that they supplied the latter with corn; in short, he hoped that, by lowering them in the public opinion, he should induce them to quit Egypt; when, having none but Generals of his own selection, his self-love would no longer be humiliated by superiority of talents, nor would he be opposed in his plans of altering and overthrowing all that had been done by others.

Every individual in the army, whose military character or advancement depended on the reports of the Commander-in-chief, felt, as soon as *Menou's* confirmation arrived, that the only mode of acquiring his favour was by avoiding familiar intercourse with the other Generals, and even speaking prejudicially of them: these officers consequently found themselves reduced to the society of a few faithful friends: for, though the prevailing opinion was in their favour, the fear of animadversion prevented them from being visited. Resigned to their fate, but always inflexible in the discharge of their duty, they remained firm at their posts, and continued to enlighten the mind of *Menou* by their advice; endeavouring to prevent him from deviating from the course prescribed by professional rules, and hoping that the turn of events would preclude any particular disaster.

We are now arrived at the end of 1800, by which time the continental war was in a manner closed, and France was left with no other enemy than England. In the ruined state of the French marine, *Bonaparte* was unable to send effectual succours to Egypt; and a squadron under *Ganteaume*, which left Brest with four or five thousand soldiers on board, had found it necessary to take shelter in Toulon. This occurrence happened

happened fortunately for us when our expedition under General Abercrombie was on the point of effecting a landing in Egypt. Our troops had passed some time at Marmarice, (near Rhodes,) waiting partly for the season of military operations in Egypt, and partly for the co-operation of the Turks and of the auxiliaries from India. At last, they sailed, and they appeared on the 1st of March in the roadstead of Aboukir, one of the very few stations on the north coast of Egypt which admit of the landing of an army. It was now that the French felt all the disadvantage of being under a commander who had not seen service, and who was at the same time too vain to be guided by the advice of others. General *Reynier* received orders from *Menou* to march, with a part of the troops, to defend the eastern frontier of Egypt against the Turks: but he ventured to remonstrate, and to recommend, in the first place, an attack with their whole force on the English. "Our eastern frontier," he added, "may be left to itself; the Vizir will not march until he hears of the progress of the English; and, if he did, his advance even to Cairo would be less dangerous than the success of our disciplined opponents." *Menou*, however, declined the suggestion, and repeated the original order, in the vain expectation that the English would not disembark. Eight days in fact passed before the weather permitted our countrymen to land: but on the 11th intelligence came to Cairo that our whole army had come on shore, and driven the opposing force from its station. *Menou* now saw the necessity of proceeding with most of his troops to Alexandria, and *Reynier* obtained his wish to accompany the main body.

Frederick II. remarks, in his memoirs, that military affairs are little else than a succession of errors, and that he is the best General who commits the fewest. Never did a greater number of overights and disappointments occur, than those which took place with regard to both French and English in the expedition to Egypt in 1801. The French had a weak commander, and the English had inefficient allies. An unexpected change of weather kept the latter a week on a dangerous coast, disclosing their intention to the enemy, who might thus have rendered the disembarkation extremely hazardous: yet this precious interval was lost to the French by the indecision of *Menou*, and time was given to the English not only to land but to accomplish the very laborious task of disembarking all their military stores. Again, our countrymen were grossly misled by the reports of the Turks respecting the number and position of their opponents; and they were unable to correct these errors, owing to the unfortunate

loss of the engineer-officers who were sent to make a survey of the coast. Gen. Abercrombie was thus obliged to feel his way, and to proceed step by step, instead of driving, as he otherwise would have done, the portion of the enemy opposed to him into Alexandria, and separating it at once from the reinforcements expected from Cairo. In the account given of our operations, M. MARTIN partakes too much of the partial spirit of *Reynier*, and bestows no praise on any of our exploits except the disembarkation.

At last, on the 5th of March, about half past six in the morning, an immense number of boats, crowded with troops, rowed towards the shore, between the opening of the lake Maadieh and the fort of Aboukir. The French were drawn up in order of battle on the heights, opposite to the part threatened. The enemy advanced in excellent order, in an immense line, the seamen rowing with all their strength; and they gained the shore with such extreme quickness, and such regularity of movement, that 6,000 men disembarked at the same instant, under the protection of the gun-boats, which kept up a close and well supported fire. These 6,000 men were received by a rolling fire, a shower of grape-shot, and a charge of the bayonet; their right even was shaken: but, being assisted by a strong column from their left, and presenting besides a line of great extent, the French, from the smallness of their numbers, were unable to keep up a fire on all sides, and were obliged to give way. They had fought with the greatest resolution from seven o'clock till nine; but, fearful of exposing the garrison and town of Alexandria, General *Friant* fell back on that place, and took his stand in front of it.

The second action (13th March) is described in few words, as attended with heavy loss to both parties, and as enabling the English to occupy a position in which their flanks were covered on one side by the sea, and on the other by the lake of Maadieh. The intervening space was a mile and a half in length; and General *Reynier* adverts to the smallness of its extent as an advantage, without making an allowance for the very limited number of the troops, the total of which did not exceed twelve or thirteen thousand men. He chuses to represent the French, after the junction of the troops from Cairo, at less than ten thousand, but we have no doubt that the two armies were of nearly equal force. The enemy had an acknowledged superiority in cavalry and artillery; while the strength of the British lay in infantry.

Menou having arrived on the 20th at Alexandria, it was agreed to attack the British on the next morning, before they could be apprized of the extent of the reinforcement received. An indirect application being made to *Reynier* and *Lamartine* for a plan of attack, *Menou* adopted the one that was sent to him,

him, and delivered it to the different Generals in the evening. The plan was to begin by a false attack on the British left; to make a great and sudden effort on their right, in the hope of forcing it on the centre; and to complete the success of the day by a charge of cavalry, which was, in the proud anticipation of our opponents, "to drive the remains of our army into the lake." The march began an hour before day-light, in order that the French might reach the British line without being galled by the fire of the redoubts and gun-boats. *Lamusse*, an officer well known as heading the desperate attacks made in Italy, Egypt, and Syria, by order of *Bonaparte*, was appointed to command against the British right. He had, it seems, no fear but that our redoubts would be easily carried by a body of grenadiers, supported by the heads of columns; and his soldiers marched accordingly in close order, with the intention of forming into line on drawing near the British position. *Reynier*, meantime, was to give the alarm on our left wing, and was confident of attracting our attention to that point, because we should consider it as the position likely to be occupied by French reinforcements arriving from the interior. He accordingly surprized a redoubt, made some prisoners, and, as he says, "greatly excited the attention of the British:" but his brethren on the other wing found the case otherwise; and in fact, from the first moment, General *Abercrombie* had directed his attention and his disposable force to the support of his right wing. *Lamusse* behaved with his usual intrepidity, until he received a mortal wound near the redoubt on our right. Several other officers of note were killed or wounded in this desperate conflict; and *Reynier* wishes to ascribe to this circumstance, and to the detached nature of the attack, that overthrow which recent events justify us in attributing to a prouder cause. The fact was, that the steadiness of our officers and men was on this, as on many subsequent occasions, the source of discomfiture to the enemy.

The fall of *Lamusse* induced *Reynier* to come immediately round in person to replace him, with the intention of proposing to *Menou* a second attack with the infantry. When about to take measures to that effect, he was surprized to see the cavalry on a full gallop to charge, and he had scarcely made a brigade approach to support them when he was a witness of their repulse. Indeed, circumstances had been so unfavourable to any prospect of success from a cavalry attack, that General *Rosse*, the commanding officer, delayed the onset until *Menou's* order was given for the third time. That officer then fell on the spot, and three-fourths of the men and horses were killed or disabled. It was now nearly nine o'clock, and

Reynier urged *Marmy* to take promptly a determination either to retreat or to advance; but two hours more were passed in indecision, till at last a retreat was ordered; and, the British not pursuing, the French withdrew about eleven o'clock, to the camp from which they had sallied forth in the morning. Our loss was about thirteen hundred men; that of the French is not specified by *Reynier*, but was no doubt between three and four thousand, although M. MARTIN is not ashamed to reduce it to half the number.

The succeeding events are too fresh in the recollection of our readers to stand in need of any recapitulation in this place. In fact, we have been led to enlarge on the previous circumstances more by a desire to exhibit, in a connected view, the events which have hitherto been generally treated in detached portions, than by any novelty in the relation, or any value that we attach to the present performance. Though the author writes from personal observation, and is sufficiently explicit in point of dates, his work is both inaccurate and feeble, and by no means calculated to form a record for the future historian.

ART. II. *Histoire Abrégée de la Littérature Romaine, &c.*; i.e.

An abridged History of Roman Literature, by F. SCHALL, *Conseiller de Cour* to the King of Prussia, attached to his Legation at Paris. 8vo. 4 Vols. Paris. 1815. Imported by De Boffe. Price 2l. 2s. sewed.

WITH considerable interest we announced, and with patient attention we epitomized, this author's *Abridged History of Greek Literature* in the lxxiiiid volume of our Review, p. 449. He now undertakes a similar short view of the history of Roman Literature, which we shall critically analyze on the same plan as before; silently substituting for the exact contents of the chapter under notice such remarks as we conceive to be necessary for the correction of the work. On this occasion, however, we meet with less of questionable proposition and crude inquiry: the method adopted in the composition is more circumspect, comprehensive, and expatiatory; and the way is broader, more beaten, less rugged, and less difficult. Indeed, the French cultivate so much more the study of the Roman than of the Greek writers, that accounts ostentatiously copious were deemed necessary in an elementary work intended for them. Great use has been made in the present compilation of *Schaaf's Encyclopedia of Elementary Literature*, a German work of merit in this department of learning; and obligations are also expressed to M. Boissonnade,

nally, lately a member of the Imperial Institute; for some correction of the French style; which the author, as a native of Prussia, may fairly be suspected not to possess in Parisian perfection.

Two introductory dissertations are prefixed, concerning each of which a few words may be expedient: the one treats of the primordial colonists of Italy, and the other on the origin of the Latin language.

Until the time of Aristotle, Italy is here said to have been divided into six provinces, called Ausonia or Opica, Tyrrenia, Iapygia, Umbria, Liguria, and Hænetia. Thus Thucydides places Cuma and Aristotle places all Latium in Opica. Antiochus, a son of Xenophanes, who flourished about the year 520 of Rome, wrote a geographical work intitled *Italiæ ðixiſmos*, of which Strabo makes some mention; and on this authority probably Thucydides relies in contrasting, (vii. 33.) from Iapygia, Italy properly so called, which originally comprehended only the southern part of the peninsula. The triumvirate of Octavius, Anthony, and Lepidus first extended the denomination of Italy to the Alps. About three hundred years after the Christian era, when the Emperor Maximian transferred his residence to Milan, the name of Italy was exclusively applied to the northern provinces; and in this sense the kings of Lombardy afterward called themselves Kings of Italy.

In early days, a nomade-population of Gaelic and Cimbric graziers entered Italy by land on the north; and a Greek population of pirates and fugitives settled in the sea-ports of the south. Lanzi, in his *Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, is inclined to discover every where traces of the Greeks, and conceives the internal population to have chiefly descended from them: but, as many words in the Latin language are not of Greek origin, and are found in the Gaelic and Cimbric dialects of Ireland and Wales, these words must have come from the inlanders, and not from the transmarine colonists. A remarkable word of this kind is *caseus*, or cheese; from the existence of which, in the Latin language, it may rationally be inferred that the art of making cheese was carried into Italy by the Cimbric or Pelasgic graziers, and first practised there by them. On the relative civilization of the Pelasgic graziers, and of the Hænetic pirates, we made several animadversions in our lxxixth vol. p. 491—502., which are not less applicable to the early condition of Italy than to that of Greece.

M. SCHOLL would divide the original colonists of Italy into five tribes, whom he calls Illyrians, Iberians, Celts, Pelasgi, and Etruscians: but we object to this division that it is not

founded on the distinction of languages. All the tribes which entered Italy from Illyria, at the northern extremity of the Adriatic, are called Illyrian occasionally by the geographers: but of these tribes only the Gaelic and Cimbric have left traces in the Latin language, — that is, the Celts and Pelasgi, and the Etrurians. We incline to dismiss the Illyrians from among the stem-tribes of Italy, as merely indicating the course of progress; and the Iberi, ranked by the present author among the Cantabrian or Basque tribes, who rather appear to be of African origin. From Strabo, (lib. iii. p. 166.) the name Iberi seems to be synonymous with Westlanders; and accordingly the westernmost settlers in Lombardy, the tribes inhabiting the coast about Genova, are described as Iberi. The Etrurians form the most important and influential portion of the tribes who entered Italy by land; and authorities are here adduced (p. 33.) for ascribing to them a government by an hereditary order, divided into priests and soldiers. This constitution so closely resembles the division of the Pelasgic, or Welsh, nations into the bardic orders of Druids and Braints, that the Etrurians may safely be referred to the Pelasgic stock.

Dissertation II., on the origin of the Latin language, contains some curious documents of its pristine state. Such are the Oscan-inscription, published in 1774 at Rome from a marble monument at Nola, intitled *Passerii Lingue Oscæ Specimen singulare*; — the song of the Arval-brethren, found engraved on a stone discovered in 1778, and preserved in the vestry of St. Peter's; — the portion of the laws of Numa preserved by Festus; — and the inscription on the rostral column erected in honour of Duillius Nepos. In this last may be remarked the habitual use of the old ablatives in *ad* and *ed*, and the genitives in *ai*. The progress of culture approximated the Latin language more and more to the Greek. It is here stated that the first alphabet had only sixteen letters, and that it was introduced by the Pelasgi. R, G, X, H, K, F, Y, Z, are considered as the letters of posterior introduction.

The History of Roman Literature embraces a period of twelve centuries, from the foundation of the city to the fall of the Western empire. It is here divided into five periods. I. The five centuries terminating with the first Punic war. II. From the close of the first Punic war to the death of Sylla. III. The Augustan Age. IV. The Silver Age, terminating with the Antonines. V. The decline and fall of Latin literature. — Its revival among the moderns, not as a vernacular but as a learned language, forms no part of the author's plan.

Of

Of the first period, little remains. Some *fescennine* or harvest songs, grossly indecent, and some *Atellan* farces of a similar character, are recorded, but not preserved. The well-known fable of Menenius Agrippa exists only in the pages of Livy, not in its original garb. A few inscriptions, a few fragments of ancient laws, and some legislative speeches imputed to early patriots, supply pretences for literary notice.

Of the second period, more is known. The erudite dissertation of Funck, *De Adolescentiâ Linguae Latinae*, printed at Marburg, is quoted with applause; and a glossary is appended of the words current during this period, which afterward became obsolete. — Comedy preceded tragedy at Rome: but the case was the reverse in Greece. The earliest Roman tragedian was Livius Andronicus of Tarentum: who, at the close of the first Punic war, and at the instigation of the Consul Livius Salinator, (to whose children he was preceptor,) translated into Latin nineteen Greek plays, in which he performed with applause. — To Andronicus succeeded Ennius as a dramatist. He translated *Hecuba* and *Medea* from the Greek, some fragments of which versions remain in quotations; and he accompanied the campaigns of Scipio Africanus, who probably encouraged dramatic exhibitions in the camp. — Marcus Pacuvius, the nephew of Ennius, continued his theatrical cares, and translated several plays from the Greek. He lived most habitually at Rome, but died in Tarentum at an advanced age. — Lucius Attius followed Pacuvius. Among his tragedies is enumerated an original and national drama called *Brutus*. — Besides these four tragic poets, Cneius Nevius, a cotemporary and enemy of Scipio Africanus, obtained notice by his satirical comedies, but was imprisoned for his licentiousness, and finally banished to Uficia; where he died in the year of Rome 550.

These, however, were but harbingers of the dramatic excellence which was destined to follow. Under Plautus, who was born in the year of Rome 527 at Sarsina in Umbria, the comic theatre of the Romans first acquired a respectable and enduring interest; and his comedies, about twenty in number, still supply fables, characters, situations, and repartees to modern poets. They are chiefly derived from the Greek, but have been much nationalized and refashioned in the transplantation. Broad humour and stretch of character distinguish this able writer. — Eight years before the death of Plautus, and 190 before Christ, Terence was born in Africa, and probably at Carthage: but, being stolen by pirates while a boy, and sold as a slave to Terentius Lucanus a Roman senator, he grew up with the language and tastes of a foreign

reign and hostile country. Scipio Africanus and Laelius became his patrons after he had obtained his freedom. He has left six comedies, of exemplary merit and purity; and he lost in a shipwreck, according to Suetonius, one hundred and eight pieces, translated from the Greek, chiefly of Menander. He acquired some property at Rome, probably as manager of a theatre, and retired with it to Greece, where he died at the early age of forty; leaving an only daughter, who married a Roman knight. Feeling, discrimination, and taste, embellish the comedies of Terence: but they want the prominence of effect which is so conspicuous in Plautus.

Quintus Atta wrote the first comedies that were truly national, in which Roman characters and dresses alone appeared: these pieces were called *Togatas*, in opposition to the *Prætextata* of the Greek school. Cæcilius Statius, Lucius Afranius, Sextus Turpilius, Quintus Trabea, and Licinius Tegula are also mentioned as dramatic authors by Horace, Quintilian, Cicero, and Aulus Gellius. Pomponius Bædoniensis and Quintus Nævius excelled in farces, or Atellan comedies.

From the drama, M. SCHOLL proceeds to other lines of art, less influential on public culture and refinement. A bad translation of the *Odyssey* was executed by Livius Andronicus. Nævius wrote a metrical chronicle of the first Punic war, which Cicero praises, and also an *Iliad* Cypria. Ennius made an extensive metrical chronicle, in eighteen books, of the Annals of Rome, and translated a Greek poem on good eating, intitled *Phagesia*. He also wrote satires in dithyrambic and irregular metre, which were imitated by Pacuvius and Lucilius; and Valerius Cato may be classed with them for his *Dira in Battiarum*, or maledictions on the persons to whom the confiscations of civil warfare had transferred his farm.

The epigram, it is observed, should consist of two parts, the subject and the predicate; and it is perfect only in as much as it includes both. As it is also the least of all poems, it does not admit of any blemish. The subject should be defined with rapidity and precision, and the observation predicated should be ingenious and striking: the former may be compared to a monument, and the latter to its inscription. Portius Licinius, Lutatius Catulus, and Valerius Aeduanus introduced epigrammatic poetry among the Romans; unless the single epigram ascribed to Pomponius intitles him to the precedence.

The history of Roman prose succeeds to that of Roman poetry during this second period. The historians Fabius Pictor,

Pictor, Portius Cato, Scribonius Libo, Pomponius Albinus, Calpurnius Piso, Caisius Ilerdina, Maximus Servilius, Sempronius Tuditans, Cestus Antipater, Sempronius Atellio, Sextus and Cneius Gallus, Clodius Licinius, Junius Gracchanus, Aelius Tubero, Lutatius Catulus, Otacilius Pileus, and Lucius Siseinna, are with meritorious industry dug out of the obscure places in which some mention occurs of their writings.

—Among biographers, are named Aemilius Scaurus, Rutilius Rufus, and especially Sylla, whose life of himself is much to be regretted as a literary loss. As Priscian quotes the twenty-first book of it, it must have been written with considerable detail. —Among the orators of this period are enumerated Cornelius Cethegus, Cato the elder, the Gracchi, Sulpitius Galba, Licinius Crassus, and Marcus Antonius the grandfather of the triumvir.

1. The embassy of Carneades, who came from Athens to Rome, accompanied by the stoic Diogenes, and the peripatetic Cratylus, and who taught rhetoric in Italy, is minutely related. It founded the schools of philosophy at Rome, which incurred some persecution from magistrates jealous for the ancient superstitions. Lucullus had a principal merit in obtaining toleration for the Greek lectures; and in opening a noble library to his fellow-citizens.

2. Under the head Jurisprudence, we have an endless catalogue of little lawgivers. —Grammarians, or, as the author prefers to call them, grammatists, next pass in review. Gniphon, a Gaul, who was educated at Alexandria, was among these the most celebrated for polyglottic learning. He was employed by the father of Julius Caesar to assist in the education of his son, and probably prepared alike the conquest of Gaul and the seizure of Alexandria. —On Rural Economy, Cato the elder is noticed at length; he is the only ornament of that department of literature in the second period.

3. The Augustan age of Roman literature is here characterized, not in the chronological order of the literary exertions which have immortalized it, but in the systematic order of the studies cultivated. The drama ranks first; and the *Mimes*, or gesticular dramas, which in the large theatres of the Romans progressively superseded the old plays, are minutely described, chiefly on the authority of Ziegler's dissertation *De Mimis Romanorum*, printed at Göttingen in 1788. A mixture of dialogue and dumb-show was usually found expedient, and much attention was paid to the splendor and magnificence of the pageantry; some improvisation was also tolerated in the actors of subordinate parts. In short, the Roman *mimes* much resembled the performances now given at the Circus, in which

horses

horses and heroes are the silent actors, and musicians and merry-men are the audible performers. — Laberius, Publius Syrus, and Mattius, were celebrated contributors to the stage at this period. The tragedy of Oedipus in Seneca's dramatic anthology is here ascribed to Julius Cæsar Strabo, a relation of the dictator his namesake; that of Thyestes to Varius; and that of Medea to Ovid. Æsopus and Roscius were the most celebrated actors.

The epopea follows. Mattius translated the *Iliad* into Latin, and Terentius Varro Atacinus rendered the *Argonautics*. These were the specimens which prepared the *Æneid*. M. SCHÖLL comments on Virgil with more complacency than novelty; and, in reviewing Ovid's works and life, it is here intimated that the cause of his banishment was the displeasure of Livia, who discovered that the poet and his friend Fabius Maximus were concerting with Augustus a restoration of the young Agrippa, then banished to Planasia, to the prejudice of Livia's Tiberius. It is in the sixth epistle of the fourth book, *De Ponto*, that Ovid accuses himself of the death of Fabius, occasioned no doubt by his betraying the secret. (See the life of Ovid prefixed by M. Villenave to his translation of the *Metamorphoses*.) — In didactic poetry, Lucretius is extolled, but the author of the *Georgics* is preferred; and this familiar poem is analyzed in needless detail. — Satire succeeds; and Horace is epitomized with trivial assiduity. — Elegies are next reviewed; and copious articles are devoted to Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius.

Volume II. opens with the prose-writers of the third period: First the Historians; next, the Orators; thirdly the Letter-writers; fourthly, the Philosophers; while Science, Jurisprudence, and Grammar constitute the remaining divisions. Some awkwardness of distribution results from returning again and again to the same author in his distinct capacities. In the critique on Cornelius Nepos, we have the following passage:

“As this author is one of those who are most commonly put into the hands of young persons, we shall indicate some of the more prominent errors into which he has fallen. He confounds, 1. Miltiades the son of Cimon with Miltiades the son of Cypselus. Herodotus relates that the latter conducted an Athenian colony into the Chersonesus, and founded there a sovereignty or tyranny. From Cypselus, descended Miltiades the first, and Cimon; from Cimon descended Stesagoras the successor of Miltiades the first, and also Miltiades the second; the two Miltiades were uncle and nephew. 2. In the life of Pausanias, he confounds Darius and Xerxes. Mardonius was son-in-law to the first, and brother-in-law to the other. (See Herodotus, vi. 43.) It has been contended,

however, that *gener* may mean son-in-law or brother-in-law. 3. A more ^{weighty} fault occurs in the life of Cimon, c. 2., where he confounds the battle of Mycale, won by Xantippus and Leotyctides 479 years before Christ, with the victory which Cimon gained nine years later on the Eurymedon. 4. By comparing the end of the second and the beginning of the third chapter of the life of Pausanias with the clear and circumstantial narrative in the first book of Thucydides, (130-134.) it will be perceived that C. Nepos inverts the order of time and of event. 5. There is not less disorder in the third chapter of the life of Lysander; where the author confounds two distinct expeditions of this General into Asia, which took place after an interval of seven years. See Xenophon (*Hellen.* iii. 4.) and Diodor. (xiv. 13.). 6. In the second chapter of the life of Dion, we have much confusion. Plato made three excursions into Sicily; the first in the time of Dionysius the elder, who caused him to be sold as a slave. Dion was then fourteen years old. In Plato's second excursion, Dionysius the elder was no longer living. It was during his third stay in Sicily that Plato seduced Dionysius the younger and Dion. Finally, it was not Dionysius the father but the son who invited Plato, (*magna ambitione*) so pompously. 7. All is confusion in the second chapter of Chabrias. At the period at which Nepos places the expedition of Agesilaus into Ægypt, this prince was busied in Beotia, and in his life of Agesilaus he notices no such expedition. The king of Ægypt, who was assisted by Chabrias, and afterward by Agesilaus, was Tachus, and not Nectanebus. 8. Hannibal did not march to Rome immediately after the battle of Cannæ, as C. Nepos says, but after having suffered his army to run riot in Campania. 9. In the life of Canon, Nepos says that this commander was not present at the battle of Egospotamos, whereas the reverse is proved by Xenophon. (*Hellen.* ii. 1.) 10. In the life of Agesilaus, Nepos attributes to this prince the victory of Corinth, which, as appears from Xenophon, (*Hellen.* iv. 2.) was due to Aristodemus.

Of Sallust, an apologetic life is given, which displays sound and ingenious historical criticism.

To the Historians succeed the Orators; and here Cicero is preferred to Demosthenes. The work intitled *Rhetoricorum ad Herennium libri iv.*, is attributed to Antonius Gniphio, the master of Cicero. On Cicero's letters, an interesting discussion is opened. Wieland had undertaken to translate them into German, to arrange them in chronological order, and to accompany them with remarks historical and literary: but his labours were not completed when death terminated his beautiful and classical career, at the venerable age of fourscore*. Schütz has given the best edition of these letters.

* A life of this celebrated German writer will appear in a subsequent article.

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in chronological order, at June, 1808; and those who wish to read them according to their dates, from any other edition, may find use in the table which M. Schœtz has given in vol. ii. p. 132—138., but which is too long and too dry for us to transcribe into our pages. Philosophy, Science, Jurisprudence, and Grammar, follow in the established order. The question is agitated at what period of his life Cicero wrote *De Legibus*; and from a passage in which the office of augur is mentioned with respect, it is inferred that the dignity was then new to him, because at a later period he speaks of the same situation with contempt. Much of the literary history of Cicero, which Middleton has somewhat neglected, is interwoven in this disquisition.—The works of Vitruvius introduce a long dissertation on Roman Architecture;—those of Celsus usher in a sketch of Medical Science;—and those of Varro, of Agriculture.

The fourth period of this literary history extends from the death of Augustus to the reign of Hadrian. A part of the corruption of taste is attributed to the then novel custom among authors, of convening an audience and reading to them for a specific contribution some new treatise or poem; a sort of *oral publication*, of which Asinius Pollio is stated to have set the gratuitous example, and which decided the popularity of every fresh production. In Pliny's letters much is said of such literary lectures. The great affluence of strangers to Rome introduced transalpine expressions; and the Alexandrian literature, which had superseded the Athenian models studied by a preceding generation, contributed still farther to the declension of taste among the cultivated. The ambitious phraseology of Seneca, Tacitus, and Apuleius, acquired favour at the expence of natural writing. Neologisms of all kinds were hazarded; and, to avoid the reproach of triviality, ordinary paths were strewn with embroidery. A curious lexicon of the Latin words peculiar to this period is attached to the present author's introduction. The most prevalent feature, however, of the style of a reading age, is always a recurrence to the rhetorical figure called *allusion*; which consists in repeating combinations of words occurring in older authors, with some novelty of connection that gives them a new sense. While the original author is remembered, this new application delights: but, when the first nursery of the transplanted ramification has withered, this double employ escapes observation, and the praise of ingenuity is lost, but not the disgust at affectation. Hence, in works intended for duration, allusion should be sparingly used, and be drawn only from permanent classics: but the orator, and all those

who address a transient public, may derive effect from its adoption.

The tragic anthology of Seneca is next reviewed. It contains *refacmentes*, refashioned Greek tragedies, accommodated to the Roman taste, which preferred fastian to undress. *Octavia* is the only one of these pieces which has an origin purely Roman; and it is here ascribed to Sæva Memor, a poet of the time of Domitian, who is supposed to be assailed under the name of Nero. Curatius Maternus was another dramatic poet of Domitian's time, and was punished capitally for some bitter allusions alarming to the safety of the Emperor. Virginius Romanus, a writer of genteel comedy, is known only from the mention of Pliny. — We now come to the comments on Lucan's *Pharsalia*. The eulogy of Calpurnius Piso, by some ascribed to Lucan, is here attributed on strong grounds to Saleius Bassus, his friend. — Valerius Flaccus, Silius Italicus, and Papinius Statius, are also severally analyzed. Among the didactic poems, is classed *Ætina*, by some ascribed to Virgil, but on better foundation to Cornelius Severus; — this poem ought rather to have been introduced in the preceding period, to which it belongs; and so ought that of Terentius Maurus. — Columella, and the satirists Persius and Juvenal, follow in the procession. The poetess Sulpicia, who wrote a satire against the government of Domitian, is noticed; probably she was a Christian, since the purity of her domestic morals is vaunted by Martial, and the Christians were bitterly inimical to Domitian.

“ *Omnes Sulpiciam legant puellæ,
Uni quæ cupiunt viro placere;
Omnes Sulpiciam legant mariti,
Uni quæ cupiunt placere nuptæ.* ”

The fabulist Phædrus, or Phæder, (for his name nowhere occurs in the nominative case, which is consequently doubtful,) is here placed under Tiberius; yet Seneca, in his *Consol. ad Polyb.* c. 27, says positively that the Romans had as yet made no attempts at the *Æsopian* apologue. — The Epigram, and Martial its hero, close the subdivision.

The Prose-writers of the period are considered next. History marshals her Valleius Paternulus, her Valerius Maximus, her Tacitus, her Suetonius, and others of inferior note; — Eloquence names her Seneca, Quintilian, and Pliny; — while Science, Jurisprudence, and Grammar, unroll lists of obscure names.

With the third volume begins the fifth period, extending from the death of Hadrian to the commencement of the sixth

cen-

century. We should have preferred to separate into two periods this extensive subdivision; endeavouring to draw a line between the Heathen and the Christian literature of the antient Romans. Seneca exhibits the first symptoms of a style tinged by attending to Christian preachers: but this influence of ecclesiastical literature became still more sensible under the successors of Domitian. At length, under Constantine, it attained an ascendancy which gave a new character to composition, and introduced a mystical effeminacy of taste more favourable to morality than to reason. M. SCHŒLL is inclined to denominate this fifth period the *Brass Age* of Latin Literature: but we would begin a *Lead Age* in the middle of the fourth century. Concerning this revolution, the author thus expresses himself:

(Vol. iii. p. 4.)—‘*Dioeclesian hoped to defer the fall of the Roman empire, and to give force to the government, by partitioning the administration among several chieftains. This was perhaps a way to save the state, if provision had been made for preserving union among princes independent of each other. Constantine, miscalled the Great, imagined another method to support the tottering monarchy;—he expected to interest a large portion of the people in the preservation of the empire by granting to them a benefit in their eyes inestimable; namely, liberty of conscience, or the right of publicly professing a creed hitherto discountenanced. This policy, perhaps suggested by the internal convictions of the prince, in fact gained him numerous partisans, by whose help he triumphed over his rivals: but he could not rekindle a love of the country in bosoms intent only on religious controversy. A great fault committed by Constantine accelerated the destruction of the empire; by investing his new priesthood with an authority unknown in the antient order of things, he weakened that of the government. The bishops and their ministers filled the court and the church with troubles, and scattered sparks of discord among all classes of the community. They destroyed with violence the old national worship, to which popular prejudice ascribed the duration of the empire; they re-placed it by ascetic practices, which, referring every thing to a future state, superinduced an indifference for those ties that attach the citizen to society and to the government of his country; and they created a mischief unknown to Pagan antiquity, namely, religious intolerance.*—

‘*Still it must be acknowledged that, in different parts of the empire, at Byzantium, at Alexandria, at Milan, in Gaul, of which the inhabitants were distinguished by a zeal for letters, public schools were established and endowed, and professors salaried by the state, to teach the principles of philosophy, rhetoric, and law. But these schools were themselves the source whence emanated the corruption of taste: because the masters, instead of teaching to their disciples the road to truth, preferred a vain display of scholastic*

scholastic phrases; and they have perpetuated a class of productions in prose and verse, that ought never to have emerged from the dusty halls of the convents in which they originated, but which have been copied and recopied with traditional industry, to the detriment, and in some cases to the extinction, of the nobler classics, which they superseded. The taste for mysticism, which progressively quenches intellect itself, became, during the ages that followed the accession of Constantine, a contagious disease, which infected and destroyed superior minds. From the days of Marcus Aurelius, literature had to complain of the decay of that patronage which had previously supported it; and this decline in the fourth century was so rapid, that scarcely a writer occurs afterwards who rose above mediocrity.

To this introduction is attached a valuable table of the words peculiar to this æra of Latin literature.

Poetry has now to boast her Commodianus, for his *Instructiones adversus Paganos*; her Antonius, for his *Carmen adversus Gentes*; her Prudentius, for his *Psychomachia* and his hymns; her Vettius Aquilinus, for a diatessaron in hexameters; her Damasius, for spiritual songs in Latin rhymes; her Paulinus, for paraphrasing the Psalms; and her Proba Falconia, the wife of a proconsul, who composed a Christiad with hemistichs borrowed from Virgil. Other sacred poets are Prosper; Sedulius; Dracontius, who wrote a poem called *Hexameron*, on the Creation and the Loss of Paradise; Claudius Marius Victor, who versified the beginning of Genesis; Paulinus, who wrote in verse the Life of Saint Martin; and Alcimus Ecdicius Avitus, who produced five books in hexameters, *De Mosaicæ Historiæ Gestis*. Of later date are Arator, who versified in two books the Acts of the Apostles; Orientius, who composed a pious satire called *Commonitorium fidelium*; and Rusticus Helpidius, physician to Theodoric, the Gothic king, who left a poem on the benefits derived from Jesus Christ.

An interesting chapter occurs on the epitaphs and inscriptions of this æra; — the edition of Gruter by Grævius is commended as the best repository.

Another interesting chapter comments on the Augustan History. Thirty-four biographers have given a series of Imperial lives, embracing the period of 165 years between Hadrian and Carinus; in which the servility, that too frequently infects the historian, is abundantly conspicuous. Ammianus Marcellinus is the last great name in the historical department: he blames Julian for his antichristian mysticism; and, speaking of the orthodox Constantius, he says, "*Christianam religionem absolutam et simplicem anili superstitione confundens*," &c., which implies in the writer some attachment to a simpler

simpler form of Christianity. Born at Antioch, he had probably imbibed the sentiments of Paul of Samosata.

The list of ecclesiastical historians in this period is a long one, and includes the names of Hieronymus, Rufinus, Sulpicius Severus, Epiphanius Scholasticus, Cassiodorus, Boethius, Augustin, Gildas, Orosius, Germinadius, Georgius Florentinus Gregorius, Fredegarius Scholasticus, Isidorus Hispalensis, Ildelfonsus, Julianus Pomerius, and Beda Venerabilis.

A curious chapter lays down the geography of the age, and disserts on the *Table of Peutinger*, assigning to the year 493 this topographical monument. (See the Dissertation of Meerman in the second volume of *Burman's Latin Anthology*.) The Itinerary of Antoninus is referred to as late a date; and specifically to *Ælianus Ister*, the author of a cosmography. Much praise is bestowed on *Walchensær's Recherches géographiques et physiques sur le Livre "De Mensura Orbis Terræ," composé en Irlande par Dicuil, suivies du Texte restitué*; Paris, 1814. *Dicuil* dates his work in 825: another manuscript of it exists in the Cotton library, which some English editor should collate.

The Jurisprudence is next introduced much at length, and the history of the Pandects is given. On this subject, the English reader has received admirable lessons in Gibbon's reign of Justinian: yet materials occur here of which that historian's plan did not include the notice. A curious work of this age is the "*Collatio Legis Mosaicæ et Romanæ*" of *Licinius Rufinus*. From the anthology of ancient wills, edited by *Fabricius* in 1549 at Basil, some comic extracts are given; and a long table of dignities, not much connected with the preceding text, forms a thick appendix to this subdivision.

Volume IV. continues the history of the fifth and concluding period, and is exclusively devoted to the Ecclesiastical Historians. With the progress of composition, the author has insensibly acquired an easier but a better plan of narration; and, instead of separating, as in the first and second volumes, all his literary history into systematic categories, he is contented to marshal his heroes in chronological order, and to say at once all that he has to teach about a given individual. The great art of literary history consists in adopting a skillful order of precedence between contemporary writers. It is not the date of their birth or death that constitutes the expedient rule of sequence, but their period of acmé. Thus only can the reciprocal influence of eminent authors be rendered sensible.

Tertullian, Cyprian, Lactantius, Ambrose, Jerom, Augustin, and a crowd of inferior writers, pass in review; and an equity of estimate, which apparently leans neither to the Catholic

those nor to the Protestant party, but which every where displays a respectful candour, distinguishes the tone of criticism. Only about 120 pages of this volume are occupied with historical matter; the rest of it consists of Synoptic Tables, Indexes, and other documents of reference.

The Appendix is formed of two dissertations; the one by *F. Schlegel*, concerning the influence of Oriental literature on that of the Greeks and Romans, and the other by the author on the proper names of the Romans. The former, by the brother of the lecturer on Dramatic Literature, is extracted from the writer's own lectures on Antient and Modern Literature, of which we shall take notice in a subsequent article, and we may therefore pass it here. The second dissertation contains little more than is familiar to those who have read the book of *Sigonius, De Nominibus Romanorum*.

An important defect of this work is the scantiness of the bibliographical notices. Under the head of Horace or Virgil, for instance, an account should occur of the best editions of their works. On the whole, however, this is a well-made introduction to the literary history of the Latin language; and it deserves more than the author's former publication to be transplanted into English ground. We do not advise a mere translation; but some reformation of the first two volumes; so as to abandon the systematic classification which, under the head *Jurisprudence*, delivers one-third of what is said about Cicero, under the head *Philosophy* another third, and the rest under the head *Eloquence*: an abrupt and crumbled compilation of materials, which destroys the continuity of interest and the grace of connection. Still, the mass of useful and curious information collected is various, sufficiently condensed, well-proportioned; extensively derived, and judiciously selected. Something of patriotism might be exerted by an English translator, in bringing out rather more amply the services which our learned men have rendered to Latin philology.

ART. III. *Histoire du Ministère du Cardinal de Richelieu, &c.*
i. e. The History of the Administration of Cardinal Richelieu
 with his Portrait. By A. JAY. 8vo. 2 Vols. pp. 779.
 Paris. 1816. Imported by De Boffe. Price 18s.

OUR attention was rather strongly excited on taking up these volumes, on account both of the subject and of the writer. *Richelieu* was avowedly the greatest minister that appeared in France during several centuries, and the author of those improvements in the plan of government and condition of his country,

country, which were productive of the far-famed strength and splendour of Louis XIV.: while M. JAY, though little known on our side of the Channel, excited notice in France, partly as a literary man, and more as a member of the Chamber of Representatives during the late interregnum. The public is aware that several pacific and disinterested characters, at the head of whom was *Lanjuinais*, stood forwards on that occasion without participating in the deceptions of *Bonaparte*, and without any intention of permitting him to revive his former despotic power; having been confidently assured by him and his adherents that he had come over from Elba with the consent of the British and Austrian governments, and that France would be allowed to remain in peace. Among the speeches delivered in the short session that ensued, those of M. JAY were indicative of good sense and moderation; a character which he maintains in the present historical sketch, — without, however, acquiring the additional fame of an elegant or polished writer. The perusal of his history has partly confirmed and partly disappointed our expectations: but, as the subjects treated in it are of considerable interest, we shall afford our readers an ample opportunity of judging for themselves; beginning with passages explanatory of the unquiet state of France in the commencement of the seventeenth century, and directing our subsequent attention to her system of foreign politics.

The death of Henry IV. of France took place in 1610, and with him disappeared the prudent and vigorous system necessary to maintain tranquillity in a country replete with the seeds of dissension. His widow, Mary of Medicis, was proclaimed regent of the kingdom, but the reins of government soon dropped from her feeble hands and fell into those of her favourites. Public virtue may be said to have retired from court with the disinterested *Sully*, and to have left the field of intrigue open to the contentions of profligate ambition. In foreign politics, also, the course adopted was equally at variance with the maxims of Henry, and tended to a connection with the already too powerful family that was in possession of the crowns of Spain and Austria.

This new system of policy, directly contrary to the interests of the nation, weakened its influence abroad, and paved the way for the troubles which soon burst out in the interior. The Protestants were alarmed; and, anticipating new persecutions, they held secret conferences, chose leaders, and prepared to defend their privileges by force. In this state of things, there was no guarantee for the maintenance of order, personal safety, the security of property, or the most sacred rights of citizens, except in a vigilant exercise of the royal authority: but firmness and moderation formed no part of the character of the Queen or of her ministers,

who passed alternately from acts of despotism to acts of weakness; and, menacing or pusillanimous by turns, their conduct was such as to expose both the dignity of the crown and the interests of the subject. The Protestants, who no longer expected protection at court, became familiar with the idea of civil war; the states, whose policy and situation rendered them the natural allies of France, kept at a distance from a government blindly devoted to the cabinet of Madrid; while the nobles, the natural supporters of the court, sought for independence in revolt, and for aggrandizement in the public misfortunes. Fortified in their castles, and always in readiness to take up arms, they acknowledged no law but their caprices or their interests. The husbandmen were oppressed; the cities were without police; the highways were impassable, and infested with robbers. The people, without industry and without commerce, supported enormous taxes, the produce of which was lucrative only to the revenue-officers. The excessive profits of the contractors and farmers-general had introduced that ruinous luxury, which almost always accompanies public distress. The troops were ill paid, and lived at free quarters on the peasantry. Finally, the laws had lost their force, and good citizens almost forbore to hope for a remedy to the misfortunes of their country: but, at the moment when the situation of France seemed desperate, a minister appeared in the King's council whom his qualities, and even his defects, rendered perhaps the only man capable of saving the state.

Richelieu, whose political career was thus opened, had been educated for the church, and had attained the rank of Bishop of Concini, when the ministerial favourite of the day brought him into political employment. He was soon appointed to the office of one of the secretaries of state, and took part at first with Mary of Medicis in her contests with those who governed in the name of her son, Louis XIII. That Prince became in 1614, while yet a boy, the nominal king of France: but, as he grew up, he discovered scarcely any of the qualities of a sovereign, with the exception of courage in the field; being weak, superstitious, and devoid of political firmness. The appointment of *Richelieu* to the leading station in the ministry occurred in 1624, at a time when the fluctuating course of court-revolutions had enabled the Queen-regent to acquire an ascendancy over her son, and to introduce to his confidence a minister whom she considered as likely to be the soother of her troubles and the docile instrument of her will. She possessed not peneration enough to see, under the mask of moderation, the energy of *Richelieu's* mind or the extent of his ambition; yet such were the vigour and address of this minister that, during the long period of twenty-four years, he retained possession of the confidence of Louis, in spite of the reiterated attempts of the Queen, the Queen-mother, her second son, and the majority of the *grandeess* of the kingdom,

down, to drive him from his station. He succeeded, indeed, not only in gratifying his personal ambition, but in accomplishing three points of great importance to the political prosperity of France; — the termination of the wars of religion; — the reduction of the aristocratic influence of the great families; — and the counteraction of all the attempts of the house of Austria to subdue the Protestants of Germany.

We must not allow ourselves to follow even high authority (see Hume, reign of Charles I.) in supposing that *Richelieu* formed from his outset in office a regular plan to this effect, or that he had the choice of proceeding to the attainment of any one of these objects before the other: the fact was that circumstances obliged him to exert himself in one way at one time and differently at another: but on all occasions he discovered a vigilance and determination which enabled him to triumph over opposition.

The slightest inquiry into the internal situation of France will shew that the last edict of pacification had not been observed either by the Catholics or the Protestants. The former kept up a garrison near Rochelle in Fort Louis, the demolition of which had been expressly stipulated; the latter insulted the Catholics wherever the Protestant religion was predominant; and the two parties agreed only in one point, the spirit of intolerance, and in the use of names, such as *Hugonot* and *Papist*, calculated to inflame their mutual hatred. In this state of the minds of men, a spark was sufficient to produce a general conflagration; and this spark proceeded from England, which was then governed by the Duke of Buckingham, who preserved the same ascendancy over the mind of Charles I. that he had maintained over that of his father. He was possessed of shining qualities, but his conduct proved that he was grossly deficient in the solid qualifications of the statesman: his early youth had been devoted to the seductions of pleasure, and a taste for romantic adventures never left him.

The Protestant leaders, the Duke of *Soubise* and his brother the Duke of *Rohan*, were then in London, making urgent instances for the protection of the British king in favour of their oppressed followers. They represented that, as long as their party subsisted, Charles might rely on their attachment equally with that of his own subjects: but, if they were once annihilated, France, delivered from that obstacle, would soon become formidable to England and the neighbouring nations. "What guarantee," said they, "can the French Protestants invoke for the preservation of their privileges, but the power of a king to whom they look as the head of their church, and who is engaged to assist them as much by interest, as by inclination?" Charles could not resist these reasons, when supported by the solicitations of his favourite; and he fitted out a fleet of a hundred sail, in which he embarked seven thousand men, for the purpose of attempting a descent on the French coast. The command of these forces was intrusted to Buckingham, who passed

passed with his fleet within sight of Rochelle, and effected a landing in the isle of Rhé. (20th July 1627.)

Toiras, the governor of the isle of Rhé, not having been able to hinder the descent of the enemy, shut himself up in Fort Saint Martin: but four days, employed by the English in landing their military stores, gave him time to complete his stock of provisions, and to fortify, in a hasty way, the weak parts of the island. The Duke of Buckingham then marched his troops forwards in regular order, preceded by a numerous train of artillery, and laid siege to the citadel: when *Toiras*, foreseeing the extremity to which his garrison would soon be reduced, felt the necessity of informing the King of his situation, but the vigilance of the enemy prevented any vessel from crossing the strait. Three soldiers came forwards and volunteered the hazardous attempt; and their offer was accepted. Of these intrepid adventurers, one perished in the waves; the other, when sinking under fatigue, was saved by the crew of an English vessel; the third, after having struggled against the sea, exposed to the fire of the enemy and the pursuit of a boat, from which he escaped only by repeated diving, at last reached the coast. His exertions, however, had so completely exhausted his strength, that he was unable to walk, and it became necessary to carry him to the head-quarters of the French force stationed in the neighbourhood. History, too often unjust towards obscure merit, has preserved the name of this brave soldier. *Solanier* belonged to the regiment of Champagne, and was worthy of that corps so justly celebrated in our military annals.—Louis XIII., who was recovering from sickness when he received the dispatches of *Toiras*, replied to them himself, encouraging the Governor to prolong his defence, and promising him assistance. In the mean time, the English continued their attacks; and the garrison began to be in want of provisions, when a convoy consisting of thirty or forty sail left Sables d'Olonne, and, distancing their English pursuers, luckily ran aground at the foot of the citadel.

This opportune supply of men and provisions, joined to the skilful arrangements of *Toiras*, baffled the efforts of Buckingham, and obliged him to leave the island with the loss of more than half his troops. The town of Rochelle, however, hoisted the standard of hostility to the French government, and sent deputies to intreat assistance at the court of London; in the hope that the access of supplies by sea would continue practicable, notwithstanding the superiority of the French army on shore. *Richelieu*, therefore, impressed with the importance of decisive measures, set out with the King to put himself at the head of the force destined to the reduction of the refractory city: but, deficient in artillery, and unskilful in the management of a siege, the French army could take no other effectual measures than by throwing a mole across the entrance of the harbour of Rochelle, and making a line of circumvallation on the land-side. The former was by much the more arduous

undertaking, the space to be obstructed amounting to three quarters of a mile in length. A storm beat down the first erection of the besiegers: but *Richelieu* was not to be discouraged; he ordered a continuation of the works, bore a part in the labour of the engineers, visited the soldiers and workmen, and distributed rewards to those who were foremost in braving danger. At last, this great undertaking was accomplished, and the unfortunate citizens were reduced to the utmost distress from famine. An English squadron attempted to bring relief, but in vain; the attitude of the French vessels, backed by the sea-wall, and supported by the fire of their land-forces, being too formidable for attack. *Richelieu* now apprized the inhabitants that it was not the intention of the court to drive them to despair; that they should be allowed the free exercise of their religion; and that, on returning to their allegiance, the past should be buried in oblivion. The siege had lasted fourteen months, and the population of the town had been miserably reduced by the effects of famine. *Richelieu* was strongly urged to make a signal example on this occasion, and to suspend the toleration of the Protestant religion: but he was too sound a politician to be blind to the evils of such a course, and too much immersed in habits of calculation to participate in the indiscriminating zeal of those who surrounded him.

A large proportion of these volumes is occupied with an account of court-intrigues, and the various difficulties with which *Richelieu* had to contend in his struggle to maintain an ascendancy over his sovereign. Men of all parties had an interest in attempting to strip the Cardinal of that power in which they had no chance of participating as long as it was held by his vigorous grasp: the Queen-mother was ill prepared to view him in any other light than that of an ungrateful protégé; her second son, known in this reign by the title of Duke of Orleans, assumed consequence from being, during the many years in which Louis had no children, the presumptive heir of the crown; and the pride of the oligarchy readily took part against the lofty claims of an upstart prelate. The result of all these dissensions, which were carried more than once to the length of civil insurrection, was the exile of the Queen-mother, the humiliation of the Duke of Orleans, and the death or imprisonment of the most active of his associates.

The mind turns with impatience from so unpleasant a scene to the contemplation of other events, and particularly to the war maintained with so much skill and gallantry by the German Protestants against the house of Austria. That house,

house, after having suffered a temporary decline since the death of Charles V., had resumed fresh power under Ferdinand II., who had reconquered Bohemia, and composed the troubles in his hereditary dominions. Unfortunately, he had not moderation sufficient to halt in this part of his course, and to direct the energy of his mind to internal improvement: he had been educated by bigoted Catholics; and he considered even the horrors of war as justifiable when instrumental in stopping the progress of the Reformation. Hence arose the thirty years' contest, waged at first between the north and the south of Germany, but including in its progress Denmark, Sweden, France, and Spain.

Denmark and Sweden were at this time both governed by enlightened sovereigns, who felt the necessity of supporting the Protestant princes of Germany, and of establishing a barrier against the approach of the Austrian power to the shores of the Baltic: but, during the early part of the war, Sweden was involved in other struggles, and Denmark alone co-operated with the Protestant princes. The latter proved thus an unequal match for Austria, seconded as she was by Bavaria, and invigorated by the talents of such Generals as *Walstein* and *Tilly*. - The result of the first period of the war was a cessation of hostilities at the treaty of Lubeck, by which Denmark retired from the contest, and left the north of Germany in a great degree at the disposal of Austria. Ferdinand might now have retained and consolidated his ascendancy, had he not been induced by the Catholic priests to take a step which necessarily raised up enemies against him in every direction.

'The estates of the Catholic clergy situated in the Protestant provinces of Germany had been confiscated and sold for more than a century: but Ferdinand, who assumed the right of defining the articles of the treaty of Augsburg, ordered the restitution of all such property, and the formidable *Walstein* (lately created Duke of Friedland) was charged with the enforcement of this arbitrary edict. There was not a single Protestant prince whom this measure would not have stripped of a part of his possessions, the revenues of almost all the ecclesiastical benefices having been appropriated to the wants of government, or to the support of Protestant churches. In fact, several princes were indebted to these acquisitions for a large share of their wealth and power; and, after a possession of nearly a century, and the silence of four emperors, predecessors of Ferdinand, no doubt remained on the part of the Protestants respecting the legitimacy of this species of property. The new edict, indeed, subverted every law, deranged every interest, and threatened Germany with the most odious despotism. A fresh struggle therefore now approached, in which

the chances of success seemed all on the side of Austria, and the Protestant States, disunited, and without a rallying point, appeared lost beyond recovery: but the face of affairs was on the eve of a change, for France possessed a minister, and Sweden a hero.

Gustavus Adolphus was the most accomplished prince of his age, and will bear a comparison with the greatest men of either ancient or modern times. To energy, a common quality in a rude age, he added the most exalted virtues of a highly advanced civilization. Sparing of the blood of his soldiers, and lavish of his own, he seemed to have undertaken the task of rendering the practice of war compatible with the exercise of humanity. The most extensive and the boldest projects never startled his courage; and few men have shewn a more complete union of talents and decision, of genius and determination. Whatever he conceived with judgment he executed with a boldness which entered into his calculations as a primary element of success. No one ever surpassed him in the art of chusing a field of battle, of taking advantage of accidental circumstances in the ground, or of anticipating the movements of the enemy and seizing the decisive moment of victory. He changed the established tactics of his age, brought to perfection the art of evolutions, and made a more skilful use of artillery, that dreadful engine which the rage of man does not find even now sufficiently destructive. — This Prince ruled over a generous and enthusiastic nation, with whom obedience to such a monarch became ennobled by affection, and appeared an honourable privilege rather than a duty.

Such was the chief who was destined to be the deliverer of Germany; he had already formed this project, and Richelieu facilitated its execution. Gustavus, when assured of finding in France the pecuniary resources with which his exhausted treasury could not supply him, became confident of success, and lost no time in making the requisite arrangements. An alliance was concluded in January 1631, the principal conditions of which were the restoration of the liberty of Germany, and an equal security to the Protestant and the Catholic. Sweden engaged to keep up an army of thirty thousand infantry and six thousand cavalry, and France pledged herself to pay to Sweden a yearly sum of four hundred thousand crowns.

Battle of Leipsic. — While most of the Protestant princes were a prey to uncertainty and terror, Gustavus approached Saxony, which was threatened by the Imperial army, and united his troops to those of the Elector. These two Princes marched in concert against Tilly, and met him near Leipsic: where a battle appeared unavoidable, and could not fail to be decisive. To what reflections must the approach of such an event have given rise in the mind of Gustavus. It was for this that he had crossed the Baltic, had sought for danger in a distant land, and still ventured his crown and his life. Two great Generals, neither of whom had ever been beaten, were about to put the superiority of their talents to the test of a battle which had long been evaded, and to the issue of which

which was attached the fame of both. — The Saxon troops, being drawn up at some distance from the Swedes, became with *Tilly* the first object of attack; and the shock of the Imperialists was so violent that the Saxons were thrown into disorder, driven from the field of battle, and at last forced to fly in confusion. In the ardour of this first success, the Austrian General no longer doubted of victory; and couriers were ordered to be ready to carry this great news to Vienna and Munich. After having completed the defeat of the Saxons, *Tilly* attacked the Swedish army with his victorious troops: but here he met with an insuperable resistance. By a skilful manœuvre, Gustavus turned and carried the heights on which the enemy's artillery was placed, so that the Imperialists were exposed to the fire of their own cannon; and, mowed down by the batteries on their flank, while attacked in front with the greatest intrepidity, those veteran Austrian bands, so long the terror of Germany, were broken and dispersed. The carnage was dreadful, and the victory complete; a hundred colours and the whole Imperial artillery having fallen into the hands of the conquerors. — In the midst of the field of battle, covered as it was with killed and wounded, Gustavus fell on his knees, and offered thanks to Heaven for the protection which it had granted to his arms. From this moment, also, he felt increased confidence in his own powers; more decision was observed in his conduct; and, in difficult conjunctures, more resolution and promptitude. His zealous piety added to the courage with which he was naturally animated; and, persuaded that in serving the cause of the Reformation he was fighting for Heaven, he saw in the defeat of *Tilly* a decisive judgment of Providence, and considered himself as the chosen instrument of its designs.

After this signal victory, arrangements were made for an attack on Bohemia by the Saxons, while Gustavus penetrated into Franconia and Bavaria. The latter part of the plan was executed with surprizing success, and the Austrians attempted no serious resistance until their opponents approached the Leck and the city of Augsburg, in which a Protestant force could reckon on many adherents.

Battle of the Leck. — *Tilly* had now collected a considerable force, partly of fresh levies and partly of veterans. Gustavus therefore left a portion of his troops on the Rhine to keep the Spaniards in check, and marched with the rest of his army in search of the Imperialists and Bavarians. He found them on the banks of the Leck, *Tilly* occupying an entrenched camp, in a strong position, on the opposite side of that river, and thus covering Bavaria. All the bridges on the Leck had been broken down, and strong garrisons defended its course as far as Augsburg; which city having long shewn its attachment to the King of Sweden, a Bavarian garrison had been put into it, and the inhabitants disarmed. The Elector of Bavaria was in *Tilly's* camp: it seemed as if all his hopes were united in that single point; and as if

if the fortune of Gustavus was destined to be foiled by this last obstacle.

The King of Sweden had over-run all the territory dependent on Augsburg on the left side of the Leck. It was now the month of March; a season in which that rapid river, swollen by the snow of the mountains, rises to an extraordinary height, and rushes with fury between two steep banks. It was of great importance to advance, yet the difficulties appeared insurmountable; and a defeat experienced on the opposite bank would be irreparable, because the same torrent, which now stopped the progress of the Swedes, would cut off all retreat in the event of victory deserting their standards. The council of war called together by Gustavus laid great stress on these considerations, and the most intrepid shrunk before so perilous an undertaking: but the resolution of the King was fixed. "What," said he to Gustavus Horn, who spoke in the name of the rest of the officers, "we have passed the Baltic, and crossed the greatest rivers of Germany, and shall we now be stopped by the Leck?"—He had observed that the bank on the side of the river which he occupied was higher than the other, and immediately took advantage of it; three batteries were erected on a spot where the left bank formed a projecting point; seventy-two pieces of cannon kept up a cross fire on the enemy; and the Swedish army, under the protection of these batteries, threw a bridge in haste over the Leck, which the Austrians exhausted themselves in fruitless efforts to destroy. *Tilly*, eager to wipe off the disgrace of *Leipsic*, excited by his presence the courage of his troops, and braved the destructive fire of the Swedes. All was in vain; the bridge was finished before his eyes, and he himself fell on the bank mortally wounded. The Elector then retired precipitately with the remainder of his army, and Bavaria was laid open to the conqueror.

This fresh triumph, and the loss of so eminent a commander, threw consternation into the Austrian councils: Bohemia was now invaded, and Bavaria was on the point of being over-run. What alternative remained but to recall *Walstein* from retirement?—*Walstein*, who had been formerly so successful, and of late so obnoxious from the extent of his influence with the military, and the suspicious nature of his projects. Gustavus, in liberality and magnanimity, was the hero of the age; but the possession of talent rested, in a still higher degree, with the Duke of Friedland. Taciturn and reserved, this singular man seldom appeared in society, and passed his time in the study of the military science, or in the combination of political schemes. Though originally of no high rank, his landed property was great; and he lived, even when divested of military employment, in a kind of regal splendour. The officers of his household were men of family; and, when he appeared in public, he was attended by six knights and as many barons. He had been removed from the command shortly

shortly before the appearance of Gustavus in the north of Germany, and had seen without regret that course of disaster which made it necessary for Austria to place him once more at the head of her troops.

‘ At last the Imperial forces have at their head a General of the highest renown, invested with ample powers : for, as soon as *Walstein* took the command, all other dominion in the army ceased, not even excepting that of Ferdinand. A new spirit animated the troops ; the Catholics conceived fresh hopes ; and this unexpected appointment excited the apprehensions of the Protestants. Gustavus alone, impatient to decide the comparative merit of himself and this new opponent, saw in this change a favour of fortune which prepared for him more splendid glory. The Imperial and Bavarian troops formed together an army of sixty thousand men, and the King of Sweden could not venture to come to an action in the field with such a force ; so that, after having endeavoured in vain to prevent their junction, he made a precipitate retreat on Franconia, and waited a decisive movement on the part of *Walstein*. Nuremberg becoming exposed, Gustavus, indifferent to difficulty and danger whenever honour and the voice of humanity called on him, resolved to bury himself and his army under the walls rather than purchase his safety by the loss of that city. It was immediately fortified with care, and the King took up an entrenched camp under the protection of the ramparts. Meantime, *Walstein* had advanced by short marches almost to Neumark, where he ordered a general review of his forces. “ Battles enough have been fought,” said he to those who advised him to make an attack ; “ it is time to follow another course.” The country being poor, and the conveyance of provisions in those days being much restricted, scarcity soon began to be felt in the Imperial as well as in the Swedish camp : but Gustavus remained on the spot ; and, having received reinforcements which were brought to him by the Chancellor *Oxenstiern*, he was now at the head of about sixty thousand men. With these he left his lines, presented himself before the enemy in order of battle, and caused three formidable batteries, erected on the banks of the Rednitz, to play on *Walstein’s* camp : but the cautious Austrian kept within his entrenchments, and contented himself with replying to the challenge by a distant fire of artillery. His plan was to make the King waste his troops in attacks, or relinquish his position from famine ; and so stedfastly did he adhere to this design, that neither the remonstrances of the Elector of Bavaria nor the impatience of his army, nor the insults of the enemy, could shake his resolution. Gustavus, deceived in his hopes, and pressed by scarcity, now determined to storm a camp which both art and nature seemed to render impregnable.

‘ *Attack of the Austrian camp.* — The Austrian army was drawn up on the heights between the Biber and the Rednitz, known by the name of the Old Citadel and the Old Mountain ; their camp, commanded by these heights, extended to a great distance across the country ; and all the artillery was concentrated on the heights.

Strong

Strong redoubts were surrounded by deep ditches, while large trees laid cross-wise, and strong palisadoes, blocked up the approaches to the high ground. Such was the position which Gustavus Adolphus flattered himself with carrying. The attack was furious, and the resistance dreadful. The German auxiliaries, to whom the King had allotted the dangerous honour of the first assault; were driven back; and, provoked by their retreat, he led on the Finns to the assault, to make the Germans blush for their failure, by contrasting their conduct with the bravery of the warriors of the north. The Finns were received with the same shower of fire, and were, in like manner, compelled to give way before superior force. In the course of ten hours, during which the battle lasted, every regiment made an attack, and every regiment, overpowered in its turn, withdrew from the field of battle; and, while Gustavus directed or led on these assaults, *Walstein* maintained his position immovable on the heights. In the mean time, the left wing of the Swedes, posted in a little wood, engaged in a very keen contest with the Imperial cavalry; in which, notwithstanding prodigies of valour and much bloodshed, the success remained uncertain; and the attack and defence were repeatedly renewed with the same fury till the approach of night. The Swedes had advanced too far to retreat without danger: but the King resolved to make them attempt it. While seeking for an officer to carry his orders, he met Colonel Hepburn, a brave Scotchman who had been induced by no other motive than courage to leave the camp and participate in the dangers of the day; and who, offended with Gustavus for having a few days before passed him over and employed a young Colonel in an enterprize of *eclat*, had vowed in the heat of passion never to draw a sword in his service. The King, however, now addressed him, praised his courage, and begged him to carry to the regiments the order of retreat. "Sire," replied Hepburn, "this is the only service which I cannot refuse your Majesty, for there is danger in it;" and he immediately executed his commission.

The King felt the inexpediency of renewing the attack; and, considering himself as beaten, because for the first time he had not been victorious, he retired with his army behind the Rednitz. Yet he and *Walstein* remained a fortnight longer in presence of one another, each expecting to oblige his adversary to retreat first. Both armies were threatened with the horrors of famine; hunger rendered the soldiers daily more ungovernable; and the country-people became the victims of their rapacity. At last, the King, despairing of overcoming the perseverance of the Duke of Friedland, decamped on the 8th of September 1632, and withdrew from the town of Nuremberg, after having furnished it with a sufficient garrison; passing in order of battle in front of the enemy, who made no movement to disturb his march. *Walstein*, indeed, felt equally the necessity of repose, and seemed only to wait the retreat of the Swedes to begin his own; for, five days afterward, he also abandoned his position, near Zerndorf, setting fire to his camp.

A retrograde movement was not, however, the sure sign of a cessation of hostilities between two such determined opponents. *Walstein* soon discovered the project of marching northwards with the efficient part of his army, in the hope of striking terror, by a sudden irruption, into the Elector of Saxony, and detaching him from his alliance with Sweden; while Gustavus, distrustful of the firmness of the Elector, lost no time in collecting the flower of his troops and following *Walstein's* line of march. The inhabitants of the adjacent country flocked to the Swedish camp to see the gallant defender of their religion; and at Erfurth, in the beginning of November 1632, Gustavus took leave of his Queen, whom he was fated to see no more. He declined, however, at first to act offensively, and occupied a strong position near Naumburg, where he might await in security the arrival of reinforcements. *Walstein* was determined to keep the ground which he had gained in Saxony: but, aware of the danger of attacking Gustavus in an advantageous position, he confined himself to the defensive, and even detached a considerable part of his army under Count *Pappenheim* on a distant expedition. The remainder he posted near Lutzen, in a position which had the double advantage of affording a defence from the Swedes, and of enabling him to overawe Leipsic and the Saxons.

* No sooner had Gustavus been informed of the departure of *Pappenheim*, than he broke up his camp at Naumburg, and advanced by forced marches to Weissenfels, from which place the report of his arrival soon reached *Walstein*. Surprized but not disconcerted by this unexpected movement, the Duke of Friedland soon formed his plan of defence. Though he had only 12,000 men on the spot, to oppose to an enemy 20,000 strong, he saw no impossibility in maintaining his position till the return of *Pappenheim*; who could not, he knew, be at a great distance. Couriers were immediately dispatched to recall him, and *Walstein* advanced into the plain which extends between the canal and Lutzen, where he awaited the King in order of battle. The firing of three cannon from the castle of Weissenfels, by Count *Colloredo*, gave notice of the advance of Gustavus; and at this concerted signal the Austrian advanced posts, under the command of *Isolani*, the General of the Croats, assembled to occupy the villages situated on the enemy's route: but their feeble resistance could not stop the progress of the Swedes, who took up their position below Lutzen, opposite to the Imperial army.

† *Battle of Lutzen*.—The high road from Weissenfels to Leipsic is intersected between Lutzen and Markranstadt by the canal which extends from Zeitz to Merseberg, and joins the Elster to the Saale. The left flank of the Imperialists and the right of the Swedes were covered by this canal, yet so as to allow the cavalry of

of the two armies to manœuvre on either bank. *Walstein's* right wing was stationed behind *Lutzen* to the north, and the left wing of the Swedes to the south of that small town. Both armies faced the high road, which passed between them, and formed in fact the chief separation between the opposing fronts. The evening before *Walstein* had taken possession of this road, he caused trenches to be dug along it on both sides, and lined them with soldiers, so as to render the passage of it difficult and dangerous. Behind these troops a battery was erected of seven large cannon; while, near the town of *Lutzen*, fourteen field-pieces had been placed on an eminence from which they could sweep the greatest part of the plain. The infantry, divided into five brigades, were drawn up in array three hundred paces behind the high road, and the cavalry covered the flank. The darkness of the night favoured these operations, and before day-light the Austrian army was completely ready to receive the enemy.

Gustavus chose the same order of battle which had secured the victory to him in the year before at *Leipsic*: his whole army being formed in two lines, with the canal on the right and the town of *Lutzen* on the left: the infantry posted in the centre, the cavalry on the wings, and the artillery in front. Duke *Bernard of Saxe Weimar* commanded the German cavalry in the left wing; and the King put himself at the head of the Swedes on the right, that the rivalry between the two nations might produce an emulation in their exertions. Similar dispositions were observed in the second line. — *Henderson*, a Scotch officer, commanded the reserve.

The public expectation, which had been disappointed at the camp of *Nuremberg*, was now about to be satisfied in the plains of *Lutzen*; and this day was to shew to Europe who was the greatest of her warriors, and to give a conqueror to him who had never yielded before. Moreover, the fate of Germany and of the Protestant cause depended on the issue. Generous sentiments of patriotism and liberty animated the warriors of the north; while the remembrance of the glory of the empire, and an ardent zeal in defence of the antient doctrines, exalted the courage of their enemies. At last, the dawn appeared, but a thick fog prevented the armies from seeing each other, and suspended the attack. The King of Sweden fell on his knees in front of his line; and his whole army followed his example, beginning a solemn hymn, accompanied by military music. Gustavus then mounted his horse, rode along the ranks, and addressed to his soldiers those inspiring words which belong only to the language of heroes. As soon as the fog began to clear up, the flames were seen rising from the town of *Lutzen*, which the Duke of *Friedland* had set on fire to prevent his being turned on that point. The signal for attack was now given. The Swedish cavalry rushed forwards on the enemy, and the infantry marched towards the trenches. Though received by a dreadful fire of musquetry, and by that of the heavy artillery placed on the opposite side, these brave warriors continued to advance with unshaken intrepidity; the enemy abandoned

done their post; and the Swedes seized the seven pieces of cannon and turned them on the Austrians. Already the first and second brigades of the Imperialists were broken, and the third began to yield, but *Walstein* arrived to remedy the disorder. The repulsed brigades, supported by three regiments of cavalry, then faced the Swedes anew, and pierced with fury into their ranks. A most destructive combat now began: the two armies were too near each other to admit of manœuvring; the Swedes, fatigued and overborne by numbers, retired behind the trenches; and the battery that had been taken fell again into the hands of the Austrians.

In the mean time, the Swedish right wing, led on by the King in person, attacked the enemy's left. The first shock of the Finnish cuirassiers had already dispersed the light corps of Poles and Croats; when, at this critical moment, Gustavus was informed that his infantry in the centre was retreating, and that his left wing, exposed to the artillery on the heights, also began to fall back. Having directed General Horn to pursue the retreating wing of the enemy, he set out, at the head of a regiment of cavalry, to stop the disorder in his left wing. His own horse being full of fire, he easily surmounted every obstacle: but the troops that followed him found the passage more difficult; only a few horsemen, among whom was Francis Albert, Duke of Saxe Lauenburg, being able to keep up with him. Gustavus rushed to the place at which the attack was keenest, and looked around him to reconnoitre the hostile army. At that very moment, an Austrian officer, observing every body to give place respectfully to the stranger, ordered a musqueteer to take aim at him: "Fire on that person," said he; "he must be a man of importance;" the soldier fired, and the King's arm was shattered by the ball. A confused cry, in which nothing could be distinguished but the words "The King is wounded!" pervaded the Swedish ranks. "It is of no consequence, follow me!" cried Gustavus, collecting all his strength, and turning towards the enemy: but, feeling himself overcome and ready to faint, he begged in French the Duke of Saxe Lauenburg to conduct him unseen out of the crowd. While the latter advanced towards the left wing, making a long circuit to conceal this discouraging sight from the infantry, Gustavus received a second shot, which deprived him of his remaining strength. "My wounds are mortal, my brother," said he with an expiring voice, "think only of your own safety." A moment afterward he fell from his horse, and, being abandoned by all his attendants, he breathed his last in the hands of Croats. His charger, galloping about in the field without a rider, and covered with blood, soon discovered to the Swedish cavalry the loss of the King. Enraged, they rushed forwards to rescue from the enemy the sacred deposit; and a destructive combat took place around his body, which was speedily covered with a heap of slain. The dreadful news soon spread through the Swedish army: but, instead of damping their courage, it raised it to fury. The troops rushed headlong a second time on the enemy's left wing, which now opposed only a feeble resistance, and its defeat was accomplished. Duke Bernard then put himself

himself at the head of the army, and the genius of Gustavus seemed once more to lead on his victorious bands. Order was re-established in the left wing, which broke the Austrian right, and gained possession of the artillery placed on the heights. The Swedish infantry in the centre once more marched against the trenches, and the battery of seven cannon was again taken. The attack was continued with impetuosity against the battalions in the centre; and chance conspired with Swedish valour to hasten their defeat, the caissons of the Imperialists having taken fire, and their grenades and bombs blowing up with a terrific explosion. The astonished troops supposed that they were surprized in the rear, while the Swedish brigades were attacking them in front: their courage was shaken; they saw their left wing yielding, their right on the point of giving way, and their artillery in the hands of the Swedes. The victory was almost decided; and the fortune of the day depended on a moment, when *Pappenheim* arrived with several regiments of cuirassiers and dragoons. All the advantages which the Swedes had obtained were now suspended, and a fresh battle must be fought.

The order to recall the Austrian General had found him at Halle, where he was taking some repose while his soldiers were finishing the pillage of the town. As it was impossible to collect the infantry with the promptitude required by the urgency of his orders and his own impatience, he made eight regiments of cavalry take their horses and proceed in all possible haste to Lutzen. He joined the Imperial army just in time to be a witness of the flight of its left wing, pursued by Gustavus Horn, and at first found himself surrounded by the fugitives: but his presence soon put a stop to the disorder; he rallied the flying troops, and led them back to meet the enemy; while, with the cavalry, he made a rapid charge on the Swedes, who, disordered by the exertion which had procured their success, gave way before the overpowering crowd. The arrival of *Pappenheim*, of which they had begun to despair, re-animating the courage of the Imperial infantry in the centre, and *Walstein* seized the favourable moment to re-form his line. The Swedish battalions now retired, in a compact mass, behind the trenches, and the Austrian battery was a second time relinquished. For a moment, the space between the armies was unoccupied, and the yellow regiment of Swedes, one of the bravest of those which signalized their valour on this bloody day, was seen extended on the field in the order in which it had fought. A regiment in blue underwent the same fate, being cut in pieces after a furious contest by *Piccolomini*, who attacked it at the head of the Imperial cavalry. Seven times, in the course of the day, did that excellent General renew the attack, and when his men were killed under him.

All these efforts, however, could not fix the fortune of the day. The Swedes were now preparing a final attack. On the other side, *Walstein* was seen riding along the Austrian divisions, and exerting himself to the utmost to retain the victory which was on the point of deserting him. A fresh onset now took

place, the brave *Pappenheim* received a mortal wound, and his death caused great discouragement among the Imperialists. The Swedes attacked with increasing fury; all the efforts of *Walstein*, *Piccolomini*, *Colloredo*, and other brave officers, were unable to resist their exertions; the Austrian army lost its artillery, a great number of colours, and abandoned the field of battle to the enemy.

The whole plain from Lutzen to the canal was covered with the wounded, the dying, and the dead. — After a long and toilsome search, the body of the King was at last discovered near the large stone which is still seen between the canal and Lutzen, and which since this memorable catastrophe bears the name of the “Stone of the Swedes.” The death of Gustavus effaced all the splendour of the victory; and a mournful silence, interrupted only by sighs, prevailed throughout the camp. The King had not reached his thirty-eighth year when he was thus called away from his high destinies. His faithful companions in arms carried his body, bathing it with tears, first to a neighbouring village, and afterward to Weissenfels, whither the soldiers crowded to contemplate once more the features of their hero. *Bernard*, Duke of Saxe Weimar, following up his success and his vengeance, placed the funeral car of Gustavus at the head of his army, and drove before him *Walstein* and the Imperialists out of Saxony and Misnia.

The fame of *Walstein*, which was expected to shine forth with double lustre on the fall of *Gustavus*, became eclipsed soon after that event. Instead of renewing the next campaign with vigour and activity, he kept his troops inactive, and soon gave reason to suspect that he entertained designs of rendering himself independent of his government: he is even said to have negotiated, first with the Saxons and eventually with the Swedes and French, for the support of these unjustifiable pretensions; and his last step was to make an appeal (in January 1634) to the principal officers in his own army. The majority discovered a disposition to receive his orders, and to co-operate with him in his projects, the ostensible object of which was to deliver the court of Austria from Spanish influence: but, no sooner was his real conduct ascertained at Vienna, than directions were sent to change the command, and to seize him and his principal officers. The main body of the soldiery proved loyal; and *Walstein* was obliged to withdraw with a few regiments, followed to Egra by a party who had taken a vow to rid the empire of this dangerous chief. Having invited his principal officers to an entertainment, they put them to death, and proceeded immediately afterward to the house of *Walstein*, who fell a victim to their fury, in his 50th year.

Walstein, elevated by fortune, and ruined by her, — A great and admirable character, notwithstanding his defects, — would
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perhaps have been the first man of his age, had he not wished to be the most surprizing. The heroic qualities, prudence, justice, firmness, and courage, were conspicuous in him: but he wanted the milder virtues which embellish heroism and render power amiable. Prone to extremes in punishing as in rewarding, he succeeded in keeping the spirit of his soldiers in perpetual activity; and no General could boast of having been more zealously obeyed. He set a higher value on submission than on bravery, because the latter is a virtue limited to the soldier, while the former is the main instrument of the agency of the General. Arbitrary orders continually familiarized the troops with habits of subordination; and he rewarded any instance of eagerness to obey him, even in trifling matters, with liberality. His munificence was supported by an immense income, reckoned by some at not less than 100,000*l.* a year. The pride and independence of his character made him enemies, who have perhaps been the chief cause of the clouds cast on his reputation: for, to speak impartially, it must be allowed that we owe the accounts of his actions to writers of no great authority; and that the suspicion of his designs on the crown of Bohemia is founded only on presumption. No documents have yet been discovered which explain to us the secret motives of his conduct with evidence worthy of history; and most of his public and undisputed actions may be attributed to commendable or at least to lawful motives. Several of his steps, which have been most strongly blamed, may bear the construction of a desire of peace; while others are to be explained by a well-founded distrust of the Emperor, and the natural anxiety of a public man to keep up his influence. His conduct to the electors of Bavaria proceeded indeed from an implacable and ungenerous spirit of revenge: but to charge him with treachery to his sovereign is an unauthorized stretch of the evidence against him.

To this sketch from the pen of M. JAY, we subjoin another on the same subject by *Sarrazin*, a French writer nearly contemporary with *Walstein*, and noted for his success in the delineation of character. Our readers will find, in his portrait of the German chief, several of the features that belong to a well-known personage of the present day, destined like himself to the greatest vicissitudes of fortune.

Albert Walstein had a lofty and daring mind, but was restless and impatient of a tranquil life; his body was vigorous, his stature tall, and his countenance impressive rather than agreeable. He was naturally very sober, sleeping little, and always employed: he readily endured cold and hunger, was an enemy to pleasure, and overcame the gout, as he warded off other complaints, by dint of temperance and exercise. He spoke little, and thought much; executed all his writing himself; was valiant and judicious in war; admirable in levying and maintaining an army; severe in punishing and lavish in rewarding, yet doing both with discernment and judgment; always firm under misfortune; kind to those in want, but in other cases proud and haughty; immoderately ambitious;

severe

severe in his vengeance, prone to anger, and apparently fond of show: but doing nothing without design; never wanting the presence of public good, though all his efforts had evidently a direction to his personal aggrandizement; secretly despising religion, though he made it an engine of policy; employing artifice in every thing, particularly in appearing disinterested; vigilant and clear-sighted with regard to the designs of others, and extremely wary in conducting his own; above all, skilful in concealing them, and the more impenetrable as he assumed in public the appearance of frankness, and blamed in others that dissimulation which he always practised himself."

Internal affairs of France. — We now return to the domestic politics of France; and, in treating of these, it is proper to remark that M. JAY is by no means disposed to join in a notion too lightly taken up by Mr. Hume, that *Richelieu* was disagreeable to the Queen on account of his age and manners. He explains her dislike (vol. i. p. 71.) by ascribing it to a much more probable reason, — the hostility of the Cardinal to the house of Austria, the immediate connection of that Princess. In carrying on the war of Germany, *Richelieu* had to combat not only the family-attachment of the Queen, but the secret arguments of the Catholic clergy; who sought to alarm the feeble Louis with the criminality of an alliance with heretics, and of an opposition to the efforts of a Catholic power. A curious specimen of these intrigues is given (vol. ii. p. 60.) in the case of *Père Caussin*, the King's confessor; who advocated the cause of the church in every possible way, until *Richelieu* found it necessary to replace him by a more subservient representative. In fact, every effort made against the minister, whether by females or clergymen, by courtiers or soldiers, ended in the discomfiture of the parties, and the farther consolidation of the Cardinal's power. The most serious and affecting event of this nature occurred in the case of *Cinq-Mars*, a favourite of Louis; who after having been indebted for his elevation to the Cardinal, conceived himself of sufficient weight to join the opposite party, and entered into a treasonable correspondence with the Spanish court, the discovery of which brought him and his adherents to the scaffold. It was on this occasion that *De Thou*, the son of the historian, forfeited his life; and his fate, which was much regretted, was ascribed to an excess of vindictive feeling on the part of the Cardinal, since *De Thou* was found guilty of no other crime than that of not denouncing the treaty in question. He was not charged with conspiring against the Cardinal's life; a charge indeed which is but indistinctly brought forwards in these volumes, whether we refer to the

conspiracy of *Guise*, or to the previous project ascribed (vol. ii. p. 39.) in a very mysterious strain to the *Princes of the blood*. Society was happily emerging from the barbarism which gave a sanction to such odious attempts.

The French manners underwent a remarkable change about this period; they lost much of that roughness which is engendered in the midst of revolutions and civil wars; and, while love as a serious passion was perhaps weakened, attention to the fair sex made progress in all the classes of society. Part of this refinement in social intercourse is to be ascribed to the example of the court, and especially to the influence of the queens of the house of *Medicis*, and of *Anne of Austria*. The almost religious devotion shewn to ladies by the Italians and Spaniards modified the fickle vivacity of the French; and the result of the two was a style of behaviour between the sexes which was equally agreeable to both. — The court had now become the centre both of business and elegant manners: the great lords forsook the country, lived at court, and augmented its splendour by their presence. It was there that they disputed for favour, places, and pensions; while, by mixing with the favourites of fortune and power, they effaced by degrees those distinctions of rank of which their ancestors had been so tenacious. On the other hand, by abandoning their castles in order to attend the levee of a prince or a minister, they lost their remaining independence and their ancient authority; since the exorbitant expences which the great and the petty nobles were obliged to incur, to support their rank at public entertainments, and on other occasions of display, contributed, by diminishing their fortunes, to lessen the veneration which the people still preserved for their names. Alliances, which their ancestors would have scorned, repaired their fortunes, but did not restore the dignity of their families.

Religion still preserved in appearance all its influence. Since the civil wars, the attachment of the Catholics and the Protestants to external forms of worship had assumed the aspect of party-spirit, for their mutual hatred was restrained but not extinguished. Now that religious quarrels were no longer decided on the field of battle, controversial disputes had become more keen and more frequent; theological questions occupied the attention of all; and it was in particular to these thorny discussions that the art of writing, which was daily making fresh progress, was applied. This spirit of arguing became so much the ruling passion of the age, that those who signalized themselves in this way obtained great reputation, and found it sometimes the road to honour and fortune. *Richelieu* himself had at first figured as a controversialist, and did not desert this path to distinction till circumstances procured for him a place in the King's council.

At the period of which I speak, the doctrinal part of religion occupied more attention than morality; and, by a necessary consequence, the public laid greater stress on the practice of religious ceremonies than on the duties of social life. In like manner,

superstitious ideas triumphed even at court; and no remarkable event took place without having been the supposed object of a revelation from heaven.

Louis, like other princes of weak understanding, was tenacious of the appearance of power, and required always some confidential favourite to whom he might unboresom his thoughts without reserve. The Cardinal, therefore, who never shewed himself too delicate for intrigue, supplied him with favourites through whose medium he was enabled to discover and to gratify his secret wishes. We shall do wrong, however, to ascribe to such a cause his continued ascendancy over the mind of Louis: for we shall find a more convincing reason in the political difficulties of the sovereign, and in his conviction that his minister was the great means of supporting him against domestic intrigues from within and the hostility of Spain from without. To remove the Cardinal would have been nothing short of renouncing the course of policy adopted by Henry IV., and consenting to make his government act a subordinate part to its aspiring neighbours.

The time, however, was now approaching which was to put a close to the ministerial career that had hitherto triumphed over all opposition. Towards the latter part of 1642, in the 58th year of *Richelieu's* life and the 18th of his ministry, the symptoms of the malady that had gradually wasted his constitution assumed a fatal aspect.

The King, on being informed of the danger which threatened his minister, paid him a visit on the 2d of December. (1642.) He entered the room with the Marquis de *Villequier*, the captain of his guards, approached the sick bed, and addressed the Cardinal in affectionate terms. "Sire," replied *Richelieu*, "this is our last adieu. In bidding farewell to your Majesty, I have the comfort of leaving your kingdom more powerful than it has ever been, and your enemies humbled. The only reward that I venture to ask, for my labours and my services, is the continuance of your kindness and protection to my nephews and other relations; and I will give them my blessing only on the condition of their obeying you always with inviolable fidelity. Your Majesty's council is composed of persons capable of serving you; and you will act wisely in retaining them in your employment." Louis promised to comply with this advice; and it is said that the dying Cardinal spoke of *Mazarin* as the most proper person to fill the place of prime minister.

Richelieu displayed on his death-bed great affection for his relations, and more particularly for the Duchess of *Aiguillon*, his niece. "You are the person whom I have loved most," said he, kissing her hand. "I am very ill! Withdraw, my niece, I beg: your tears overcome me; spare yourself the sorrow of seeing me die." The Duchess was obliged to retire. The Cardinal had

made his will at Marbouss, and left immense wealth to his heirs. Indeed, we might think, when considering his legacies, donations, and rewards to his servants, that we were reading the will of a sovereign.

The monarch, who was always of a feeble constitution, followed his minister to the grave in the course of a few months; and his reign, at least the better part of it, was thus little else than the reign of *Richelieu*. M. JAY concludes his narrative by a series of observations on the principal characteristics of the Cardinal's policy, among which his patronage of literature deservedly occupies a prominent place.

' Until the age of which we are speaking, ignorance had been in a manner a title of nobility, many gentlemen boasting that they could neither read nor write, and considering the cultivation of the mind as incompatible with their title to a proud and stately inactivity. In this respect, *Richelieu* was far from sharing the prejudices of the times; for he esteemed, he honoured, and he rewarded men who were distinguished for their knowledge or their talents. After the taking of Montauban in 1629, some Protestant ministers of that town soliciting an audience of the Cardinal as deputies from the consistory, he refused to receive them in that capacity, and sent them a message "that their assembly did not form an ecclesiastical body in the state, but that he esteemed them as men of learning, and in that quality they should be welcome." The ministers accepted the invitation, discoursed with the Cardinal on points of sacred and profane literature, and departed highly pleased with the politeness of his manners and the charms of his conversation.

' In declaring himself the patron of letters, *Richelieu* made himself a sharer in their fame; and in rendering seats in the Academy an object of ambition to the greatest families in the kingdom, he ennobled the cultivation of elegant studies, which in their turn softened the rudeness of manners, and gave the French the first lessons of taste and urbanity. This is perhaps one of the greatest services which he rendered to the nation: but I will not dissemble that this great politician had a farther object in view. He had too much sagacity not to perceive that, since the invention of printing, public opinion had become of great importance; and, by favouring men of letters, he influenced the public through their medium, since they were bound in gratitude to support his reputation. Almost all the great writers, whom France boasts, have been members of the Academy; and, if some have not enjoyed that honour, the omission is to be ascribed to circumstances unconnected with the will of the Academy, since its organization was directed by the most liberal motives.

' The Academy, as established by *Richelieu*, was composed of forty members, and was appointed to meet regularly once or twice in a week for the compilation of a Dictionary of the French language, or for the discussion of subjects of literary criticism.

Richelieu consented to take the title of Protector, and it was resolved, from respect to their founder, to engrave his portrait on the seal of the Academy. The elections were perfectly free; and neither birth nor rank conferred privileges or precedence in the meetings. This provision manifests the discernment of the Cardinal, who foresaw that an institution of that nature could not prosper if any other distinction were admitted than that of merit, or any privilege but that of genius. The members promised on their honour to pay no regard to solicitations of whatever nature, and to keep their votes disengaged, that they might grant them at the time of the election to persons who were really worthy of them. The absurd rule which obliges the candidates to visit the members before the election was not then in existence, or in idea; and public opinion, which is seldom far wrong, almost always decided between the competitors. *Machiavel* observes somewhere that, to reform a state, we ought to bring it back to the principles of its original institutions. Might not the utility of this maxim be tried in the case of the Academy?

It thus appears that science, literature, and the arts, had received under the auspices of Cardinal *Richelieu* that impulse which in a few years afterward raised them to so high a degree of perfection. The last half of the seventeenth century is of the two the more splendid, and the more fruitful in master-pieces: but the first half appears to me the more deserving of our admiration. Greater efforts were perhaps necessary to recover the principles of taste after the dark ages, than to fix them;—to give the reasoning powers their proper direction than to extend and improve them. These two intervals of time, very distinctly marked, but commonly confounded under the general title of the age of Louis XIV., form an unparalleled æra in the annals of the human mind. The pride of the illustrious men of the last half of the century consists in having duly appreciated the merit of their predecessors, in having raised themselves to an equal rank by an application of their principles, and in having given an improved form to what the others had discovered.

If the internal administration of the state was frequently embarrassed, it would be unjust to blame *Richelieu*; since these embarrassments were not in any great degree the effects of foreign wars, which besides could scarcely be avoided. The dilapidations of former ministers; the domestic dissensions, which were excited in turns by the rapacity of the nobles and the spirit of insubordination; the passions of a queen-mother who could never make a prudent use of authority; and the continued weakness of Louis; all contributed to swell the amount of public difficulties. *Richelieu* was exactly the man of whom France stood in need at the time at which he lived; and even his defects were useful to the state. He employed in business a dispatch unknown before, and which is almost always an indication of success. Being wholly occupied with great designs, he was perhaps too inattentive to the state of the lower orders; and he had given his thoughts more to the brilliant department of foreign politics than to the improvement of internal

internal administration. Yet this great man was not without sound views of domestic government. He laid the foundation of a naval force, was well acquainted with the importance of trade, and even protected it as far as the state of the finances allowed him; but he was sometimes mistaken with regard to the means. The main principle of his administration reduces itself to economy and order, sources of wealth always productive, and indeed the most useful in time of peace;—the most favourable likewise to humanity, but not always sufficient, particularly when the interests of a nation acquire extension, and its relations with foreign states become complicated.

From the rapid sketch which I have now made, it appears that nothing was yet brought to perfection in France, but that every thing had a tendency that way; and that this tendency, now irresistible, received its direction from the genius of Richelieu.

After this ample notice of the historical part of the present work, it remains to make some observations on the composition; and here we are concerned at being unable to confirm the favourable expectation excited by M. JAY's speeches in the House of French Representatives, and at being obliged to pronounce his manner altogether inferior to the importance of his matter. Our readers must not form their opinion of his style from the extracts which we have made; most of them being materially compressed, and divested of those contradictory expressions which French authors have very little scruple in inserting whenever they serve the purpose of giving a higher colouring to the picture. In addition to these inaccuracies, M. JAY has no idea of keeping up the connection of narrative, or of preparing his readers for an easy transition from one subject to another. He introduces a string of unknown names, breaks the relation of a material transaction into fragments, and discovers very little discrimination as to the comparative interest of events. It is thus that we have in one part (vol. i. p. 280.) episodes of undue length; in others (vol. i. pp. 102. 107.; vol. ii. pp. 55. 151, &c.) such a want of arrangement, and such a frittering down of the main story, that the reader's attention becomes distracted and fatigued. We were prepared in the case of a French writer for the habitual use of terms of exaggeration, and for romantic encomiums on any favourite theme, such as those that occur (vol. ii. p. 303.) in treating of *Corneille's* well known tragedy of the *Cid*: but we thought that the days were past for the repeated insertion of tedious speeches and long quotations, (vol. i. pp. 32. 43. 78. 166.; vol. ii. pp. 242. *et seq.*) in the body of an historical narrative. To this list of objections we must add that the language is frequently very negli-

negligent, and that we sometimes have met with such expressions as (vol. ii. p. 42.) " *Il délivra les habitants des craintes dont ils n'étoient pas encore entièrement délivrés.*" On the other hand, we have the satisfaction of bearing testimony to considerable research on the part of M. JAY; and the occasional introduction (vol. i. pp. 158. 177.) of a neat turn in the way of interrogation makes us forget, for a moment, the habitual dryness of his style. His chief merit, however, rests on the integrity of his views and the independence of his sentiments: he flatters neither of the great parties which at present divide public opinion in France; he forbears the incense of a dedication; and he concludes his book with a series of observations on the existing state of things, that are replete with moderate and patriotic feeling. In short, he possesses the solid part or what may be called the rough materials of an historian, but wants his polish and attractive grace.

We conclude our report of this work by extracting from it a couple of paragraphs on the character of a well known cotemporary of Richelieu, the Spanish minister, *Olivarez*. These sketches are not from the pen of M. JAY, but proceed from two persons living at the same time with the statesman; one of whom, *Fontrailles*, had been deputed to Madrid on a secret mission by a party conspiring against Richelieu.

"On the day of my arrival at Madrid," says *Fontrailles*, "I saw the Condé-Duke without difficulty. Though I was very indifferently dressed, he would not allow me to remain uncovered before him. I was taken to him when sitting in his carriage, and soon perceived that the sight of the seal and signature of Monsieur gave him a real pleasure. This was apparent from some messages which he sent to the King his master; and, perceiving that I had caught his sentiments, he endeavoured to repair his indiscretion, but it was in a very aukward way. Our ride continued not less than three hours. He spoke to me of the Cardinal with respect and marks of esteem; which shewed his fear of him. He knew as well as I did all the people of quality at our court, and their respective views. When I took leave of him, he committed me to the care of a secretary of state, his confidant, named *Carnero*. He kept his beads all the time in his hand, but said scarcely a word about the Pope or religion: knowing that I was a Hugonot, he thought that he gratified me by this reserve. I conversed with him only in his carriage, for he did not like to be seen except in a sitting posture, in which he looked very well; but, when he stood up, his chin almost touched his knees, so much was he bent. I saw him only once standing, and that was by accident, and I perceived very plainly that he was vexed at it. He kept me four days, and wished to make a merit of having obliged the Spanish cabinet to go, as he said, post haste in their proceedings, which was very

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contrary to the custom and practice of the court of Madrid. I saw the King after the signature of the treaty, but he said very little. The minister conducted all business with the same authority that Cardinal Richelieu exercised in France."

The other sketch is from the pen of a writer sufficiently known among the French literati of the seventeenth century.

"On some occasions," says *Votture*, "the Duke d'Olivarez shewed that all the reasons of state which could be urged had less influence on his mind than religion, and that he chose to be a bad politician rather than a bad Christian. Even his enemies do not dispute his integrity. He has always been liberal of his own property, and frugal of that of the public; and consequently, after having had the disposal of so many millions, he is at present sixty thousand pounds sterling in debt. In his house, his expences, and his suite, as well as in his affability and facility of access, he differs in nothing from a private individual. In his youth he was very well shaped, tall, and handsome. His entrance on public affairs took place at a time when the genius of Spain seemed on the decline. That monarchy, elevated to the highest point of its greatness under Charles V., supported itself with difficulty under Philip II., and appeared on the wane under his successors. In all the pressure of public business, *Olivarez* was in the habit of going daily from Madrid to the Escorial, with two secretaries, in a very plain equipage; and the minister who put in motion so many armies, and brought into action so many thousands of men, had, in general, only three or four attendants. His government had the good fortune of not being stained with blood: his suspicions and his fears did not thin the court to fill the prisons; and the charge of high treason was not used by him as a pretext to gratify vindictive feeling. Whatever may have been said or done against him, he had no enemies but those of the state."

ART. IV. FRIEDERICH SCHLEGEL's *Geschichte der alten und neuen Literatur*, &c.; i. e. *Lectures on Antient and Modern Literature*, delivered at Vienna in 1812, by FREDERICK SCHLEGEL. 12mo. 2 Vols. Vienna. 1815.

THE author of these Lectures is, we believe, the elder brother of Mr. *Augustus William Schlegel*, whose work on *Dramatic Literature* was noticed by us at some length in our Number for October last, p. 113; and, as he had priority in birth, so has he also been longer known to the world as an author. In 1795 he printed *Essays on Greek Literature and Cultivation*; and in 1809 he sent abroad a speculative book on the Language and Learning of the Hindoos, in which he takes the Sanskrit for an unmixt and self-derived language, whereas it includes more

more symptoms of having resulted from the confluence of several distinct dialects. He now undertakes the condensation of his comprehensive acquaintance with the literature of the world into two duodecimo volumes; which comprize the substance and imitate the arrangement of sixteen lectures delivered at Vienna. They are dedicated by permission to the Prince of Metternich.

The first lecture is introductory, and sketches a plan of the entire course. Remarks occur on the great influence of literature over the morality, the spirit, the character, the intellectual development, the political conduct, and the final celebrity of nations; and governments are advised to go more steadily and systematically hand in hand with the instructors of the people. With the progress and diffusion of the art of reading, the literary priesthood, if we may so call the mass of authors, has superseded the oral priesthood, whose alliance was formerly the more important of the two to the magistrate.

A history of Greek literature is also given, from its commencement to the time of Sophocles. It is well observed that the Greek and the English theatres agree in having chosen national events and characters for the theme of representation; and that they have thus concentrated popular attention on domestic incident, which is favourable to love of country, to originality of turn, and to public spirit. The Roman theatre, like the French, was never a school of patriotism. Warm exhortations are made to the Germans to assert more nationality of taste; to disdain the imitation of foreign models, and the celebration of classical heroes; and to seek for that uniting principle, which the political constitution of their country has not bestowed, in the praise of the same native heroes, and in the study of the same native poets and sages. A good work of art, like a fine landscape in the natural world, attaches successive generations of men to the country which endowed it with shape and features.

The great influence of Greek and Roman literature on the culture of modern nations renders necessary some previous account of the classical models; but, as the influence of a still previous oriental literature, which the Jews had preserved, was not felt in the antient world until the Alexandrian version of their Scriptures was promulgated, these Hebrew remains, M. SCHLEGEL thinks, may best find a place in the survey of the Alexandrian writers. Concerning Homer, nothing new occurs.

Lecture II. treats of the later Greek Literature, of Sophistry and Philosophy, and of the Peculiarities of the Alexandrian School. The author much adheres to the track laid down

down in *Schell's* Greek Literature, of which a careful account was given in our *xxiii* volume, p. 449.

The third lecture endeavours to define the influence of the Greeks over the Romans, and includes a rapid sketch of Roman Literature until the termination of its Augustan age. The principal peculiarity in this section is the depreciation of Cicero. Even if we could now afford to desist from the anxious study of his writings, because so large a portion of his sentiments and of his very phrases has passed into the daily literature of every European nation; and though we constantly drink of his waters, if not at the source, yet at the other end of the aqueduct; still there would be something of ingratitude in forgetting the great obligations which, at the revival of learning, the whole modern world owed to the general predilection for Cicero's writings. If his example has tended to infuse into our written language an amplification that is proper only in a speaker, yet he taught morality to be liberal, philosophy to be inquisitive, and statesmanship to regard opinion.

Lecture IV. opens with Reflections on the short Duration of Roman Literature, which began with Cicero and ended with Tacitus. On the accession of Hadrian, a regular preference of the Greek language was established at court; and the consequence was that the empire was obliged to obey the public opinion of those who read and talked in Greek. Henceforward, the writers at Alexandria swayed the Roman world. Concerning the sources of their religious opinions, the following curious passage occurs: (vol. i. p. 151.)

Among the nations who partook this early oriental culture, the high antiquity of which is attested alike by monuments in Egypt, in Persia, and in India, the Persians were certainly most nearly allied to the Jews in the spirit of their traditions. From the Greeks, on the contrary, the Persians differed most widely. Under the mild sway of a friendly Persian sovereign, the dispersed nation of the Jews was allowed to re-assemble, and their ruined temple was rebuilt at the cost of the public treasury: but the idolatrous worship of the Egyptians was held in abhorrence by the Persians, not less than by the Jews. The yoke of the Persians was insupportable to the Egyptians, precisely because it aimed at the extirpation of their favourite superstitions and idolatries. Long before the Greek Gelo, in a treaty with the Carthaginians, induced by a philanthropy natural to his country, had exacted of them to abstain in future from human sacrifices, the Persian Emperor Darius, probably from religious considerations, had also prohibited these horrors. The Persians honoured and acknowledged the same God of light and truth that the Hebrews adored; although something that was invented and mythological might be mixed in their creed, and even several essential errors. The Holy Scriptures call

Cyrus

Cyrus "the anointed of the Lord;" which expression no warmth of gratitude would have applied to an idolatrous Pharaoh of Egypt. The entire habits of private life, and the formal constitutions of the Persian empire, were grounded on this sublime monotheism. The monarch, as the sun of justice, was to be a visible image of the supreme God, and of the eternal light; and the seven superior princes of the empire answered to the seven Amshaspands, or seven invisible planetary angels, who ruled by their influences this sublunary region of nature. Such points of view were strange to the Greeks. The same king of Syria, who so severely persecuted the Jews on account of their religion, and wanted to force them to adopt the Greek worship, was also a persecutor of the Persian religion. Even Alexander wished to root out an order of Magi, not merely to display his power, but because their influence counteracted his views. He was desirous of confounding the Greeks and Persians into one nation; and there was no middle course. Either the Greeks must have adopted fire-worship, and have abandoned those temples the destruction of which by Xerxes they came to avenge; or the faith of Zoroaster was to be impugned, and a Greek or Egyptian ritual substituted in its stead. The great error of the Persian system seems to have consisted in this, that to those tendencies or forces in nature, which operate against human happiness, they attributed an independence of the supreme God; and they assumed a twofold original fundamental being, or primeval cause, a good and a bad God.

Considerable difficulty, no doubt, is found in accounting for the identity of Persian and Jewish religion. Shall we introduce a new conjecture for the animadversion of this author, and of those enlightened Scripture-critics to whose speculations he attends? Suppose that Cyrus and Darius, who conquered the Persian empire, and there established the ascendancy of monotheism, were clan-chiefs of those Jews of whom entire tribes had been transported into Media by Tiglath-pileser, (2 Kings, xv. 29.) and by Shalmanezar, (2 Kings, xvii. 6.) three or four generations before Cyrus. The father of Cyrus is indeed called a Persian; but the words Persian and Parthian are originally derived from *Prath*, the name of the river Euphrates, and were used to designate all those nations who thence migrated and carried with them the Hebrew language. It appears from Herodotus (Clio 129.) that the Persians had been captives to the Assyrians, which agrees with the condition of the Jewish clans. Concerning Darius, it is the more probable that he was of Jewish descent, at least on his mother's side, because his father, (Herodotus, Thalia, 70.) though a Mede, was a commander of the Persians, and because he selected the Jew Daniel for his own prime minister. That Darius is the Ahasuerus of the book of Esther

Esther has been established by Usher: for his earlier wife he had Vashti, or Atossa, a daughter of Cyrus; for his later wife he had Esther, or Artistona, of the royal family of Palestine; and it is expressly stated in the book of Esther (ch. ix. 1—6.) that the Jews were employed to conduct that proscription, which Herodotus (Thalia, 79.) describes by the name of the Magophonia, and which was yearly commemorated both in the Persian and the Jewish church. Arioch, a chieftain of the Elamites, which was a Jewish clan, who is known to have been on courteous terms with Daniel, (ch. ii. 24.) was intrusted with the conduct of this severe measure (Daniel, ch. ii. 14, 15.); and every thing conspires to prove that the Persian or Parthian empire, from the time of Cyrus to the conquest of Alexander, adopted Hebrew for its court-dialect, and acknowledged a religious allegiance to the high-priest at Jerusalem, analogous to that of some Chinese provinces for the Lama of Thibet. Peculiarities recorded in the Levitical law may have been retained in Palestine, which had been disused by the transplanted clans of Hebrews; and the name of Moses may never have acquired at Babylon the same veneration with that of Ezra, or Zoroaster as the Greeks call him: still it appears that Abraham was recognized as a common progenitor by the Parthian emperors, as well as by the kings of Palestine, and by all the clans originally subject to both.

The fifth lecture is allotted to the Literature of Hindostan. The Sacontala, the Institutes of Menu, the Ramayuna of Valmiki, and other works which Sir W. Jones and Mr. Wilkins have made known to Europe, are curiously discussed. As in the Persian empire, so in Hindostan, two hostile primæval sects of fire-worshippers, or monotheists, and of idolaters, or polytheists, may be traced: but in India the eventual ascendancy was acquired by the idolaters, possibly in consequence of the massacre of Magi and expulsion of idolaters, carried into execution by Darius. Now that the Jewish Scriptures can be compared with the antient records of the Hindoos, we may hope to acquire a more complete historical knowledge of these early revolutions.

In the sixth lecture, the writer comments on the Influence of Christianity over the Latin Language and Literature; — it was not immediately favourable to good taste, but it sowed the seeds of modern culture. He then passes on to the history of poetry in the north, on which topic some extracts will be welcome to our readers.

‘As soon as the Romans make mention of the German nations, they notice the passion of that people for poetry. If those songs have perished which commemorated the deeds of Herman, and if those
pro-

prophecies have passed away by which Velleda animated the Batavians to struggle for freedom; yet the influence of them was felt far and long. Although the German mythology was doomed to melt away before the more authoritative legends of the Christian missionaries, still it deposited something of its native poetic force in those sagas and epic romances which, at a later period, when manners were softened and embellished by the spirit of love and devotion, were to found the chivalrous literature of our own heroic ages.

Such historic epopeas, or metrical romances, first originated among the Goths. In the days of Attila, Gothic songs of the heroes prevailed, and at the court of Theodoric similar sagas were sung, which is mentioned by Latin historians of the time. The praise of the royal house of the Amali, and of the heroes of that line, constituted then the favourite theme. Afterward, Attila and Theodoric themselves became the subjects of song; and, still later, Charlemagne.

In one of the oldest monuments of Gothic language, the Bible of Ulphilas, the phraseology appears already in a considerable degree regular and evolved; it was a version made for the use of Goths dwelling along the Danube: but it is nearly certain that this same dialect was used by the Goths of Lombardy, and by Theodoric himself, who encouraged his followers to cultivate both the Gothic and the Latin language. Hence some grammars, such as Alfred afterward provided for the Saxons, must have at that time existed; and, from the manner in which Jornandes speaks of the Gothic songs of the heroes, it seems probable that they were formal compositions circulated in writing, rather than mere songs trusted to memory. With the Gothic nation, its monuments were dispersed; they were probably preserved longest in Spain, where a race of kings continued proud of their Gothic descent: but, in Italy, noble families rather piqued themselves on being descended from illustrious Romans, and cast off any traces of Gothic intermarriages.

The German songs of the bards, which Charlemagne is said to have collected, cannot have been very different in their form and structure from the earliest remaining monuments of the other Gothic dialects; and, as we possess, though in the refreshed clothing of a later age, some epopeas about Attila, Odoacer, Theodoric, and the family of the Amali, as well as several metrical romances relative to Frankish and Burgundian heroes, who are made cotemporary with these Gothic conquerors, it may reasonably be presumed that the story-books, which Charlemagne collected, comprized such materials as were afterward versified anew in the *Nibelungen-lied*, or song of the Nibelungs.

The supposition that the poems collected by Charlemagne may have been songs about Odin or Herman, and have belonged to the heathen period and mythological religion of the antient Germans, has found reception only among those who are ignorant of that age. A farther curious testimonial may be adduced which will assist in the decision. The formula of the oath remains, which the Saxon

Saxon was required to take on renouncing heathenism, and embracing Christianity. It runs thus: "I renounce all words and works of the devil, of Thunar, (that is of Thor the thunder-god,) of Wodan, and of the Saxon Odin, and of the unholy ones, their fellows." This formula is ascribed to the eighth century, before Charlemagne's time: but it is equally evidential of the then prevailing superstitions; and we know, from other authority, that still under Charlemagne Odin was worshipped in Saxony, and that in the Hercynian forest prayers were offered to Odin by Wittekind for victory over Charlemagne. It was not in the spirit of the monks who surrounded that prince to collect the songs of a hostile party and faith, such as those of Herman and Odin would have appeared.

From this form of renunciation, another important historical inference may be drawn, namely, that Odin is certainly a different person from Wodan; and that Saxony was considered as his native country. Even the sagas of the Scandinavians, although they would fain appropriate him to themselves, are agreed that Odin was first a king of the Saxons, and went from among them into Sweden, where he built Sigtuna, or the town of victory, and established his empire; and with this idea the Anglo-saxon documents coincide, since the Anglo-saxon kings all profess to deduce their descent from Odin, and Alfred really comes in a right line from him. These Anglo-saxon genealogies have every character of credibility and historical truth; and they corroborate one another so remarkably, that I entirely agree with those who consider Odin as an historic personage, and feel disposed to place him in the third century, when the Romans began to be too weak for farther conquest in the north, and knew little of those wars which were internally waged between the Gothic tribes. This may account for the ignorance of Odin's name among the Latin historians; although in Saxony and Scandinavia it shone with an all-eclipsing splendour. We ought to conceive of Odin as of a prince, conqueror, and hero, who was also a poet, and as such by his prophetic songs altered many things in the public mythology; whether by dint of his personal weight, or whether a band of priests and seers co-operated with him, and prompted the lessons which he was to establish. A magical influence was certainly ascribed to him, and he attained apotheosis after his death. That this Odin came out of Asia is a Scandinavian assertion, or rather interpretation, which cannot well be reconciled with the known date of the historic Odin. The Scandinavian collectors of sagas, in order to bring their rhythmical chronicles into consistency with actual facts, have found it necessary to suppose several Odins; and to surmise the confusion of a younger with an elder. Of this elder Odin, I perceive no other trace than that Tacitus mentions a rumour of Ulysses having visited Germany, and there founded the town Asciburgum. The antients, in these relations, have more meaning than we are apt to suppose; — as every war-god is to them a Mars, and every god of science a Mercury, as every wandering hero, every rover, is to them an Ulysses; — and so forth.

tradition of an *Asiatic* chieftain, such as the elder Odin may have been, might perhaps exist in the time of Tacitus, and remind him of *Ulysses*.

Licinius, the colleague, competitor, and victim of Constantine, was a native of Dacia, then inhabited by Goths; and, after his deposition, he was banished to Thessalonica, and was followed thither by the chief priests of the pagan-party. He disappeared suddenly, and is said by Eutropius to have been strangled: but, as other authorities ascribe his death to a tumult of the soldiers, and others represent him as joining the barbarians for hostile purposes, it seems possible that, under the novel name of Odin, he returned among his first countrymen, and incorporated with their native superstitions something of the paganism for which he had so long combated. — A sketch of the northern mythology agreeably concludes this lecture.

The Christian poetry of the Germans is considered in the seventh section: *Ottfried's* rhythmical gospel is noticed; and also the war-song of Ludwig King of the East-Franks against the Normans. M. SCHLEGEL comments on the ode, as it may be called, in praise of Bishop Anno of Cologne; and at still greater length on the song of the Nibelungs. This poem is here described as a German *Iliad*; the principal hero is *Diedrich of Berne*, that is, *Theodoric of Verona*, with other officers of his connection: we have spoken of it already in our account of *Weber's Illustrations of Northern Antiquity*, vol. lxxx. N. S. p. 356.

We meet with a curious passage concerning the history of language: (vol. i. p. 254.)

'The language originally common to all the nations of the Gothic stem was the old Saxon, which under Alfred in England attained its highest bloom. That the Saxons in northern Germany spoke this very dialect is indubitable; as also that the Franks employed it. The *Norman* could in England use a Frank for his interpreter; the Saxon from Great Britain did not need one in Sweden; and King Alfred, disguised as a minstrel, could sing to the Danes without betraying his native tongue. In which of the Gothic dialects were composed the songs that Charlemagne collected? Not in the *Mosso-gothic*; for this had expired, or was confined to the *Asiatic mountains*. — not in the higher Dutch; for this was still a century later struggling into being, and at last obtained the name of *Frankish*: but the songs collected by Charlemagne were in an old dialect. I conceive, therefore, that these poems were extant in the very Anglo-saxon dialect which Alfred wrote, and Charlemagne spoke; the habitual residence of the latter was in the Netherlands, then a country full of Frankish and Saxon tribes.'

Lecture VIII. treats of Romantic Literature in general, and of the Romances relative to Arthur and the Round Table. The Suabian dynasty of German emperors, and the influence which they exerted on language and literature, are specified; and the crusades, with the oriental tales and poems thus brought to Europe, are briefly noticed. A general view is given of the chivalrous literature of the thirteenth century; which became a common stock to all the modern nations, and which remains the best mine for future narrative-poets. Among the German poets of this age, Wolfram of Eschenbach is preferred; among the Spanish poets, the author of the Poema del Cid.

The proper budding and blossoming of German language and its native poetry begin, says M. SCHLEGEL, with the Emperor Frederic in the twelfth century; at the commencement of the fourteenth, its flowering was over; and a mere repetition of old forms of poems continued until the time of the Emperor Maximilian. Before the reign of Barbarossa, the culture, which existed in Germany under the Saxon and Frankish emperors, was rather of Latin than of German growth; a meagre crop of imported exotics, not of native plants.

The ninth lecture undertakes a Survey of Italian Literature. The allegorical spirit of their middle age is portrayed; the relation of Christianity to poetry is discussed; Dante, Petrarch, and Boccaccio are specified; and a general character is drawn of Italian poetry. A separate and curious section is devoted to the Latin poetry of the moderns; the influence of which is deeply deplored as having destroyed those features of originality, of native and peculiar expression, founded on domestic costume, which would otherwise have been prevalent. The old Roman polity is contrasted with the short-sighted impatience of Machiavel; and the great discoveries of the fifteenth century are enumerated.—For the subject of the tenth lecture, M. SCHLEGEL vouchsafes a rapid glance at the northern and eastern nations of Europe; describing both the scholastic philosophy and the mystical or cabbalistical literature of the middle ages.

In the eleventh lecture, he remarks on the State of Philosophy before and after the Reformation. On the poetry of the Catholic nations, Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian, a good dissertation occurs; they are animated by a common spirit: Garcilasso, Ercilla, Camoens, Tasso, Guarini, Marino, and Cervantes pass in agreeable review.

The twelfth treats of the Romantic and Dramatic Literature of the Spaniards, and then goes on to Spenser, Shakspeare, and

and those early writers of the English who acquired in the Spanish school their art and turn of delineation. The age of Louis XIV., and the tragedies of the French, form the next topics of commentary.

In the thirteenth lecture, the author dwells on the Philosophy of the seventeenth Century; on Bacon, Grotius, *Descartes*, *Bossuet*, and *Pascal*. The subsequent change of European opinion is described, and lamented; and this lecture concludes with a very hostile review of *Voltaire*, *Montesquieu*, *Diderot*, and the other writers of that school. M. SCHLEGEL bemoans like Burke this crimson-sunset of illumination.

Lecture XIV. sketches the lighter Literature of France and England; the modern novel, the prose of *Rousseau* and *Buffon*, the ballad, and the social song. The modern Italian theatre is then considered. Some historical works of the English also pass under review, and the superficiality of Robertson is contemptuously arraigned. Orme is overlooked. The dawn of purer days is discovered in the writings of Sir William Jones, of Burke, of *Bonald*, and of *Saint-Martin*; — a very chaos of stars to consider as one constellation.

The fifteenth lecture returns to an earlier condition of Germany; and here *Spinoza* and *Leibnitz* are contrasted. Then comes the estimate of more popular writers, such as *Luther*, *Hans Sachs*, *Jacob Böhme*, and *Opitz*. A decay of taste is observed after the peace of Westphalia. At length the author reaches the age of Frederic the Second; if it be permitted to name after him that Augustan period of German literature, with which he was connected only as a cotemporary and not as a patron. *Klopstock*, his *Messiah*, and "Dramatic Sketches of Northern Mythology," are characterized; *Wieland*, and his chivalrous poetry, are rather shyly admired: but to the prose of *Adelung* is justly allowed the merit of purity and simplicity. So much is taken for granted as notorious to the audience, that this section appears meagre to the foreign reader.

The sixteenth and concluding lecture gives a general Survey of the German Literature. *Lessing* and *Winckelmann* are contrasted; the age of Joseph the Second, so favourable to every liberal idea, is coldly sketched; *Herder* is noticed, as well as *Goethe* and *Schiller*; and the whole concludes with a picture of that rising cloud, which seems about to darken a whole sky lately so radiant with the meteors of illumination, and the enduring stars of taste, — we mean the Kantian philosophy. M. SCHLEGEL, however, affects to hope better things, and pretends that the followers of that disastrous school are

about to abandon an obscure jargon, which has tired the public, he says, and will soon tire themselves. He also thinks that Germany has now attained that stage of mind, in which the writer no longer forms the public will, but the public will directs the writer: in other words, that the day of independence is past; and that the sophistry patronized by the greater courts is henceforth to be manufactured, according to order, by the ready industry and loquacious accomplishment of a numerous, but venal, race of sprucely-educated publishers.

This work may be a neat, a welcome, and an agreeable compendium of general literature, since it is written with mildness, with elegance, and with information: but it does not appear to us to announce either talents of so high an order, or opinion so courageously self-supported, as the dramatic lectures of the author's brother. Writers are judged in this book by their particular tendencies, not by their inherent force; and it displays criticism exerted too much on the principle of an expurgatory index. The author seems inclined to withhold from general perusal, under pretext that they have not written with good taste, those historians, poets, and orators, whom he considers as allied in sentiment with the philosophists: but criticism should never be warped by party-views. A principal branch of its office consists in the promulgation and encouragement of excellence; and, if it teaches any undue value for mediocrity, or meanly disguises the inherent power of intellect, it prepares errors in self-knowledge, instability of sentiment, and the corruption of the public mind. In proportion to the genius exerted, it is useful to study an author. Personal virtue may co-exist with almost any opinions: but strong minds are formed only among the strong; and he who would become the competitor, the rival, or the victor, of those great writers who, during the late war of the Titans, have shaken or propped the fundamental pillars of European society, must become familiar alike with the arguments of his adversary and those of his ally.

ART. V. *De Danorum Rebus Gestis, Secul. III. & IV.* *Palma Danicum, Dialecto Anglo-saxonica, ex Bibliotheca Cottoniana Musæi Britannici edidit, Versione Lat. et Indidicibus auxit, GRAM. JOHNSON THORKELIN.* 4to. pp. 260. Havnæ. 1815.

THIS is a Danish edition of *Beowulf*, an Anglo-saxon epic, consisting of forty-three or rather forty-four stanzas or cantos, which has been preserved among the manuscripts of the Cotton Library at the British Museum, and which is now first edited in a foreign country by the meritorious assiduity and

and appropriate learning of M. THORKELIN of Copenhagen. Hickes mentions the poem in his *Thesaurus*, Wanley in his *Wanders*, and Warton in the *History of English Poetry*: but the most extensive account of it in our literature occurs in the fourth chapter of the sixth book of Mr. Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-saxons*. All these notices being imperfect, we shall undertake a new epitome or analysis.

The *shaper*, or bard, thus commences:

' At the beginning
Who was the Dane's
King of the people;
Winner of glory,
Leading their nobles

The path of daring?
Shefing the Shyld.
Threat'ner of foes,
For many crews'
Dwellings he won.'

In the eleventh line, mention occurs of an earl whose name is obliterated, but who is praised as a good king: in the thirtieth line, we have another anonymous monarch, whose name must have been *Ægtheow*; and these three princes seem to have been all the ancestors of *Beowulf* whom the poet could enumerate. The Saxon chronicle, under the year 854, mentions a Shefing, there said to be born in the ark of Noah, which merely means that memory or record reaches no farther back; so that, both according to the Saxon chronicle and to this poet, Shefing is, among the East-Danes, the eldest son of Fame. By East-Danes, we presume, are meant those who settled in East-Anglia, the modern Norfolk and Suffolk; and it is remarkable that the Saxon chronicle gives us, among the descendants of this Shefing, one *Beaw Scheldwaing*, which is very like to *Beowulf the Shyld*. In transcribing the Anglo-saxon names, we insert an *h* after *e* when it precedes *e* or *i*; because, in the Anglo-saxon alphabet, which was borrowed from the Italian, the *h* was in such circumstances always pronounced: thus our word *witch* is written in Anglo-saxon *weice*.

After this short catalogue of forefathers, the poet thus introduces his hero:

' Famous was *Beowulf*;
Wide sprang the blood
Which the heir of the Shylds
Shed on the lands.
So shall the bracelets
Purchase endeavour,
Freely presented
As by thy fathers;

And all the young men,
As is their custom,
Cling round their leader
Soon as the war comes.
Lastly thy people
The deeds shall bepraise,
Which their men have performed.'

Beowulf, having collected his crew, embarks.

' When the Shyld had awaited
The time he should stay,

Came many to fare
On the billows so free:

His ship they bore out
To the brim of the sea.
And his comrades sat down
At their oars as he bade:
A word could controul
His good fellows the Shylds.
There, at the bythe,
Stood his old father
Long to look after him,
The band of his comrades,
Eager for outfit,
Forward the *Atheling*.
Then all the people

Cheer'd their lov'd lord,
The giver of bracelets.
On the deck of the ship
He stood by the mast.
There was treasure
Won from afar
Laden on board.
Ne'er did I hear
Of a vessel appointed
Better for battle,
With weapons of war,
And waistcoats of wool,
And axes and swords.

This is the substance of the proem, which the editor does not include in the enumeration of his cantos; and which, in our judgment, has been transposed by the copyist from the place to which it belongs: — at least a more natural beginning would be that of the first canto,

‘Then dwelt in the cities
Beornulf the Shyld,
A king dear to the people:
Long did he live
His country's father.
To him was born
Healfden the high;
He, while he lived,
Reign'd and grew old
The delight of the Shylds.
To him four children
Grew up in the world,
Leaders of hosts,
Weorgar and Rothgar,
And Halga the good.
And I have heard
That Helen his queen
Was born of the Shefings.
Then was to Rothgar
Speedily given
The command of the army;
Him his friends
Heard most willingly.
When to the youth
Was grown up a family,
It came to his mind
He would build them a hall.
Much was there to earn,

And men wrought at it,
And brought it to bear.
And there within
He dealt out ale
To young and to old,
As God sent them;
Without stood the people
And sported afar.
And, as I have inquired,
The work was praised
In many a place
Amid the earth.
To found a folkstead (metro-
polis)
He first contrived
Among his liegemen;
And when this was finish'd,
The first of halls,
Earth gave him a name,
So that his words
Had power afar.
He received guests,
And gave bracelets,
To the friends of the feast;
And the cielinga schoed
To the sound of the harp;
And healtha were given,
In strong drink.

In this hall, we are told, a shaper, or poet, sang the lay of the creation, in presence of the “grim guest Grendel”; and in this song he relates the murder of Abel by Cain: so that the

the Danes were already converted to Christianity, when these personages flourished; which obliges us to date the poem as late as the tenth century, and not, as M. THORKELIN in his title-page ventures to assert, in the third or fourth century.

From the second section, we learn that this Grændel, getting drunk, quarrelled with his host, and said that he would never keep peace with these Danes. He is called (p. 16.) a heathen, and is described as an adorer of Hela, and ignorant of the Creator. Some injury he accomplished, which is not well defined; probably, the plunder of the new mansion, with which apparently he made off. To revenge this feud, or injury, *Beowulf* had sailed.

The third canto introduces *Beowulf* consulting Higelak, a king of the Goths, concerning the manner to be adopted in punishing and revenging the mischievous visit of Grændel. This prince sends *Beowulf* to his relation Rothgar. — In the fourth canto, *Beowulf* goes to the residence of Rothgar; and, when a shield-bearer or keeper of the shore comes to inquire the motive of the visit, *Beowulf* announces it as friendly, and calls himself the son of Ægtheow. — In the fifth canto, he is led through a paved street to the dwelling of Rothgar, to whom he explains his purpose. Here should have been placed all the previous narrative. — In the sixth canto, Rothgar acknowledges the family-ties which bind him to *Beowulf*, and, expresses a disposition to favour his views against Grændel. It appears that Rothgar is a king of the West-Danes, and that about three hundred men are to act under the orders of *Beowulf*. Both parties look up to Higelak, as to a common sovereign. — In canto vii. Rothgar relates his own history. — In the eighth, an altercation takes place between *Beowulf* and Ilunferd, the King's minister. — In the ninth, *Beowulf* relates an expedition into Finland. The wife and daughter of Rothgar are present, and bring mead and beer. — In the tenth canto, Rothgar presents armour to *Beowulf* the Goth, and wishes him success.

Canto xi. Grændel, having been informed of the preparations making against him, resolves to anticipate his adversaries by marching against Rothgar. This very poetical section opens thus:

Then came across the moor,
Beneath a roof of mist,
Grændel, the foe of God,
Bent on the lofty hall
To wreak his wrath,
And work the scath
Of human kind.

Wrapt under clouds he steps
To seek the golden home,
Where once he shared the feast:
Now big with angry hate
Not the first time was this
He sought for Rothgar's hall;
But never he

In days of yore
Was doom'd before

To meet with harder hands
Or braver fellows there.

Grændel is so far successful as to surprize and set on fire the palace, at which his people shout for joy. The poet then goes on :

' A noble shudder fell
On all within
Whom that dire cry arous'd.
The foe of God
Delighted sang aloud

A lay of victory :
And Hela heav'd her head
And steadily beheld
Uplimb the spreading flame.

In the twelfth section, Grændel is compelled to retreat and presumed to be slain by the exertions of *Beowulf*. — In the thirteenth, the description of the palace, half in ruin, is quite from nature. Bodies of the heathens are scattered in the surrounding marshes; and the King's skald, or singer, is commanded to celebrate *Beowulf*. — Canto xiv. Rothgar proposes to reward the courage of *Beowulf* by the gift of his daughter's hand. — In the fifteenth, the mansion is cleansed and repaired, and adorned for the approaching festivity; and the sword of Healfden is given to *Beowulf* as a reward of honour. — In the sixteenth, the comrades of *Beowulf* are recompensed. — In the seventeenth, some enterprizes against the Frieslanders and the Jutes are celebrated. At p. 84., and again at p. 86., the word *Hengest* is here rendered by the Latin adjective *maritimus*: but we suspect this to be a mistranslation; and that the word, which signifies a *horse*, is here a proper name. — In canto eighteen, the Queen presents the cup of brotherhood to *Beowulf* and her sons. — In the nineteenth, it appears that the mother of Grændel has cured his wounds by spells, and restored him to life; and that fresh exertions against him will be necessary. — In the twentieth, Rothgar describes Grændel as a magical being, the son of a ware-wolf. — In the twenty-first, *Beowulf* undertakes the new enterprize, and is armed with the sword *Runting*, a poisoned weapon, good against spells. — In canto xxii. *Beowulf* takes leave of his father-in-law, and embarks to attack Grændel at his dwelling-place. On the voyage, mermaids appear to him. — In the twenty-third canto, he accomplishes his purpose, and slays Grændel with the sword *Runting*; which, however, melts like ice after having perpetrated the deed. The body is taken on board of the ship in order to be presented to Rothgar; and on their arrival they cut off the head and carry it by the hair into Rothgar's hall. — In the twenty-fourth *sga*, *Beowulf* relates again the history of his voyage and victory, and receives the benediction of Rothgar.

Now

Now comes a second part of the poem, of inferior merit and interest. *Beowulf* sets sail for his own home, and proposes to visit Higelak and recount his success. He goes accordingly to Sweden, and is welcomed by Higelak; delivers gifts from Rothgar; relates his adventure; receives other gifts of arms; and presents at court the daughter of Rothgar. Meanwhile, the mother of Grændel comes to claim the aid of the sovereign against *Beowulf* the murderer of her son: but *Beowulf*'s attack is deemed justifiable. Next, *Beowulf* goes to sea, apparently to fish for whales: but he takes a sea-worm of enormous length, which wounds him; and this he attributes to the spells of Grændel's mother. Imperfections occur in the manuscript, through which some predatory expeditions may be discerned; and a treasure is taken from a dragon. The death of Higelak is related in the thirty-third saga, which introduces the sons of Ochter as cotemporary with his old age. Now, if these be the sons of Ochter, the arctic navigator, whose voyage was edited by King Alfred, this will decidedly date the heroes of the poem as coeval with our King Athelstan, who flourished in the middle of the tenth century. *Beowulf* is stated to have revenged against these sons of Ochter their hostility to Higelak. With Hugo, a king of Friesland, *Beowulf* also wars successfully; he undertakes moreover to avenge the murder of Weoxstan; and he adopts Wiglaf the son of his slaughtered friend, as son-in-law.

The thirty-seventh saga begins a third part of the poem; a sort of epilogue, which narrates the old age and disease of *Beowulf*, and his determination to die a voluntary death. Accordingly, he recognizes Wiglaf as his successor, mounts the prepared funeral pyre, stabs himself with a sword, and is buried with solemnity. The dying harangue of *Beowulf* is pathetic and natural:

'Thus spake *Beowulf*:
My wound will not heal,
Black is the flesh,
And I knew that to-day
The pain would increase.
From joys of the earth
I am shut out for ever.
To-day is fixed,
And my death is nigh.
Now, my son, will I hand you
The harness of war,
In which I rejoiced
At the storm of the fight,
Which my father gave me.
And with it I give,

As to the most worthy,
The whole of my wealth.
I have govern'd the people
For fifty winters.
No king of the nations
In reach of my sail
Dared come for my hoard:
I struck them with terror,
While I lived on the earth.
But I gave away meal,
And I gave away beer;
Nor wrong'd I the weak,
Nor broke I my word.
My soul is nowhere
Sick of a wound.

I need

I need not fear
To beckon death,
And bid him take
The life from my body.
Go look at the hoard
Below in the tower,
My beloved Wiglaf,
Now the circle of guards

Sit silently weeping,
That you may well know
What you are to find.
Go out of my sunshine.
When you are away,
I shall gladly abandon
The life and the kingdom
Allotted so long.

In the ensuing canto, Wiglaf inspects the treasury, and a long inventory is given of the plunder accumulated by *Beowulf*. On Wiglaf's return, he finds his father-in-law dying of his wound, and a moving farewell ensues. Cares of the funeral succeed; the barrow, or cairn, is heaped on Rone's Ness; and an encomium is chanted by a skald, which closes with these words:

His hearth-mates said,
Of the kings of the world
He was the mildest man,

The strongest of hand,
The dearest to the people,
The most eager for fame.

Were we to indulge a conjecture as to the author of this poem, we should feel inclined to ascribe it to Wiglaf, the son-in-law of *Beowulf*. The final separation of these personages has much the appearance of an historical narrative; and the singular complacency of detail, with which the hoard of *Beowulf* is catalogued, indicates the information of an inmate, and the pride of an heir. The beginning of the thirty-eighth saga might also be construed to support this hypothesis. The earlier portions of the poem have every mark of being derived from the information of *Beowulf* himself, to whom probably they had been read: but where did Wiglaf the skald, and his father-in-law *Beowulf*, finally reside? *Beowulf*, we find, was of the clan of the Shylds; and, as he calls himself in the fourth canto a Goth, his origin must have been from Gothland, the south-western part of Scandinavia, of which Gottenburg is the chief town. He was, however, become (see pp. 32. 48. 64.) an East-Dane. Now this epithet is applied either with respect to Denmark, or with respect to England. If he was an East-Dane of the Danes of Denmark, he dwelled near Lubeck; if he was an East-Dane of the Danes of England, he dwelled in East-Anglia. The latter appears to us most probable; because, in order to visit Higelak, he is not described as passing the Sound; and because his expedition against the Frieslanders announces a rover of the German sea, not of the Baltic. This being admitted, the name Gar-Dence, or Danes of the Yare, which is repeatedly applied to the crew of *Beowulf*, must be interpreted to mean Danes sailing from the port of Yarmouth.

In this case, the burg, or castle, which *Beowulf*, in the thirty-second canto, builds 'by the water-side, on the flat ground, near the New Ness,' must have stood in the lower part of the Earl's Town, or Gorleston, opposite to the ancient mouth of the river, which seems about this time to have changed its course.

Although, from the colouring of the manners, and from the evidence of the language, which differs not greatly from the Anglo-saxon of Alfred's time, we should be disposed, as before observed, to date this composition in the tenth century, yet one strong argument exists for dating it considerably later. It is this. The Danes and the Goths in this poem both acknowledge Higelak as a common sovereign. Now it was not until the beginning of the twelfth century that the Swedes and Goths quarrelled about the election of a common chieftain; and that the Goths transferred their allegiance to the King of the Danes. According to *Ruk's History of Sweden*, (see the beginning of the second book,) this union of the Goths and Danes was effected in 1134; and at no prior period would they have acknowledged a common sovereign.

We exhort both the poet and the antiquary to examine this curious production. On the manners and spirit of the Gothic north it throws a new and appropriate light; it is the most brilliant corruscation of the boreal dawn of literature; and it may no doubt be applied to the discovery of historical truth, as well as to the decoration of the skies of fiction.

ART. VI. *Del Reggimento e dei Costumi delle Donne*, &c.; i. e. On the Conduct and Manners of Women, a Poem, by FRANCESCO DA BARBERINO. 8vo. pp. 644. Rome. 1815.

UNDER the pontificate of Urban IV., in the year 1264, and at a country-house belonging to the *Barberinos* of Florence, was born FRANCESCO the author of this poem: he was consequently by twelve months senior to *Dante*. His father adopted in education the singular punishment of causing the boy to be stripped, when he had committed any fault, and to stand naked on a table; which so much irritated his natural sense of decency, that he would beg to be flogged, and to be made red by blows rather than by shame. He was sent to school under *Brunetto Latini* of Florence, effected a great progress in Latin and Greek, and applied to the study of the fathers of the church: but he was passionately fond of the Provençal poets, whom he calls his masters, and who were indeed the first teachers of the poetic art to the whole south of Europe. At twenty-four years of age, he was able to

improvise,

improvisare, or make extemporaneous verses, in Italian, on any given subject before company. He also distinguished himself in drawing, and has left a figure of Cupid on one of his manuscripts, of which a painter might be proud. He visited Bologna and Padua, where he attended to the civil law until the year 1296, when his father died, and he came back to Florence: but the body of his parent being arrested for debt on its way to the grave, he found himself obliged to sacrifice the chief part of his expected inheritance. The Bishop of Florence, however, gave him some situation in the ecclesiastical court; which so far supplied his wants that in 1303 he could afford to marry, and he had several children. Being deputed to Avignon in 1309 on affairs of the church, he was absent from Florence for four years together; during which he visited the court of France, and assisted in saving one of the King's companions, who had fallen asleep on horseback and dropt into the river. In 1313, he returned to Florence, and took the degree of doctor of laws, which was much respected by the citizens, who considered his distinction as an honour to the town. Soon after this incident, he lost his wife, and married a second, resolved to merit the epithet given in his diploma of *cherico conjugato*. With Boccaccio he was much acquainted. He inclined to the Ghibelline party, and corresponded with the Emperor Henry of Luxemburg; which excited unpleasant suspicions, and occasioned his being *admonished* in the year 1316 by the corporation of Florence. This form of censure incapacitates the object of it for public office: but it must have been rescinded by the Guelph party, because in 1318 he obtained the inspection of the public contracts, was four times named *Captain of our Lady*, a respectable post, and in 1341 was made counsellor and consul. He was moreover deputed by the city of Florence to Pope Clement VI.; and in 1345 he gained an election in concert with his son to the *Priorate*. In the year 1348, it is said, he died of the plague, which then infected Florence; if to die at eighty-four may in fact be ascribed to this occasional cause.

Two works of BARBERINO remain, the *Documenti d'Amore* begun in 1290, which was edited at Rome in 1640 by *Frederico Ubaldini*, and illustrated with plates; and the *Reggimento delle Donne*, which is of later but uncertain date, and is now first edited, not from the author's autograph, which has disappeared, but from an unadorned copy extant in the Vatican library. He was buried in the church of the Holy Cross, and the following epitaph was inscribed on his tomb:

" *Inclita,*

*"Inclita plange tuos lacrymis Florentia cives
 Et patribus tantis fundas orbata doctorem
 Dum redeunt Domini Francisci funera mente
 De Barberino et nati nam judicis omne
 Gesserat officium sua corda cavendo reatu
 Sed satis excedit natum quia doctus utroque
 Jure fuit genitor sed solo filius uno
 Scilicet in causis quæ sunt sæcularibus orta
 Hoc sunt sub lapide positi quibus ultima clausit
 Perfida Mors oculos paucis dilata diebus
 Strage sub æquali quæ totum terruit orbem
 In his senario quater aucto mille trecentis."*

The poem itself is rather an antiquarian curiosity than a literary trophy. It throws light on the sort of Provençal poetry that was prevalent at the time of the revival of learning; and it assists in deciding what are the features of taste which have descended to us from classical antiquity, and what are those which have been derived from modern originality. In the libraries of Italy and Spain, many unpublished specimens of Provençal song may still exist; and it is much to be wished that all those manuscript-books which were sufficiently popular to be exemplary, and which served as models to the founders of Italian and Spanish literature, or which were imitated in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries by the poets of France, England, and Germany, were to be carefully edited by the antiquaries of the south. The favourable reception of a book like this would probably invite the publication of other such hidden treasures; and we therefore exhort the bibliographer to acquire, the critic to dissect, and the loungers to talk of this volume: which, if it does not much amuse, must occasionally instruct, and will help to detect the old pavement and course of the road of modern literature.

In the preface, or introduction, we have a dialogue, in blank verse of unequal length, between the author, his wife, and an allegorical personage here called *Onestade*, or *Honesty*, who represents decorum, or the idea of feminine grace and propriety. A work of twenty cantos, or parts, is here also announced; which is to treat of little girls, of marriageable girls, of young wives, of old maids, of mothers, of widows, of second marriages, of religious vows, of chambermaids, of housekeepers, of governesses, of scullions, of distinction of ranks, of general principles, of consolations, of conversation, of behaviour to men, and of a 'dedication to my wife.' The author then proceeds to the formal execution of his plan: substituting occasionally *terza rima* for blank verse, and frequently interspersing a short story, or anecdote, in prose. One of these we will translate:

‘ A Spanish

A Spanish lady gave a large sum of money to found a convent for twelve poor women, whom she chose among pious elderly and necessitous persons. After her death, as the endowment was very liberal, certain gentlemen of the neighbourhood had their young daughters admitted into the foundation, and placed over them a lady-abbess of noble rank : and next they sent away, with a paltry stipend, the old women who remained of the first set, but to whom the bishop of the diocese allotted some other humbler residence. At first, the lady-abbess and her nuns led a very regular life : but, as they had fine and gay relations, who came to see them, and much money to spend, they, after the first year, began to indulge in eating and drinking, in dressing and receiving company, ceased to get up in the night for prayer, and indeed only performed their devotions in the eye of the world.

Thereupon God, remembering the injustice which had been done to his old and faithful servants who had meekly submitted to be dispossessed, called an angel, and said to him, "Go and tell Satan, that I give him leave to tempt the ladies of Villa-nueva, and to expose their evil inclinations." Satan immediately fixed on a trusty messenger, named *Rasis*, who flew to the place, took the form of an old woman, rang the bell, and inquired for the lady-abbess. When introduced, *Rasis* said that she was the duenna of three natural daughters of the King of Spain, whom he had by ladies of rank ; that she was seeking a place of education for them ; and that the King would endow the convent liberally, and would make presents of jewels to all the nuns, if they would take in and be kind to his daughters. The lady-abbess talked with her friends, and agreed to the proposal.

Then *Rasis* took the form of a young man, and went about the country until he met with three boys of fourteen and fifteen years of age, who were beautiful and fair and girlish in their appearance. *Rasis* said to them : "I am a rich nobleman, and indeed the King's son, and I am in love with a pretty girl in the convent at Villa-nueva, and I want to get admittance. Now if you three will put on girl's clothes, I will send an old woman with you to place you there as novices ; you must have your heads shaved accordingly. If you will go, I will make rich men of you, and stand by you ; there will be amusement enough for you in the nunnery ; and when you have made friends of the nuns you shall let me in, that I may have my pleasure also." The boys agreed ; and he gave them three hundred florins as an earnest, and desired them to follow an old woman whom they would find at such a crucifix.

As soon as they were out of sight, *Rasis* put on the shape of the duenna again, and went to the lady-abbess, paid her beforehand four thousand dollars, gave rings to the nuns, with other trinkets of great apparent splendour and value, and recommended the young pupils to their benevolence, whom she would now go and bring. *Rasis* then went for the boys, dressed them in character, told them how to behave, brought them to the convent, desired to have them called by holy names, and that their real condition in the world should not be made known. The lady-

lady-abbess, observing that she had not beds enough for her new pensioners, *Rasis* proposed that they should alternately sleep with one or another of the present inmates, all which was amicably agreed.

Here we are obliged to omit some details that are adapted only for the simplicity of antient language, and shall merely add that a general pregnancy of the nuns gives occasion to a detection of the fraud; that the people of the neighbourhood rise in a riot of indignation against the convent; that the young men are exposed naked to be stoned; that the bishop interferences; that the lady-abbess is condemned to be burned, and the nuns to be buried alive; and that the foundation is restored to the original proprietors.

In the sixteenth part of the poem, *Prudence* is one of the interlocutors. We shall extract her speech in the original language:

‘ Ogni donna, che vuole amar se,
 Ami Colui, che fe lei, e l’altre tutte,
 Ami virtù, e tutt’ i vizj inmodi.
 E porrà gir sicura in ogni parte,
 Dormir nella sua mente in gran riposo,
 Aver fama nel mondo,
 E vita dopo vita senza fine.
 E ciascheduna, che così comincia,
 Porrà imprendere, e tenere a mente
 Quella dottrina, ch’ io *Prudenza* voglio
 Qui dare scritta per lo ben commune;
 In altra guisa indarno leggeria
 Qualunque donna qui sù lavorasse.
 Donna che fatica vuole, ed onor ama,
 Con virtù valer brama,
 Non con lisciar, o con veste pomposa.
 Che ferma cosa
 È la prima, se dura,
 Ma la seconda ha contraria natura.
 La donna, che ben guarda,
 Ch’ el suo onor non ceda,
 È quella ch’ è amata dalla gente,
 Non quella che sovente
 Va gli occhj suo guardando,
 E vuol piacere a chi va mal pensando.
 Dilettasi la donna, ch’ è valente,
 In viver nettamente,
 E più d’aver la sua anima pura;
 Che parer netta per sua lavatura.
 Sta bensì a donna d’aver bella veste,
 Ed anco tutta la sua ornatura;
 Ma non convien, ch’ ella passi misura.
 Salcuna donna si desse a sapere,

Com

*Com' è gran Donna, Madonna Gastate,
 Ben la terra per una dignitate.
 Non si conviene alle donne più basse
 Usar le veste, e l' altezze, e le spese
 Delle maggior, che sono in suo paese.
 Poche son quelle, che son conoscenti
 Di loro stato, e della grazia, ch'anno ;
 Però molte ne vanno
 Affitte, e dolorose, ed anco Iddio
 Ler grazia muta, tanto è il vizio rio.
 Tal donna crede mal essere avere,
 Che se sapesse dell' altre lo stato,
 Nen piangeria del lato.
 Così ancora si crede alcuna poco
 Aver talor nel loco ;
 Perchè ella non conosce quanto è degna,
 Ma di ciò spesso Iddio se ne disdegna.
 In ogni donna libertade è ria,
 Dunque non dei curare,
 Perchè convegni d'altrui ridottare.
 Per libertà avere donna non chere,
 Sed ella è savia sola dimoranza,
 Ch' a gran periglio poi sta la costanza.
 La buona donna fa buona magione,
 La ria disfa, e distrugge la fatta ;
 Così ancor la matta,
 Nella cui casa ella vien per isposa.
 Ciascuna donna si guardi da quelli,
 Che lor parlar comincian da laudarla ;
 Che fanno ciò per voler ingannarla,
 Tu donna godi, se ti lauda alcuno,
 Pensa se tu se ' tale,
 E quai conoscer, se ben loda, o male ;
 Ciò conosciuto possa
 Di lui che parla ben saper la mossa.'*

The reader will be reminded, in this prosing verse, of the drawling allegorical manner of Spenser, which was in a great degree modelled on the diffuse, feeble, mellifluous, all-describing, all-personifying poetry of the Provençal troubadours. *Enough and to spare* was their motto. Once in a while comes an idle age, a "piping time of peace," and we look back to these writers, — not to enjoy them, but only to see which of their performances can now be pared down within readable limits.

Among a variety of writers whose names float no longer on the stream of time, is mentioned at p. 137. *Madonna Lisa di Londres*. This lady must be some English nun, who wrote in Provençal; and whose compositions, if extant, it would become our antiquaries to examine.

Forty pages of curious, concise, erudite, and well-written notes are appended to the text of this volume, which clear up several of its obscurities and allusions; and from which the antiquary will glean many minute and valuable facts. A history of the Counts of Provence, written by *Nostradamus*, and printed at Lyons in 1575, also supplies the author with much illustrative matter. Antient usages and manners are often described in the text, and often elucidated in the annotations. A glossary of 111 pages completes the work, and explains with much learned reference the unusual and obsolete words which abound in it. Great praise is due to the unaffected propriety, and to the unassuming soundness, with which the various and difficult duties of an editor have been performed in this publication: it originates, we believe, with one of the librarians at the Vatican.

Perhaps we cannot better and more summarily characterize the poem itself than in the words of *Filippo Villani*; who, among his lives of illustrious Florentines, has included that of FRANCESCO DA BARBERINO, and thus describes his book:

"Composuit insuper libellum vulgarem per jucundissimum, in quo mulierum mores per earum ordines, gradus et ætates constituit ad doctrinam, qui duæ ætati civilique earum, vel dignitati, secundum verecundiæ modestiam conveniret, ostendit, eique nomen indidit De Regimine Mulierum."

A portrait of the author fronts the title-page:—the letter-press has been carelessly corrected.

ART. VII. *Elémens de Mécanique, &c.*; i. e. *Elements of Mechanics*. By J. L. BOUCHARLAT, Professor of transcendental Mathematics in the Military Schools, and Member of the Academical Royal Society of Sciences at Paris. 8vo. pp. 328. Paris. 1815. Imported by De Boffe. Price 10s. sewed.

MECHANICS is a subject which has undergone greater changes than any other of the physical sciences. Prior to the discovery of the fluxional calculus, few problems which related to variable motions, or to forces that did not act in the same plane, could be satisfactorily resolved: but by means of this new instrument, an immediate and important extension was given to the doctrine of mechanics; so that problems, which before resisted the united efforts of all the most celebrated mathematicians, and many others which they dared not consider as falling within the limits of human research, became at once the mere playthings of the experienced analyst and the most simple exercises to the

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student. Still, however, every distinct problem rested on its own data, and the solution of it was obtained by a regular concatenation deduced from the first principles of the fluxional analysis; by which means, although the correct result was ultimately obtained, the same steps were to be taken again and again, and the operations were rendered very frequently prolix and embarrassing. It was therefore another very important improvement in this science, when the happy idea suggested itself of putting all the fundamental principles of mechanics into the form of general equations: since thus all the previous processes to which we have above alluded were rendered unnecessary, and the solution of every new problem was obtained by particular substitutions in the general formulæ to which it was related.

This generalization is still but partially adopted in our country; and, as it is always supposed by the most celebrated French authors on this subject to be already known, the English reader of their works finds considerable difficulty in following the steps of these great masters: so that he is often thus induced to relinquish a study which presents so many apparent obstacles to his progress. Yet, if the first principles were but previously understood, or if any elementary treatise could be consulted in which they were clearly and satisfactorily illustrated, all or at least the greater part of these difficulties would vanish, the course of the student would be facilitated, and his ultimate success would be rendered probable if not absolutely certain. M. BOUCHARLAT'S *Elémens de Mécanique* seem well calculated to convey this preliminary information, as he has omitted no step that is necessary to render all the several processes clear and intelligible; and we think that any student must be very dull, who does not readily and easily comprehend the several investigations and deductions presented to him in the volume before us. It may be considered as a continuation of the same author's "*Traité Élémentaire de Calcul Différentiel*," of which our report will be found at p. 496. vol. lxxvii. N. S.; the plan is similar; and the execution is nearly in the same style in both treatises.

The work commences, as usual, with preliminary remarks and definitions; after which follows the chapter on the composition and resolution of forces applied to a point; 2dly, of forces applied to the same point, and situated in the same plane; and 3dly, of forces acting on the same point, but not in the same plane. The author's method of demonstrating what is commonly called the parallelogram of forces is due, as he informs us, to M. Duchay; and, as it may probably be new to many of our readers, we will endeavour to explain the

the nature of it; although the want of diagrams may prevent us from doing it complete justice.

The principle on which the demonstration rests is simply this; that, if any reasons can be assigned why a body shall move in any direction, and if the same reasons will apply to make it move in some other direction, then it follows that it will take neither of these, but will remain at rest, or move in some direction different to the two former. Hence, if two forces act on a point, the resultant of those forces will be in the plane of the former; since any reasons, which we may assign to prove that it ought to follow a direction above that plane, may be applied also to prove that it would follow a direction symmetrically situated below the same: therefore the resultant will follow neither the one nor the other of these; and the same may be demonstrated of any direction that is not situated in the plane of the two original forces. Again, if two equal forces act at the same point, their resultant will be in the line which bisects the angle formed by the direction of the two equal forces. In the first place, the resultant will be in the plane of these two forces by the preceding proposition; and, whatever reasons may be brought to shew that the resultant is situated on the one side of the line which bisects the angle, the same reasons may be employed to prove that it is symmetrically situated on the opposite side of the bisecting line, and the same may be shewn of every resultant that is not in the line which bisects the original angle.

Having thus determined the resultant of two equal forces, that of two unequal but commensurable forces is readily found; and ultimately that in which the two are incommensurable.

The author next reduces these results into general formulæ; illustrates what is commonly denominated the parallelopipedon of forces; examines the case of parallel forces; of forces situated in a plane, and applied to different points connected together in any invariable manner; and, lastly, of forces acting in any manner whatever in space. — The succeeding chapter treats of the centre of gravity of bodies, and the method of determining it both analytically and by graphical construction, with a variety of problems by way of illustration. Among others, it is required to find the centre of gravity of a curve of double curvature; the centre of gravity of any area comprized between a curve, its absciss, and its ordinate; of the sector of a circle; of an area comprized between two branches of a curve; of any solid of revolution, &c. &c. — In the next chapter, the author treats of *Guldin's theorem*, or, as it is commonly called, the *centro-baryc method*; in which, after a

few transformations, he deduces this very curious and remarkable result; viz. "Every figure, whether superficial or solid, generated by the motion of a line or surface, is equal to the product of the generating magnitude into the path of its centre of gravity." — The tenth chapter treats of the seven mechanical powers, the funicular machine being considered as one of them, and its properties are illustrated at considerable length; after which, a chapter on Friction terminates the first part, or the Elements of Statics.

Part II., on Dynamics, commences with an illustration of the laws of inertia; the subjects of uniform and variable motion; the descent of bodies in a vacuum, in resisting mediums, and on inclined planes; of the motion of bodies in curves; the equation of the trajectories which they describe, the determination of their velocities, &c. &c. — The ninth chapter treats of the doctrine of projectiles, in the same general manner as in the other parts to which we have already referred: but we doubt whether the author has succeeded so well in this; his investigations here being somewhat tedious, and several pages employed in deducing formulæ which might certainly have been much more directly obtained. It is remarkable that this theory, which is extremely simple in itself, is generally rendered so abstruse and difficult as we find it in most treatises on mechanics.

Let us, for example, conceive any line, AB , drawn to represent the range of a projectile; $A2$ its direction, AH a line parallel to the horizon; and $B2$ a perpendicular to the same. Let the angle of elevation be denoted by a , the angle of inclination of the plane by b , the time of flight $= t$, the velocity $= v$, and the range $= r$; also g = the descent of a body in one second. Then $A2 = tv$, by the laws of uniform motion; $2B = gt^2$, by the laws of falling bodies; and $AB = r$, by hypothesis: whence we have immediately the following proportions:

$$\cos. b : \sin. (a \pm b) :: tv : \frac{tv \sin. (a \pm b)}{\cos. b} = gt^2 \dots \dots (1);$$

$$\cos. b : \cos. a :: tv : \frac{tv \cos. a}{\cos. b} = r \dots \dots (2);$$

$$\text{whence, again, by comparison } \frac{gt^2}{\sin. (a \pm b)} = \frac{r}{\cos. a} \dots \dots (3);$$

which three equations are sufficient for every case relating to the time, velocity, and range of a projectile, its angle of elevation, and the angle of inclination of the plane, while that plane passes through the point of projection. It is singular, as we have before observed, that results which are so readily obtained

obtained should commonly be made to occupy so many pages as are allotted to them by most authors on this subject.

To proceed in our analysis. Chapter xi. is employed in discussing the different modes of measuring forces, in which the author glances slightly at the dispute, now almost forgotten, relative to *forces vives*, *momentum*, &c.: he then treats of centrifugal forces; the centre of oscillation; the simple and compound pendulum; and the mechanical properties of the cycloid. — The xxth chapter is employed in demonstrating and illustrating the principle of *D'Alembert*; and the remainder of this part in shewing its application to the solution of several general problems relative to the motion of bodies about fixed axes, and of bodies in space.

Part. III. treats of the Theory of Fluids; viz. the pressure of fluids; general equations of their equilibrium; the application of the same in the case of incompressible fluids, and of those that are elastic. — The sixth chapter contains a description of several machines: as the hydrostatic balance; the areometer; the syphon; pumps, &c.; and lastly, of the barometer, and the method of measuring heights with that instrument.

Having thus given a concise abstract of the principal contents of this volume, we shall conclude by recommending it to the perusal of such English students as wish to qualify themselves for entering on the more important works of the French mathematicians.

ART. VIII. *Mélanges d'Analyse Algébrique, et de Géométrie, &c.*; i.e. *Miscellanies in Algebraical Analysis and Geometry*. By M. J. DE STAINVILLE. 8vo. pp. 680. Paris. 1815. Imported by De Boffe. Price 14s.

WE have read over this thick volume with some attention, and must say that we have found very little in it that we have not before frequently seen in other authors; though, at the same time, it is but justice to M. DE STAINVILLE to add that we have seldom observed the several subjects on which it treats exhibited in a manner so clear and intelligible. The theory of equations, for example, is nearly the same with that which is given by *La Croix*, but it is much easier to be followed; M. DE S. entering more into illustration, while he gives a greater developement to his principles.

In his first theorem, the author proves that, 'if a rational polynomial of any degree can be rendered equal to zero, by the substitution of a instead of the unknown x , this poly-

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nomial will be divisible by $x-a$. — This is obvious, for, if we have

$$Ax^m + Bx^{m-1} + Cx^{m-2} + \&c. + Tx + V = 0$$

$$\text{and } Aa^m + Ba^{m-1} + Ca^{m-2} + \&c. + Ta + V = 0$$

we have by subtraction

$$A(x^m - a^m) + B(x^{m-1} - a^{m-1}) + \&c. T(x - a) = 0$$

which is divisible by $x-a$, each of its terms being so: but, as the quantity which we have subtracted from the first is equal to zero, the remainder is in fact equal to the quantity from which the subtraction was made; and this therefore will have the same divisor with the latter, viz. $x-a$. This division being performed, the polynomial is reduced one degree lower; where, again, the same operation may be repeated, and the quantity again depressed one degree, and so on till it be reduced to a simple factor: whence it follows that every polynomial of this form may be resolved into m simple factors, and no more than m ; and whence also every equation of the m th degree has m roots, and can have but m .

We find nothing new, as we have before observed, in this manner of considering the subject of equations: but, on the whole, we think that it is rendered rather more easy to be comprehended by a student than we have commonly seen it; and the same remark will apply to the greater part of the volume. As to the arrangement which the author has adopted, it will perhaps be better understood by transcribing the heads of his several theorems relating to this theory, viz. — 1. If a polynomial of any degree become zero by the substitution of a , instead of x , the polynomial will be divisible by $x-a$. — 2. Every rational polynomial of any integral degree may be considered as the product of as many factors, of the first degree, as equal the number of units in the highest power of the unknown quantity of which it is a function. After these two theorems, of which we have indicated the mode of demonstration, several problems follow; viz. to change the signs of the roots of equations; to multiply them by any quantity k ; to increase or diminish them by any proposed quantity; to find the sum of any similar powers of the roots, &c. &c. — 3. In the third theorem, it is demonstrated that, if in any polynomial which contains only whole and positive powers of x we substitute for that variable two numbers, and the results of the two substitutions have contrary signs, there will be at least one real root comprized between those limits. — 4. When a rational polynomial has only one variation of sign, it will have one real positive root, and it can have but one. — 5. Every polynomial

nomial of an odd degree has necessarily one real root of a contrary sign to that of its last term; and every polynomial of an even degree, of which the last term is negative, has at least two real roots, the one positive and the other negative. — 6. When a polynomial of an even degree admits of no real root, there is still some quantity r , with some angle ϕ , which makes

$$r (\cos. \phi + \sin. \phi \sqrt{-1})$$

a root of this polynomial.

The succeeding seventy or eighty pages are employed in discussions relative to the solution of cubic equations and the irreducible case; and the next forty pages are allotted to the solution of equations of the fourth degree. It is therefore obvious that the author has not aimed much at condensation; and the demonstrations, as we have before said, are rendered very satisfactory: but it requires some patience to wade through the several pages over which they are spread.

M. DE S. allots the latter part of the volume, arranged exactly in the same style with that which we have examined, to the developement of exponential quantities; as logarithms, sines, cosines, arcs, &c.; the decomposition of the difference of two exponentials into factors; of the theorem of *Leibnitz*; the theorem of *Taylor*; and finally, *an analytical demonstration of the area of a rectangle*.

The above must in course be considered as a very imperfect sketch of the contents of M. DE STAINVILLE'S *Miscellanées*. They doubtless include a great variety of subjects, but nothing that is sufficiently novel to excite any great degree of interest beyond that which belongs to the principles and theorems themselves; though many of these are highly curious, and are certainly placed by the author in their most obvious light.

ART. IX. *Tableau de la Grande Bretagne, &c.; i. e. A Picture of Great Britain, or Observations on England, viewed in London and in the Country, by Major-General Pillet, with a Supplement by M. SARRAZIN, Major-General in the Armies of the King, Commandant of the Legion of Honour, &c.* 8vo. pp. 333. Paris. 1816. Imported by De Boffe. Price 9s. sewed.

THE author of this volume is already known by several works which display military criticism, rapidity of glance, and more freedom from national prejudice than is common among Frenchmen. He was the son of an innkeeper, was educated in Gascony, entered young into military service, and rose by his merits to the rank of a general officer in the French army. He was also distinguished by the friendship of the present

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ruler of Sweden. During a residence of four years in England, his relation towards ministers was apparently hostile; but his eventual situations have sometimes been thought to countenance the suspicion of a silent sympathy. He certainly performs an acceptable service to this nation in undertaking a refutation of General *Pillet*'s ridiculously calumnious book; and he was qualified for the task by some extent of local observation, and by a quick perception: though his performance of it, after all, is occasionally of a doubtful character.

General *Pillet* was a prisoner in this country on his parole, which he violated more than once, and was in consequence confined with more strictness. In order to avenge himself, and to gain favour with *Bonaparte*, he undertook a satirical portrait of the British nation*, of which the nature of his situation here prevented him from knowing any thing! Yet many of his chapters have an air of probability, exaggerating in some cases real features in our manners, and holding them up to bitter ridicule with malicious perverseness: indeed several of the descriptions, especially those which relate to the morals of our women, (chapters xx—xxv.) are false and libellous in a wicked degree; for which the apology advanced is that certain writers in England who, it is pretended, were employed by the British ministers, published anecdotes equally false, libellous, and wicked of the Bonapartean family. A third set of chapters complain of the treatment of the French prisoners as unworthy not merely of a generous and humane, but of a civilized people; and the charge of gross barbarity is brought forwards with a positiveness that would induce belief, had we not had opportunities of knowing that the regulations respecting these captives deserve a very different character. When *Pillet* himself was ultimately placed on board a prison-ship, particular accommodations were granted to him; and as to the crowded state of those ships, they seldom were made to contain more men than the French allot for the regular crews of vessels of their class, and usually had fewer.

In his preface, M. *SARRAZIN* insinuates that the British ministers were influenced by political considerations in their relative treatment of the two different classes of French sojourners: that to the emigrants, friendly to their legitimate sovereign, every sort of assistance was profusely given; but that from the Jacobin classes of Frenchmen, to which the prisoners of war principally belonged, there was a disposition to withhold that protection which is due to a disarmed enemy.

* The work was written, we understand, in the time of Napoleon, though not published till after his abdication.

On this point, we shall only observe, generally, that there was a time, in the early part of the war, when the scandalous treatment of English prisoners in France obliged our Government to adopt unusual strictness as retaliation; and certainly the war of the French Revolution had in it more of that hatred of soul which, as the author observes, *ferocizes* man, than the preceding war of the American Revolution.

Chapter I. converses respecting the pretended Anglomania of the French during certain periods of their later history; and it is well for neighbouring nations to try one another's fashions in many things: when that which, after experience, is found to be convenient should be retained, and the rest rejected.—The second chapter describes London and the dress of the common people. *Pillet* had said that the English women have two left hands; and General SARRAZIN feels more disposed to attribute to them a right hand too much.—The third chapter relates to public spirit and national pride; feelings which may be carried now and then to a devout excess, but which must not be laughed out of use. In this chapter, the author says that he personally knows that the prisoners of war, especially those in the floating prisons, were very ill treated! Is this a *refutation* of *Pillet's* libel, and of the most important part of it?—The fourth chapter treats of the morals of the English. Every one who knows English women knows that they are in general of purer and severer virtue than the women of southern Europe. This superiority results partly from our domestic insulation; partly from our religious institutions, which allow our clergy to be married, and thus interest the teaching class in public purity: but principally from the diffusion of commercial opulence, which enables men to marry at an early age, and occasions the mass of male population to hold in honour, not, as in France, the indulgences convenient to a protracted celibacy, but the strictness necessary to matrimonial comfort. In the antient world, the women of Mesopotamia, while Babylon was the centre of commerce, and the women of Alexandria, while Egypt was that centre, were also proverbially celebrated for connubial chastity.

Chapter V. comments on the courts of justice; VI. on our elective representation; VII. on our taxes; VIII. on our philanthropical establishments; IX. on our administration, and the liberty of the press. At the end of this chapter, the author states that he had printed at his own expence in London, during the year 1811, a pamphlet which ministers suppressed, and which he could not find the means of publishing.—The tenth chapter relates to security of person and property; to the assizes and criminal courts, and to the

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sacredness of oaths. It is here asserted that, in 1812, the barbarous punishment was inflicted of tearing out the bowels of some sailors who were convicted of having gone into the French service in the Isle of France: a fact of which we have no recollection, though such a sentence is part of our old laws against treason.

Chapter IX. treats of the multiplicity of crimes in England: an assertion which unfortunately has some truth in it. Education may yet do much to civilize the poor: but our lowest class has not acquired the kindness of manner which may be remarked abroad. Be it observed, however, that with us all is publicity, and nothing is hushed up: every news-paper is a fresh echo of every immorality which reaches the magistrate; and our laws include in the class of offences, and of capital offences, crimes wholly omitted in the scanty *Code Napoléon*. The police of Paris, on the contrary, draws a veil over every thing which can be left unpunished; and the soldiery are not handed over to the civil power for offences unconnected with their profession. If pecuniary probity be perhaps more diffusive in France than in England, the mass of temptations, arising out of our busy and vast circulation, is also greater. General *Pillet* enumerated, as peculiar to this country, the frequent murder of pregnant girls by their lovers; and though his accusation was founded merely on two or three instances, still we may reflect on the actual danger of that provision of our legislation, which renders the father responsible to the parish for the maintenance of a bastard-child. Were the same law enacted in France, there would be as many similar murders.

Whether the tenth and eleventh chapters of this work have been cancelled by the police, or whether an oversight of manuscript, or of impression, has occasioned the lacuna, the author skips from his ninth to his twelfth section; which discusses the laws of England concerning women, in controversy with *M. de Séguir*, who appears to have known as little about the matter as his two critics, *Pillet* and *Sarrazin*.—The thirteenth chapter relates to parricide and infanticide; the fourteenth, to orphans and foundlings, and early depravity; and the fifteenth discusses our humanity to animals; in which the practice of bleeding calves before they are killed is denounced as an exceptionable instance. Why should not every clergyman allot one sermon in the year to this sort of topic? It is a reform more within reach of pulpit-eloquence, and less within reach of any other, than most of our vices.—The sixteenth chapter discusses marriage, adultery, divorce, and the sale of wives; and the seventeenth talks of drunkenness.

The ignorance of General *Pillet* concerning the occupations of our polished women led him to suppose that, when ladies quit the table after dinner, they go and drink *liqueurs* by themselves in a *boudoir*!—One article occurs in this chapter, to which we do not chuse to advert farther than by referring to it; and expressing a hope that some leading man will take the author's hint, and introduce the decorous refinement here suggested into the habits of those public functionaries who are called to receive foreigners at their table. If in private life a man has a right to his own vulgarities, those who represent the nation are bound to live on a footing with the polished societies of the rest of Europe.

Chapter XVIII. describes a rout very ill. We blush for the inhospitality of our opulent classes, if foreigners have not yet learnt what routs are. Something of this inhospitality also infects our theatres; and the phrase "Damn all strangers," occurring in the farce of the *Gazette Extraordinary*, is stated by the author to have been loudly applauded at Covent-garden in his presence, and to his great annoyance. We must remark, however, that he translates to himself the word *stranger* by the French *étranger*, which with us means a *foreigner*; and thus he mistakes the bearing of a morose explosion of temper, such as too often disgraces the theatres of all countries. What is the conduct of the Parisian theatres at this moment, in this respect?—The nineteenth chapter treats of our military; and it luckily mentions that, at the Duke of York's levee, several Generals appeared in *bourgeois* dresses. Marshal *Ney* was prodigiously angry at being treated by a distinguished nobleman as the Commander-in-chief would have been treated!—Chapter XX. examines our navy, and the twenty-first describes the clergy; and here the author, in his great zeal for refuting the assertions of *Pillet*, denies the fact that *sermon-merchants* exist among us, of whom many clergymen buy their discourses ready-made.

In the twenty-second and twenty-third chapters, we return to the alleged melancholy treatment of French prisoners, on which we have already spoken. Is the government responsible if these people would persist in the habit of gambling for their rations, or allowance of provisions, and then, from a point of honour, half starved themselves? The story of an officer's horse having been seized and killed by the prisoners, for the purpose of dividing its flesh among them, would, if true, which we do not believe, attest a degree of hunger that could proceed only from this cause. Many inconsistencies, contradictions, and exaggerations of General *Pillet*, about these matters, seem to us to show that he was not a very accurate observer.

matters, are successfully exposed by M. SARRAZIN; yet still much remains that ought to be invalidated.

In the twenty-fourth chapter, the author attributes to England a prospective policy of occupying on the continent of Europe certain maritime stations for purposes of commerce. The same alarm is propagated in the twenty-fifth chapter to the West Indies. In the twenty-sixth, our influence in Portugal is discussed. Of this pretended diplomatic ambition, the late peace preserves but too few traces.

Chapter XXVII. praises the English inns and the roads; — the twenty-eighth celebrates the green grass, and the agriculture; — and the twenty-ninth chapter terminates the author's corrective analysis of *Pillet*.

He then devotes some supplementary sections to original observations on our empire at large, on its metropolis in particular, and on (*though last not least* in a Frenchman's mind,) our theatres. One great value of the English drama consists in the nationality of its spectacles, so that a series of lectures on English history could be given at our theatres in a dramatic form; and thus a nation becomes attached to its forefathers, to its customs, and to its posterity. The French dramatists have sought in Greek and Roman subjects their favourite shows; and they have brought up a race of servile imitators of Greeks and Romans, who could never found a republic, or a consulate, or an imperial form of government, on the habits and prejudices of a modern nation. On the contrary, the English place in *Englishness* their praise; they rather seek warnings than examples in the history of other countries; and they endeavour to evolve, according to its native bent, all that is good and great in their own breed and birth-place. They are not ashamed to blunder, but endeavour to do better the next time; and they invoke a publicity of their very faults in private conduct and national government, which is certainly the best security for preventing a repetition of them.

We trust that the French are rapidly perceiving that our hostility has not been to the liberty but to the ambitious character of their Revolution; and that, if a preponderance threatening the conquest of Europe could but have been weighed up to its old level, there would have been no opposition on our part to the institution of internal freedom. May both nations revert to that amicable competition for ameliorating their internal government, which is the purest employment of pacific administrations; and the surest means of propagating the establishment of popular representations throughout Europe!

ART. X. *Recit Historique sur la Restauration de la Royauté, &c. ; i.e. Historical Report of the Restoration of the Bourbons in France on the 31st of March 1814. By the Author of the Congress of Vienna; of Memoirs on the Revolution in Spain, &c. (M. DE PRADT, formerly Archbishop of Mechlin.)* 8vo. pp. 103. Paris. 1816. *

FRENCHMEN have long been described as communicative, but we have seldom met with a writer so eager to apprise the public of the whole course of his political career as M. DE PRADT. After having related his participation in the diplomatic occurrences at Bayonne in 1808, and his more important functions at Warsaw in 1812, he brings himself forwards in that which we may with confidence call the last scene of his political drama, viz. at Paris, 31st of March 1814. Such was his impatience to intermeddle, or rather his solicitude to gain favour with the expected governors of France, that he could not quietly await in his diocese the overthrow of *Bonaparte*, but proceeded to Paris in the end of January 1814, in a capacity which, after all his exculpatory phrases and qualifications, (p. 31.) can be called nothing else than that of *espion* for the allies; unless indeed he permit us to improve on it by regarding him as performing that creditable function for both the contending parties. In this situation, he makes a number of notable discoveries, and among other things finds out that *Talleyrand* is a character of wondrous philanthropy, — '*l'arbitre de la politique comme du bon ton.*'

Unluckily, M. DE PRADT's views of the policy of the allied powers are not such as to indicate an access to sources of authentic information. They are marked by the vulgar notion that Austria was not cordial in her opposition to *Bonaparte*; that the allied leaders had more than once the thought of relinquishing the prosecution of the contest; and, to crown all, that the French declined to assist *Bonaparte* with energy, lest, if they should beat back the invaders from Paris, they might have to follow them all the way to Vienna. In another passage, we were not a little surprized to find a writer of M. DE P.'s intelligence disposed to pay serious attention to the statements of such an exaggerator as *Sir Francis d'Ivernois*: but bold assertion and a confident tone will succeed with Frenchmen even in points with which they ought, from their personal situation, to be correctly acquainted. The consequence of all this is that the only part

* A translation of this pamphlet has been published in London by J. Booth.

of the present tract worth noticing is the account (p. 69.) of the conference of the allied sovereigns and their ministers at *M. de Talleyrand's* house, immediately after the foreign troops had entered Paris on the 31st of March. *M. DE PRADT* contrived to be in the way on this occasion, and represents himself as received with marked attention by several of the great personages then assembled; who are described as engaged in deliberation in one of the *salons* of *M. de Talleyrand's* mansion, or, to use the Parisian phrase, *hôtel*.

The King of Prussia and Prince *Schwartzemberg* sat next to the ornamental piece of furniture in the middle of the room. The Duke of *Dalberg* was on Prince *Schwartzemberg's* right hand, and after him Count *Nesselrode*, *Pozzo di Borgo*, and Prince *Lichtenstein*. *Talleyrand* was placed on the King of Prussia's left hand; and Baron *Louis* and I were beside him. The Emperor Alexander walked backwards and forwards in front of the company.

That monarch, in the most determined tone of voice, enforced by emphatic gesticulations, began by telling us that it was not he who had commenced the war; that the enemy had come to seek him at his own home; that neither the thirst of conquest nor the desire of vengeance had brought him to Paris; that he had done every thing in his power to avert the horrors of war from that capital, on which he bestowed the most flattering epithets; that he should have been inconsolable if it had been exposed to them; that he did not make war on France; and that the allies and he knew of only two enemies, the Emperor Napoleon and the enemies of the liberties of the French nation. Then addressing the King of Prussia and Prince *Schwartzemberg*, he asked them whether their views were not the same. On their signifying their assent, he repeated, with the same emphasis, a part of what he had said before; dwelling on sentiments the generosity of which filled us with admiration and gratitude. Having repeated several times that the French nation in general, and we ourselves in particular, were perfectly free, and that we had only to make known what appeared to us certain with regard to the disposition of the nation, when its wish should be supported by the allied forces, he addressed himself to each of us separately.

When it came to my turn to speak, I exclaimed that we were all royalists; that all France was of the same sentiments; and that the only circumstance which had prevented her from declaring them was the continued negotiation of *Chatillon*, which had impressed a languor on every thing. I added, that the Parisians wished unanimously for a change; that they would declare themselves as soon as they were called to do so, and could do it with safety; and that, in consequence of the influence which Paris had always exercised over France since the Revolution, its example would be decisive, and would be followed throughout the empire.

The Emperor of Russia again addressed the King of Prussia and Prince *Schwartzemberg*, who replied in a style perfectly agreeable to the opinions which we had stated. "Well, then," said the Emperor Alexander, "I declare that I will treat no more with the Emperor

Emperor Napoleon." It was remarked that this declaration excluded only Napoleon, and did not extend to his family; and on our representations the Emperor added, "nor with any member of his family." The Emperor was persuaded to allow this declaration, which was calculated to fix the opinion of Paris, to be published; and in two hours the walls of the capital were covered with it, by the exertions of Messrs. *Michaud*, who happened to be in the rooms adjoining to that in which the council met.

'This declaration effected every thing: it fixed the fate of France by removing the great obstacle between her and her antient monarchs, by pledging the allied sovereigns, and by securing to the cause of the Bourbons the support of their forces. The counter-revolution takes date, therefore, from this decisive step.'

A principal objection to this passage is derived from the author's credulity in supposing that the allied powers formed the determination of restoring the Bourbons only at the time here mentioned: whereas he may, we believe, take it for granted that such was their settled purpose from the moment at which the destruction of the French army in Russia afforded the prospect of a successful issue to the war. How can we doubt that Austria was as cordial as the rest, when the resolution to march straight on Paris was so warmly adopted by *Schwartzemberg*; and when we find that commander empowered (p. 63.) to give her consent to any measure on which the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia might decide respecting the future government of France?—In consequence of this and other mis-calculations, (pp. 51, 52.) M. DE PRADT has certainly not added to his reputation by this tract, in which he appears to advantage only when his subject leads him to political disquisition. We have, for instance, some very good observations on the difficulties that would have stood in the way of accomplishing the restoration of the Bourbons before *Bonaparte* had overcome the national predilection for a republican government; and a note to a subsequent passage is so clear and satisfactory, as to afford a kind of counterpoise to the various oversights or errors of the whole:

'We ought never to despair of a nation which possesses a legislative body; whatever errors it may occasionally commit, it is sure to act rightly at one time or another. It contains within itself the correcting principle of its deviations, and the source of its eventual reform.'

The pamphlet concludes with a few proclamations and official papers connected with the political change of the 31st of March 1814.

ART. XI. *Essai Comparatif, &c.*; i. e. A Comparative Sketch of the Cardinal Duke de *Richelieu*, Prime-Minister to Louis XIII. and William Pitt, Prime-Minister to George III. King of Great Britain. By the Chevalier GILBERT DE MEZLHIAC, Officer in the French Navy, Member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, and of the Royal Antiquarian Society of France. 8vo. pp. 173. Paris. 1816.

WE took up this little volume with a certain degree of eagerness, in the hope of seeing, if not a finished parallel, at least some interesting points of comparison between two distinguished ministers: but the author is too fond of wandering into the regions of fancy, and of pushing his notions to an extreme, to be qualified to give his readers any sound views of the political arrangements of either age. The best part of his remarks is that which relates to the condition of France at the time of *Richelieu* coming into office; such as the weakness of the royal power; the pride of the aristocracy; the divided state of the country in point of religion; and the various difficulties in the situation of a minister opposed by the Queen, the Queen-mother, and a host of courtiers who saw no chance of participating in power as long as it remained in the vigorous grasp of the Cardinal. On the other hand, the work becomes replete with errors whenever the author describes, or attempts to describe, the motives of Mr. Pitt and the English cabinet. Nothing can be more absurd than to say, 'Pitt's plan was the same as that of his father; viz. that of producing in France a general subversion of all order and principle, that he might exalt his own country at her expence.' — Our readers will accordingly excuse us from entering at any length into the fanciful details of M. DE MEZLHIAC: of whom we shall only farther remark that he is apparently a zealous royalist; calling Louis XVI. by the name of 'Louis the Martyr,' and speaking of Bonaparte as a '*despote affreux, aux crimes duquel la Providence vient de mettre un terme.*'

A detailed view of the administration of Cardinal *Richelieu* occurs in the III^d Article of this APPENDIX.

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